GENDER ISSUES, STRUCTURAL AND CULTURAL VIOLENCE (MALTA)

by

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DEDICATION

This is dedicated to my parents, Hamid and Fahimeh Bastin, as well as my brother Baback Bastin, and to my future wife and children.

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ABSTRACT

GENDER ISSUES, STRUCTURAL AND CULTURAL VIOLENCE (MALTA)

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This work will hope to use hard data and cultural analysis to help demonstrate the difference with regards to the roles of men and women in Maltese society. A general explanation and overview of both the Maltese history and culture will be presented leading up to present day Malta and the current situation of the political and economic arenas. With all factors combined, this analysis will then be put through a lens of Johan Galtung's structural violence theory to determine whether or not women in Malta are indeed victims of structural violence. If this notion holds to be true then a formulation of suggestions and ideas will be provided in terms of helping to advance the Maltese society with regards to gender equality. An array of sources have been surveyed ranging from ones that discuss Malta from a cultural and historical perspective, the Global Gap Gender report is relied on heavily for current statistical information, and Galtung's writings from Violence, Peace, and Peace Research is often referenced and applied for grasping a thorough understanding of his structural violence theory.

CHAPTER 1: Introduction

"Without more understanding of how conflict transforms gender relations, the policies and rhetoric surrounding women's inclusion at the peace table will continue to have a limited impact" (Sandole, pg. 45).This quote was taken from Chapter 3, (*Gender relations and conflict transformation among refugee women written by Anna Snyder),* of the Handbook of Conflict Analysis and Resolution. This quote delivers a concise and clear enunciation of arguably the most important issue faced by our discipline. It would not be unreasonable to claim that "gender inequality" is the single most important impediment to a prosperous and peaceful path for almost all developing countries. (While we recognize that Malta is not in fact a developing country, these terms are applicable in a general sense to illustrate the gravity of gender relations in society.) Throughout the developed world there have been efforts to involve women more during peace talks and post-conflict reconstruction. As Robert Blake, assistant secretary of state for South and Central Asian Affairs of the United States claimed, *"Investing in the potential of women and girls is one of the surest ways to achieve global economic progress, political stability and greater prosperity for women and men the world over"* (Central Asia's Prosperity). This comment was also supplemented by a quote by Ambassador-at-Large for Global Women's Issues of the United States, Melanne Verveer, *"Investing in women is a high-yield investment"*. She also added, *"...businesses owned by women create jobs and have*

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better growth and loan payback rates than those run by men. In addition, women spend

most of their income on their families and in their communities" (Central Asia's

Prosperity). Gender equality, therefore, is a pressing issue in the global arena and needs

to be addressed in a more urgent manner. Some more support gathered from the

Handbook of Conflict Analysis and Resolution was offered by Diane Elson.

" In development, scholars and practitioners found that if gender was taken

seriously then development policies tended to be more successful; that is, policies that do

not take gender into account were likely to fail" (Elson 1995) (pg. 46) (Sandole) Elson's

argument is an obvious notion but a further dissection into the quote should be provided.

If it is stipulated that men and women are equally capable of performing in almost all

sectors of society (despite the obvious that men, due to their physical strength and

athleticism, have a biological advantage) then to restrict the rights of either party, in any

way, is going to be detrimental to the overall health and prosperity of the society. This

seems to be a very clear and easy to understand concept. However, in many areas of the

world, this realization has not been integrated into society. There have been studies done

to track the progression of gender equality, as well as addressing in which areas or sectors

of society it is lacking, in certain countries. In Malta, the idea of gender equality is one

that seems attainable but not yet fully integrated into the society.

I.A. Research Design

The rationale behind the selection of this topic is recognizing the fact that a

country, which is part of the European Union, and has not fully integrated female

participation rates in the higher echelons of society. As a case study, Malta presents an

interesting contrast to the Northern European countries, (which actually set the global trend for gender equality), and becomes a subject of curiosity in terms of why this vast difference actually exists. What is the reasoning for some of their skewed numbers with regards to gender equality?

There are still significant manifestations of gender inequality in Malta. The purpose of this study, rather, is to first attest to the fact that these injustices still exist; and second, to analyze the impact of these inequalities upon two sectors of the Maltese present day society. Furthermore, certain suggestions will be offered as to what can be done to rectify the perceived inequities. The two sectors of society are the economic and the political arenas. The population examined will be the country as a whole. We will go through an evaluation providing information from a historical context, both through Malta's vast 7000+ years of historical inhabitance, and an explanation of the origins Maltese political structure.

This paper will not utilize surveys, interviews, etc. but would simply rely on the most up-to-date data available to support the proposed hypothesis from a few trusted sources. Ideas will also be presented from a historical and cultural standpoint, as to how and why these structures formed. The research will be conducted within the theoretical framework of Johan Galtung's structural and cultural violence. Essentially, the research will be evaluated in a few steps; namely, understanding the basic elements of Galtung's theories, providing the information necessary to examine the history, examining the information necessary to understand the political structure, re-evaluate the theories of

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violence as provided by Galtung to draw conclusions, discuss what can be done and why it is the way it is, and provide new ideas for the future.

I. B. Literature Review

The goal of this literature review is not to regurgitate every source or piece of literary information used to construct this research, but rather it is an attempt to bring the reader up to speed on the material available. In terms of organizing the information for the project as a whole; in order, there was a somewhat simple strategy. In the beginning there was emphasis placed on recognizing the importance of understanding gender relations through documenting gender related theories and utilizing data and news sources to support this notion. Largely, the research draws upon Galtung's ideas of violence, peace theory, structural violence, cultural violence, and more. However, appropriate criticism is given for Galtung's writings by other peace researchers, essentially with the argument that his theories are too vague or unable to be applied universally due to its shortcomings in addressing culture across societies. These arguments can be made for a number of other theories, which is not an offense to the theorist but rather a necessary critique to help improve on the theory.

Moving on, the sections involving a history of Malta and the history and structure of the Maltese political realm were taken from works composed by native Maltese authors to provide a more genuine feel for these elements provided in the research. The hard data was accumulated through accessing a variety of different resources, however the one source most used due to its relevance and accuracy was the Global Gender Gap Report. This report pulls from a great number of other sources and is a great composition

of many different sources that helps to explain gender statistics. When re-addressing violence, Galtung's theories were yet again put into use. The section discussing cultural violence drew from academic sources discussing religion and its roots as well. The suggestions for what could be done were a mix of Professor Omar Grech's viewpoints, as well as the CEDAW report published specifically addressed to Malta, a strategy proposed by the non-profit organization CARE, and the author's own opinions. The conclusion is an attempt to bring everything together and to provide a summation.

Throughout the entire work, there were social researchers' theories used as contributing examples to tie together the literary project such as; *The Social Animal* by David Brooks and *Outliers* by Malcolm Gladwell. Also, news sources which provided examples for a more current or up to date evaluation of the topic at hand were utilized. Of course, throughout the project, different theorists relative to gender and peace research were cited, as well as Maltese specific data sources.

CHAPTER 2: Overview of Violence

What is violence? Violence is defined in Merriam-Webster's Online Dictionary as, " exertion of physical force so as to injure or abuse"; "injury by or as if by distortion, infringement", or "profanation; or intense, turbulent, or furious and often destructive action or force" (Violence:defined). While these statements seem to provide a thorough explanation or definition of violence, they fail to address the term with regards to its pertinence in conflict analysis. These concepts are associated only with direct or personal violence. Johan Galtung defines violence differently, " Violence is here defined as the cause of the difference between the potential and the actual, between what could have been and what is. Violence is that which increases the distance between the potential and the actual, and that which impedes the decrease of this distance" (Violence, Galtung, pg. 168). He elaborates on his position, "In other words, when the potential is higher than the actual is by definition avoidable and when it is avoidable, then violence is present. When the actual is unavoidable, then violence is not present even if the actual is at a very low level" (Violence, Galtung, pg. 169).

Galtung also addresses different types of violence. In Chapter 2 (Peace Studies: Some Basic Paradigms), of his book *Peace by Peaceful Means*, "Actor or direct violence is defined in person, social, and world spaces and is intended, by individuals acting singly or inside collectivities. Direct violence can be divided into verbal and physical, and

violence harming the body, mind, or spirit. All combinations leave behind traumas that may carry violence over time" (Peace by, Galtung, pg. 31). This, "Actor or direct violence" is associated with the most common interpretation of violence. However, Galtung states that there are 4 additional types of violence that manifest themselves in any given society; Nature violence, Time violence, Cultural violence, and Structural or indirect violence. (We will be working with structural and cultural violence, respectively).

"Cultural violence serves to legitimize direct and structural violence, motivating actors to commit direct and structural violence, motivating actors to commit direct violence or to omit counteracting structural violence; can be intended or unintended. Cultural violence is subdivided by content: religion, law and ideology, language, art, empirical/formal science, cosmology (deep culture) and by carriers: schools, universities, media" (Peace by, Galtung, pg. 31). In every form of violence the idea of cultural violence cannot be ignored. In particular, when discussing a patriarchal society, (which we will evaluate later), the concepts of structural violence and cultural violence are directly correlated. "Cultural violence makes direct and structural violence look, even feel, right- or at least not wrong. Just as political science is about two problems- the use of power and the legitimization of the use of power- violence studies are about two problems: the use of violence and the legitimization of that use…The study of cultural violence highlights the way in which the act of direct violence and the fact of structural violence are legitimized and thus rendered acceptable in society. One way cultural violence works is by changing the moral color of an act from red/wrong to green/right or

at least to yellow/acceptable; an example being 'murder on behalf of the country as right, on behalf of oneself wrong'. Another way is by making reality opaque, so that we do not see the violent act or fact, or at least not as violent. Obviously this is done more easily with some forms of violence rather than others; an example being *abortus provocatus* (Peace by, Galtung, pgs. 197-198). Therefore, cultural violence, as Galtung describes it, is the ability of a culture to justify certain acts of violence within the community. It is the same logic that allowed President Obama to send a team of NAVY Seals into Pakistan to assassinate the world's most wanted terrorist Osama Bin Laden with no trial. "There's some second-guessing going on in the aftermath of the killing of Osama bin Laden, mostly having to do with whether he actually 'resisted' or whether the SEAL team that took him out did so deliberately" (Walt). This action was met with a response from the rest of the world that not only exonerated the United States of any guilt, but also congratulating President Obama on the 'achievement' (World Reaction).

A main point of emphasis for this particular study is structural or indirect violence. As defined, "structural or indirect violence is defined as built into the person, social and world spaces and is unintended". "Structural violence is divided into political, repressive and economic, exploitative; supported by structural penetration, segmentation, fragmentation, and marginalization. Furthermore, there is also the horizontal structural violence of being too tightly related, and of being too loosely or even unrelated. Structures can be too dominant (vertical), too tight (horizontal) too much (both/and), and too little (neither one, nor the other)" (Peace by, Galtung, pg. 31). The idea of having different definitions of violence may seem to be unnecessary or erroneous; however, it is

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quite necessary. The reasoning behind this is that conflicts are not simplistic and easily dissected. Conflicts are forever changing and evolving, this is a function of technological and societal advancements. A conflict may manifest itself in all different sectors or divisions of society in different ways as well. This is why drawing the lines of distinction with regards to different sorts of violence, is necessary.

II.A. Structural Violence; Positive and Negative Peace

Essentially to have a perfect society, every individual involved would have to ascertain this peace within themselves. As Galtung addresses, "This also holds for inner peace: the task is about the harmony of body, mind, and spirit. Key: "outer and inner dialogue with oneself " (Peace by, Galtung, pg. 32). This seems a bit unlikely due to the nature of human beings to make mistakes, to commit fault, to not be perfect, etc. therefore some structure is necessary. The more realistic idea that Galtung addresses in terms of eliminating violence and enacting a stable and positive society relies on the individuals acting or reacting within a system. This is also defined as the, "Absence of Structural Violence is also known as 'positive peace'" (Violence, Galtung, pg. 183). This assertion is most pointedly made by his claim, "…instead of penetration, integration instead of segmentation, solidarity instead of fragmentation, and participation instead of marginalization" (Peace by, Galtung, pg. 32). Furthermore, he elaborates, "A violent structure leaves marks not only on the human body but also on the mind and the spirit" (Peace by, Galtung, pgs. 198-199). This is a key idea when obtaining a conflict resolution. When discussing the idea of positive peace and negative peace, if direct negative violence is ended, there is no progression but simply just an end to the negative.

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Therefore the structure is still in place, while direct (negative) violence may not be occurring anymore, positive structural peace has not been achieved yet, thus allowing there to be marks left on the mind and spirit for the individuals in that particular society.

Within these different distinctions of violence, there is also a negative materialization and positive materialization, as we have just introduced. "Just as a coin has two sides, one side alone being only one aspect of the coin, not the complete coin, peace also has two sides: absence of personal violence, and absence of structural violence. We shall refer to them as negative peace and positive peace respectively (Violence, Galtung, pg. 183). The negative connotation associated with structural violence, structural *positive* peace is the "other side of the coin". "Structural positive peace would substitute freedom for repression and equity for exploitation, and then reinforce this with dialogue, instead of penetration, integration instead of segmentation, solidarity instead of fragmentation, and participation instead of marginalization. Some large, vertical (alpha) structures may be necessary, but small; horizontal (beta) structures are more beautiful (avoiding too much "structuration").

Positive structural peace is the guide in terms of moving forward as a society or in this case, achieving gender equality. The emphasis as Galtung describes, is more of a coming togetherness for the civilization as a whole. It hopes to eliminate the harmful "structures" in society in which individuals attempt to wedge themselves above others for their own personal gain. This is while recognizing that for social stability to be intact, some structure is necessary, it is simply the way we do it that is the issue. However, harmful social structuring has been present in society for generations, centuries, etc.

Those with power dictate the direction of most societies. "To discuss the categories of structural violence we need an image of a violent structure, and a vocabulary, a discourse, in order to identify the aspects and see how they relate to the needs categories. The archetypal violent structure, in my view, has exploitation as a center-piece. This simply means that some, the top-dogs, get much more (here measured in needs currency) out of the interaction in the structure than others, the underdogs. There is 'unequal exchange', a euphemism. The underdogs may in fact be so disadvantaged that they die (starve, waste away from diseases) from it: exploitation A. Or they may be left in a permanent, unwanted state of misery, usually including malnutrition and illness: exploitation B. The way people die differs: in the Third World, from diarrhea and immune deficiencies; in the 'developed' countries, avoidably and prematurely, from cardio-vascular diseases and malignant tumors. All of this happens within complex structures and at the end of long, highly ramified causal chains and cycles" (Peace by, Galtung, pgs. 198-199).

II. B. Applying Structural Violence as a Case Study

Eliminating structural violence in society would be the natural progression in a conflict resolution process, the focus must initially be on ending direct violence. Only if people are not being harmed physically and blatantly in some societies, can we then decide to change the way we view social structuring as well. The nature of structural violence makes it an idea that is un-measurable. There is no gauge to determine a country's "structural violence" level. However, through the use of indicators we can analyze a nation and determine a country's gender equality level, which at this point in time is a very serious issue.

Galtung realizes the difficulties of making his theory to become some sort of "standard" but is also optimistic at the same time. "Is it now possible to construct a corresponding typology for structural violence? If we accept that the general formula behind structural violence is inequality, above all in the distribution of power, then this can be measured; and inequality seems to have a high survival capacity despite tremendous changes elsewhere. But if inequality persists, then we may ask: which factors, apart from personal violence and the threat of personal violence tend to uphold inequality? Obviously, just as military science and related subjects would be indispensable for the understanding of personal violence, so is the science of social structure, and particularly of stratification, indispensable for the understanding of structural violence" (Violence, Galtung, pg. 175).

Through this transcript of knowledge, we will hope to analyze Malta through a lens of Galtung's structural violence. We will address issues in the political and economic realms that could weigh in heavily on determining inequalities that are present in the Maltese society as a whole. This is achieved from the design of a power from the top to bottom institution and reserving the right of decision making to the "higher ups" with an emphasis on the male gender benefiting. The question remains however, if this mentality or attitude is so obvious, then why has the Maltese government done nothing to resist this sort of activity? The answer could be one of many causes, however Galtung makes another interesting point as we will see through the course of this particular research, "When the structure is threatened, those who benefit from structural violence, above all those who are at the top, will try to preserve the status quo so well geared to protect their

interests" (Violence, Galtung, pg. 179). "Interests" is a broad term, and can imply a great variety of meanings. We will explore this notion further later.

II. C. Criticisms of Galtung's Structural Violence Theory

It is necessary to analyze other theorists' comments or remarks on the issue of structural violence as well. This will allow us to view the concept in more depth and also potentially realize some of the limitations of Galtung's theory. Paul Farmer writes, "In short, the concept of structural violence is intended to inform the study of the social machinery of oppression. Oppression is a result of many conditions, not the least of which resides in consciousness. We will therefore need to examine, as well, the roles played by the erasure of historical memory and other forms of de-socialization as enabling conditions of structures that are both 'sinful' and ostensibly 'nobody's fault'" (Farmer, pg. 307). Essentially Farmer argues that structural violence in society is in a great deal a product of the history of a certain society. Within this society's past, the ideas of culture, attitude, behavior, etc. produces a process of "de-socialization" as Farmer would describe it. This process strips away the identity of the individual and places them within these systems that commit harm or are "sinful", but the individual cannot be blamed because it is simply "nobody's fault". It is fixing these structures of "oppression" that would result in better behavior of the individuals in a society. How to reverse this structuring is a tall task as well.

Galtung receives some stern criticism from a fellow peace researcher named Kenneth E. Boulding. The criticism is mostly with regards to Galtung's attempt to apply

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structural violence in a normative scientific framework. Meaning, the theory is not

workable enough to put into a working methodology. "Galtung's mistake, it seems to me,

was to take the concept and theoretical structures which were appropriate to part of

normative science, namely peace research, and try and apply these to the whole,

which cannot really be done" (Boulding, pg. 85). The interdisciplinary nature of the

theory was questioned as well. While it is one thing to theorize or speculate, Boulding

criticizes Galtung's lack of economic or practical financial knowledge in terms of

applying his theory to reality. "Part of the failures of the Galtung system arise one

suspects from the fact that he is primarily a sociologist and that he really does not

understand the contribution of economics" (Boulding, pg. 85). Another large issue

Boulding brings to mind is the idea that everything can be structured in a sense, leaving

no room for randomness in a real world situation. "…Galtung's thought strikes me as too

taxonomic in a world that is essentially continuous and in which taxonomy is usually a

convenience of the human mind rather than a description of reality. His penchant for

matrices and for putting things in their pigeonholes…is an example of this tendency.

He constantly thinks, however, in terms of dichotomies- structural versus behavioral

violence, top dogs versus under dogs, center versus periphery, and so on, in a world

which is much more complex in its speciation and more continuous than any

dichotomy can accomplish" (Boulding, pg. 78). Therefore, Galtung's theory of structural

violence, does the same thing it hopes to prevent us from, which is a structuring of the

mentally or mind, is Boulding's point. "While the metaphor of structural violence

performed a service in calling attention to a problem, it may have done a disservice in preventing us from finding the answer" (Boulding, pg. 84).

This point is also supported by another peace theorist who claims, "'Peace' has different meanings within different cultures, as well as different connotations for the spheres in which peaceful processes are applied (Harris, pg. 7). He continues on this point as well claiming, "…there is a difference between inner and outer peace. Inner peace concerns a state of being and thinking about others, e.g. holding them in reverence, while outer peace processes apply to the natural environment, the culture, international relations, civic communities, families and individuals…Within the international sphere it can be construed as a peace treaty, a ceasefire or a balance of power…Intercultural peace implies interfaith dialogue, multicultural communication and so forth. Peace within civic society depends upon full employment, affordable housing, ready access to health care, quality educational opportunities and fair legal proceedings…Environmentalists point to sustainable practices used by native cultures for thousands of years" (Harris pg. 7). This is all to imply simply that the very idea of providing a cookie cutter method for structural violence cannot be applied universally. There are so many variations in culture, mentality, society, environmental views, etc. that are not universal, therefore applying a structure and corresponding methodology for eliminating said structure is not possible.

With that being said, it is also true that Galtung left his theory quite vague which also receives criticism from another peace researcher by the name of Alessandro Preti, "In relation to the assumptions made by Galtung, the definitions of violence and peace are too broad, vague, and general. In particular, there is a lack of rigor in the definition of

social justice and exploitation and it is not clear how concretely to understand the unequal access to power and resources. Peter Lawler considers the vagueness and lack of precision, based on a lack of historical analysis and of philosophical foundation, one of the major weaknesses of Galtung's approach, especially in the first period of his work: 'Precisely what positive peace consisted in and how it was to be realized remained unclear…Without historical and philosophical underpinnings, structural violence had no substantive meaning' (Lawler 1995: 227-228)" (Preti, pg. 101).

Granted, all these points made critiquing Galtung's theory can be considered valid, when evaluated in the right context. They present ways to add onto, or help advance the theory as a whole. In every critique however, these fellow peace researchers have given Galtung an explicit amount of credit for his work as an initial conflict researcher and peace studies practitioner. We must also bear in mind that in every academic field of discipline there must be a starting point, as Galtung is credited for being one of the modern day fore fathers of the field, he was bound to make some mistakes for others to criticize. This is simply the way of the world. However, while we recognize the limitations of the theory, it does not discredit it as a whole. The theory still holds a tremendous amount of value in drawing attention to an idea that has helped advance the way we discuss conflict resolution and the notion or variations of peace today.

CHAPTER 3: Overview of Malta

This section will grant a brief overview of the history of Malta. The idea is not to cover the entirety of Malta's 7000+ years of history, but to give enough information to help the reader gain a feel for the environment of the country we will be discussing. The Maltese identity has not been defined by a single or dominant culture. Through the course of time, Malta has been influenced by several different cultures, people, civilizations, etc. It is a long and varied history in which, "The first settlers arrived on the Maltese islands around 5200 BC" (Atauz, pg. 1) There are varying accounts of the role Malta played in the history of the Mediterranean. One account discusses the importance of Malta's role. "Despite their small size and the almost complete absence of natural resources, the Maltese Islands have a reputation of being an important commercial and military crossroads in the history of the Mediterranean" (Atauz, pg. 1). This would imply that Malta had a dependency in terms of vessels that traveled the Mediterranean depending on this stream of revenue due to lack of natural resources which would produce a "tightening" effect as a nation, to protect the country from attack, and also uniting behind a common goal to propel the economy. To also supplant this notion, taken from a book called, *Malta: Culture and Identity*, "It has been said that the smaller a nation is, the more its territory has the character of 'the natal soil'. Smallness retains integrity, facilitates human contact, and is more likely to have natural boundaries. In the case of the closely-

connected Maltese Islands in the central Mediterranean, the feeling of 'home' (heimat in German) could overlap with and evolve into the feeling of 'nation' (patria) with relative ease." (Frendo, pg. 1)

Taking further from the same research, this author also then cites other important events to support the idea of a strong Maltese nation, "An incident which deserves more attention occurred in 1481: a protest by Maltese jurats asking the bishop to dismiss a foreigner, 'who did not know Maltese', from the post of Chaplain of the Cathedral at Mdina (Citta Notabile). It would seem that already by that time Maltese had assumed the character of an in-group language and was in some way a core value of nationality, or at least of marked difference: a measure by which to distinguish the native from the foreign with a certain pride of feeling." (Frendo, pg. 3) Another event the author recognizes is, "The 1798 insurrection of Malta was (and remains to this day) the first and only popular armed insurrection in the country's entire history. Thousands died during the two years that it lasted. In full alert, by general mobilization, it brought to the fore, combined, and sharpened the edges of the three residual or latent factors of the Maltese identity: culture, nationality, and politics. The single most important cause of the insurrection - but by no means the only one- was probably religious. The course of events taken by it, incorporating Maltese from all walks of life, broadened into a bloody national resistance to a foreign despotism, with a premium set on liberty, patriotism and survival: 'us' against 'them'" (Frendo, pg. 11).

There is also an alternative account that claims, "Predictably, the majority of the historians studying the maritime past of the Maltese Islands are either Maltese of modern-

day Knights of Saint John, and all of them are convinced of Malta's historical importance. Thus, the tradition of overstating the role played by the Order and its navy in world events is based on the supposition that Malta was strategically important throughout history, much as it had been under British rule. This erroneous supposition was supported by concomitantly exaggerating the importance of Malta throughout history; in many ways, it is an attempt to write the Maltese into a history that largely ignores them. The indigenous Maltese people are nearly absent from the historical record and are not recognizable as a cohesive group having a national identity until the time of the British rule in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries" (Artauz, pg. 174). Both of these accounts add valuable insight into the root or history of Malta's past, which would then allow us to further understand Malta's present.

　　If both accounts are used, then there can be a larger body of information to pull from thus allowing us to develop a better understanding of how everyone in this situation feels rather than simply one side or another. Due to its unique position on the Mediterranean, the Maltese culture is essentially not a homogeneous one, rather it is simply a compilation of all different cultures that were and are present in the area. "The most striking feature of the prehistoric, Phoenician, and Punic periods in the Maltese Archipelago is that the existing cultures appear to have been repeatedly and completely assimilated by the successive wave of immigrants. The relatively low population density of the islands and the fact that there were few secure refuges may explain the clear-cut differences between the ancient occupation levels and those that came later; the inhabitants could be easily influenced or assimilated by the new arrivals" (Artauz, pg.

175). However, the ideas of isolationism and self sufficiency have been present since the formation of the country due to the nature of the island. "The earliest people on Malta grew barley, wheat, and lentils; practiced fishing; and supplemented their cultivated food with hunting. To the Early Neolithic farmer on Malta, the sea served as an isolating factor, since no valuable raw materials were available on the islands that could attract traders. The absence of resources also provided these settlers with some degree of security because they were not harassed by outsiders" (Atauz, pgs. 1-2). These were early indicators or common practices that helped first establish the Maltese identity.

III. A. History of Maltese Inhabitance

Throughout the course of time, Malta has been inhabited by several different Empires, and was utilized by the Great Powers of the region due to its strategic importance in naval trade and commerce. This has lead to an intermarriage of the Maltese culture with these civilizations. However, the one idea that became truly Maltese was their hardened or tough identity through these experiences. This is due to cultural and security reasons. Cultural meaning, they would want nothing more to hold onto their own values, customs, societal norms, etc. which they would have every right to. Frendo states, "Increasingly conscious of Europe, with which Malta mostly trades, Maltese are also not unaware of their own limitations, and their own characteristics. They would wish to be European without renouncing their recognizably Maltese identity: the mould of their own ingenuity over the millennia, in an intense, varied and often difficult history. They survived as one of the world's smallest ethnic minorities, about one million in all world-wide, with their own undisputed territory and surrounding seas, with their own language

too." (Frendo, pg. 21) However, through history, their security was also an issue, due to the amount of times that other civilizations had attempted to conquer Malta, the people had to consistently remain aware and ready for an attack or invasion from an outside force.

From 5200 BC to 1974, the country had violent interaction with several cultures, including; the Phoenicians, the Punic, the Romans, the Byzantines, the Arabs, the Normans, the Sicilians, the Aragonese, the Ottomans, the French, and finally the British (from which Malta gained its Independence) (Artauz, pgs. 174-180). Through thousands of years of outside invasions and the lack of cultural understanding or tolerance for Maltese way of life, a stubborn and defensive identity for the Maltese people naturally developed. The people were used to drawing arms and going to battle. In a historical context, a typical structure for armed combat would involve the men going to fight, while the women would stay home and tend to the children. This mentality was cemented through years, and reinforced through the patriarchal mentality of the Catholic Church.

These ideas have also made their way into present day society and other sectors of the Maltese way of life as well. "The Department of Information of Malta recently highlighted three factors which limit women's participation in the labor market. Firstly, the Maltese Catholic Church's influence in hinting that stronger families are based on stay-at-home women…Secondly, the culturally predominant idea that the man is the sole breadwinner and women ought to stay at home. And thirdly, the educational system does not encourage women to work because full-time jobs clash with schooling hours of children restricting mothers' capability to work. This is due to lack of affordable childcare

facilities and the fact that the care of children is still largely viewed as a 'motherly' function…All said; the stereotyping of gender roles remains a serious obstacle to progress in Malta. There issues reflect on the role of women in the political arena as well" (Grech, pg. 111). These ideas did not just emerge in the present day. There is a historical and cultural underpinning to these stereotyping of the gender roles in Maltese society. One would find it difficult to argue that the Maltese's history of inhabitance (which strongly hardened the role of the man as a warrior and the woman as a caretaker), and the Catholic Church's skewed gender perceptions did not contribute to this.

CHAPTER 4: History of Maltese Political Realm

The most important nation in terms of influencing the current Maltese political system is

Great Britain. There are two periods of time in particular that have influenced the

governing body of Malta today. "Malta's political history, and that of its Parliament, has

been characterized by a two-stage constitutional struggle: first for representative

institutions, mainly of the British colonial type, and later for the establishment of an

independent sovereign state with its own sovereign Parliament…Both these periods have

exerted enormous influence on Maltese parliamentary (and political) development and

have strongly impacted on how Parliament carries out its functions, even today" (Pirotta,

pg. 15).

As discussed above, Malta has a 7000+ year history; therefore it would be

unrealistic to discuss every detail of the Maltese struggle to obtain their autonomy.

However, the events starting in 1921 would be the beginning of the most significant

events pertaining to the present day establishment of the Maltese Parliament. Sticking to

their historical role as a foreign occupier, Britain was "managing" the island and

instituted a diarchy system, which in turn removed the decision making power from the

citizenry. "The Constitution was built around what became known as the diarchy system

i.e., the vesting of control over the territory of Malta in the hands of two separate

governments and was based on the principle that matters of Imperial interests, affecting

the position of Malta as a great Imperial fortress and naval centre, should remain entirely outside the jurisdiction and control of the new elected legislature and of the administration responsible to it, and should be reserved to the Governor as the local representative of the central Executive of the Empire" (Pirotta, pg. 59). This was simply not acceptable to the Maltese and they strived for their independence, and eventually received it from Britain in 1964 (Pirotta, pg. 163). However, "When Malta achieved its independence, the Constitution had retained the British Monarch as the island's Head of State" (Pirotta, pg. 192). Therefore, it was almost a ruse, considering the British still had great control in their decision making. "Finally in 1974, Malta became a Republic with a Maltese president as head of state; in 1979, the military base agreement with Britain was terminated. In 1981, Malta deposited a Declaration of Neutrality with the United Nations, signaling the emergence of a truly independent state governed by its own populace. Independence for Malta had been a long time in coming" (Artauz, pg. 183).

IV. A. Present Day Maltese Politics

"The ultimate focus of political activity is the character of the society. Political, religious, and social institutions influence the unconscious choice architecture undergirding behavior. They can either create settings that nurture virtuous choices or they can create settings that undermine them" (Brooks, pg. 320). This is a quote taken from the book, *The Social Animal,* by David Brooks. Essentially the point being that political, religious, and societal rules guiding the society will have a great impact on the character of such society. With that point being made, the present day political institution

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of Malta must be evaluated through a gender sensitive lens to determine if any gender inequalities suffered in society may have root in the political institution of Malta.

Presently, Malta's official name is the Republic of Malta with a system of governance known as a Parliamentary Republic. The Legislature is made up of 69 members directly elected on a single transferable vote system of proportional representation into a Unicameral House of Representatives. The constitution also provides for the allocation of extra seats should one party receive a majority of the popular vote, but a minority of seats in the House of Representatives. The Head of State is the President, who is elected for a five year term by the House of Representatives. The current President is George Abela who was elected by Parliament in April 2009. The last General National Election was on March 8th, 2008 and the next election is scheduled for 2013 at the latest (Malta: Summary of Political Structure). In terms of the Executive branch of the Political Structure, there is a Cabinet headed by the Prime Minister (currently Lawrence Gonzi); responsible to Parliament. There is currently a Nationalist Party (PN) Government. There are also two other main political parties in Malta other than the Nationalist Party (PN); Labour Party (PL), and Alternattiva Demokratika (AD) (Malta: Summary of Political Structure). There are also several key Ministers involved such as; Deputy prime minister & minister for foreign affairs: Tonio Borg, Education, employment & family: Dolores Cristina, Finance, economy & investment: Tonio Fenech, Gozo: Giovanna Debono, Health, the elderly & community care: Joe Cassar, Infrastructure, transport & communications: Austin Gatt, Justice & home affairs: Carmelo Mifsud Bonnici, and Resources & rural affairs: George Pullicino. The Central

Bank Governor currently is also Michael Bonello (Malta: Summary of Political Structure).

As stated previously, we will need to evaluate the political structure of Malta to determine any social inequalities that women may be suffering. How is any of this information pertinent to evaluating structural violence against women? *"...Maltese women are under-represented in government, the civil service, and the judiciary. While the pay gap between men and women is relatively small, female activity rate in the labor market is low by European standards. The Global Gender Gap Report ranks Malta 83 out of the 130 countries...The major obstacle that Malta has been facing is that of women's political empowerment" (Grech, pg. 110).* This is the opinion of a Maltese academic who believes that while there are inequalities in the economic realm, women's political empowerment is the key to Malta's advancement as a society. To better understand the political system, a brief overview of the historical aspects of the Maltese Political spectrum, followed by a concise explanation of the current political structure would be a necessary ingredient.

Representation in the political arena will help define equality. If there is lack of female representation, then this could lead to policy making that favors the male agenda. "… If we accept that the general formula behind structural violence is inequality, above all in the distribution of power, then this can be measured…" (Violence, Galtung, pg. 175). As we have just discussed, Malta is a Parliamentary Republic with three branches. In the Executive Branch, we will evaluate the representation with regards to the President and Prime Minister positions. The Legislative Branch consists of the Unicameral House

of Representatives. Lastly, in the Judicial branch, there is a Chief Justice appointed by the

President and the number and the gender composition of Judges will be analyzed. We can

analyze representation by each branch individually to get a better feel for the gender

representation of the Maltese Political System. We will use the most recent usable data,

namely after Malta became a Republic. Granted, the intricacies of any government's

political system are vast and complicated. Therefore to put forward a detailed and in-

depth discussion of every branch would be overly cumbersome and well beyond the

scope of this study. Hence why, the areas that are deemed most important, or the most

important sub-categories of each branch's representation will be highlighted to draw the

distinctions.

IV. A. 1. Executive Branch of Malta

We begin the discussion with the most prominent of the political positions in the

country. In 1974, the first President of Malta was elected, since then there have been 8

male Presidents and 1 female President. As well as 17 male Prime Ministers and 0 female

Prime Ministers. Therefore, in the 2 highest positions of Maltese Political spectrum, only

1 woman has ever graced either position. That individual was Miss Agatha Barbara who

was President of Malta between the years of 1982-1987 (Department of Information).

This statement is not unusual however; in most nations men have often dominated the

head offices of government.

The World Economic Forum's Global Gender Gap annual report also cites this

information about Malta. ("The Global Gender Gap Report's index assesses 134

countries on how well they divide resources and opportunities amongst male and female

populations, regardless of the overall levels of these resources. The report measures the size of the gender inequality gap in four areas: 1) Economic participation and opportunity – outcomes on salaries, participation levels and access to high-skilled employment, 2) Educational attainment – outcomes on access to basic and higher level education, 3) Health and survival – outcomes on life expectancy and sex ratio, 4) Political empowerment – outcomes on representation in decision-making structures"{Global Gender Gap}). They use three areas to determine political empowerment; Women in Parliament, Women in Ministerial Positions, and Years with female heads of state. The most up to date report was published in 2010, and it cited Malta with having 5 years with female heads of state and 45 years of male heads of state; namely, Miss Agatha Barbara.

IV. A. 2. Legislative Branch of Malta

In the Legislative Branch, a study done by the World Bank in 2006 cited Malta only as having 18% of the female population holding positions as female legislators, senior officials, and managers (Malta Profile). In the Global Gender Gap report as well it is cited that there is a 25% female to 75% male ratio for Women in ministerial positions and a 9% female to 91% male ratio for Women in parliament in the year 2010 (Global Gender Gap Report). These are clear examples of gender inequality in Malta, which also ranks 83rd out of the 134 countries surveyed in the Global Gender Gap report. These facts clearly indicate a disparity with regards to the equal treatment of men and women in the political realm of Maltese society. One could argue the point that Maltese women simply do not want to be involved in politics. However, a claim written by Professor Omar Grech would indicate otherwise, "Maltese women have a long history of lobbying

for their rights, most noticeably through the *Nisa ta' Malta* association which was established in 1944. The association, with the help of the Labour Front, advocated women's suffrage until women were granted the right to vote and stand for office in 1947. *Nisa ta' Malta* later became the National Council of Women (1964) lobbying for a wider-based set of rights for women" (Grech, pgs. 110-111).

IV. A. 3. Judicial Branch of Malta

Lastly, when assessing the Judicial Branch, there are 41 members of the Judiciary in total. The Judiciary of Malta is defined as, "…those serving Judges and Magistrates appointed to sit in the Superior and Inferior Courts in terms of the provisions of Chapter VIII of the Constitution" (The Judiciary of Malta). The distinction between the roles is of importance for the discussion. "Judges sit in the Superior Courts. Judges are appointed by the President of Malta acting in accordance with the advice of the Prime Minister…Like Judges, Magistrates are appointed by the President of Malta acting in accordance with the advice of the Prime Minister. Magistrates sit in the Inferior Courts, and they enjoy the same security of tenure as Judges" (The Judiciary of Malta). To be more specific in our evaluation, let us now examine the following data. The Judiciary is split into 12 females and 29 males in total. There are 20 Magistrates divided evenly between men and women, (10 men, 10 female), with 1 serving as an International Judge of the Appellate Division of War Crimes. There are 21 Judges split into 19 males and 1 female, with 1 serving at the European Commission of Human Rights, and the Chief Justice is a man as well. Looking at the data, it is important to realize that in the role of a Magistrate that operate in the "Inferior Court", there is an even spread with regards to female and male

representation. However, moving into the "Superior Courts" for the Judges, there are 19 males in contrast with 1 female. It does certainly seem that the higher the role in the Judiciary, the lower the amount of female representation.

CHAPTER 5: Overview of Maltese Economic Realm

"Gender differentials in education and health are not an efficient economic choice. Societies that under-invest in women pay a price for it in terms of slower growth and lower income. Furthermore, gender inequality can be explained to a significant extent by religious preference, regional factors, and civil freedom" (Dollar). This quote helps to acknowledge the idea that religious preference does put pressure on gender relations, as well as regional factors, and the policies implemented by the government which would in turn alter civic freedom. The main point of this quote is simply that, societies who under-invest in women, will suffer in the long run.

This past year on Women's Day in Malta (March 8th, 2011), Prime Minister Lawrence Gonzi delivered a speech to the Maltese public emphasizing the importance of the role of women in Maltese society. He claimed, "We don't have any natural resources in Malta, only our human resources. We, more than any other country in the world, should appreciate making the most of our human resources…That is why we should worry more than anyone else that the rate of female participation is lowest in EU and among lowest in the world. Of course it worries us, and we should do all we can to improve it" (Laiviera). The Prime Minister emphasized a few key points with his comments. The idea of human capital and investing in human resources is essential to Malta's progress, if not survival. With that being said however, why are women so

underrepresented in some of these high ranking positions? Let us examine some data that will help us better or more fully understand exactly what the Prime Minister was alluding to.

V. A. Sources for Analysis

To have a better grasp of the economic realm of Maltese society, one needs to highlight the specific areas that would be analyzed in that endeavor. There are fundamental elements in any economic infrastructure that will help in conducting such analysis. The areas that we will focus on will greatly depend on educational and work force opportunities because they are intertwined. Education is essential; the only way to break cycles of inequality is through empowering people with the tools, skills, and knowledge necessary to undertake this immensely important task. The old adage, "knowledge is power", is perfectly applicable here. With that being said however, education is not the only key area that needs to be revamped if equality is to be achieved. Taken from the Gender Equality and the Millennium Development Goals Report published by the Gender and Development Group by the World Bank, "…achieving equal access to education is an important step towards gender equality, it is by no means sufficient. Even as gender disparities in education are reduced, other gender differences tend to persist – in labor market opportunities, legal rights, and the ability to participate in public life and decision making" (Gender Equality). This will be the next area to discuss, since we already mentioned the gender disparities in legal rights. Subsequently, we should direct our attention towards the ideas of labor market opportunities and the ability to participate in public life and decision making.

V. B. Global Gender Gap Report

The main source of information will be the Global Gender Gap report. Several different sources such as; the World Data Bank, CIA World Factbook, The Global Competitiveness Report, Arab Human Development Report, several UNESCO reports, UNICEF, Gender Equality and the Millennium Development Goals published by the World Bank, The Statistics from the Ministry of Education, Employment and the Family-Social Policy's Commissions on Domestic Violence, The Valletta National Statistics Office, The Education for All Global Monitoring Report, The Times of Malta, www.maltadata.com, and the United Nations Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women were consulted. However after having reviewed the available information, the realization was obvious that the most pertinent database was the Global Gender Gap Report for accumulating economic data. This report analyzed and incorporated several of the databases listed above and has provided the information most up to date and relevant to the discussion on Galtung's definition of structural violence.

In the Global Gender Gap report, there are two areas that will best assist us in our quest for determining structural violence. "Is it now possible to construct a corresponding typology for structural violence? If we accept that the general formula behind structural violence is inequality, above all in the distribution of power, then this can be measured…" (Violence, Galtung, pg. 175). These factors best present themselves in two areas of the Global Gender Gap Report; Economic Participation and Opportunity, and Educational attainment. Economic Participation and Opportunity is defined by the report itself as, "This area is captured through three concepts: the participation gap, the

remuneration gap and the advancement gap. The participation gap is captured through the

difference in labor force participation rates. The remuneration gap is captured through a

hard data indicator (ratio of estimated female-to-male earned income) and a qualitative

variable calculated through the World Economic Forum's Executive Opinion Survey

(wage equality for similar work). Finally, the gap between the advancement of women

and men is captured through two hard data statistics (the ratio of women to men among

legislators, senior officials and managers, and the ratio of women to men among technical

and professional workers)" (Global Gender Gap).

The Educational Attainment section is also defined by the report as; "…the gap

between women's and men's current access to education…captured through ratios of

women to men in primary-, secondary-, and tertiary-level education. A longer-term view

of the country's ability to educate women and men in equal numbers is captured through

the ratio of the female literacy rate to the male literacy rate" (Global Gender Gap).

Among all these factors represented, in combination with the Health and Survival data

which we are not touching on, as well as the Political Empowerment data we discussed in

the previous section, Malta ranks (83rd) out of the (134) countries surveyed with a score

of (.67) out of a possible score of (1), in the report (Global Gender Gap).

V. B. 1. Economic Participation and Opportunity

Initially, we will discuss the results of the findings of the report with regard to

Economic Participation and Opportunity. As a whole, in this section, Malta received a

rank of (104th) with a score of (.543) which is slightly below the sample average of (.590).

As explained above, the divisions of this category are the labor force participation rate,

wage equality for work (survey), estimated earned income (PPP US$), legislators, senior officials, and managers, and professional and technical workers. Their labor force participation rate was ranked (117th) with a score of (.50), (the score is determined by calculating the female to male ratio), which is below the sample average of (.69). This implies that women are not as involved in the labor force as men. The adult unemployment rate for women is (7%) and for men (6%) as well, (but this can be misleading because it is the total unemployment). The wage equality for work, (the determination of which is through a qualitative variable calculated through the World Economic Forum's Executive Opinion Survey), received a ranking of (34th), with a score of (.73) which is higher than the sample average score of (.65). This shows that Malta is somewhat progressive in terms of applying the same amount of pay for the same positions.

The Estimated earned income however, ranks (102nd) and has a score of (.45) which is below the average score of (.53). Malta's rank is low in the total surveyed amount of (134) countries, however its score is misleading. Malta received a score of .45 which is a small margin below the sample average of (.53). However, if looking at the actual data, it shows that the PPP (Purchasing Power Parity in US$), for men is ($31,812) and for women it is ($14,458). These statistics indicate that men in Malta are earning more than twice as much than women in general. Furthermore, it is also interesting to note that the labor force participation rates for men and women vary dramatically. The population of Malta is almost evenly distributed as far as gender is concerned, [Malta has an overall population sex ratio of male/female of (.99)]. This leads us to conclude that

there are twice as many men working than women, [labor force participation rate for men is (78%) and labor force participation rate for women is (39%)], while the wages for men are twice as much as wages for women.

Lastly, the advancement gap, (the ratio of women to men among legislators, senior officials and managers, and the ratio of women to men among technical and professional workers) is pertinent to the discussion. Malta ranks (89$^{th)}$) in the report in terms of the number of legislators, senior officials, and managers with a score of (.21), which is under the sample average of (.27). Interesting to note here is the actual percentage of participation in this realm of the professional work force, with men holding (82%) of the positions and women holding (18%). Malta ranks (86$^{th)}$) in Professional and technical workers, with a score of (.70), slightly above the sample average score of (.64), with a male participation of (59%) and a female participation of (41%). This essentially concludes that the women's role in the occupational sector of Maltese society is limited to lower levels.

V. B. 2. Educational Attainment

The Educational Attainment findings for Malta were simply astonishing. The overall rank for this section of the report is (1$^{st)}$) with a score of (1), and the sample average is (.929). This is very surprising, it is not a negative finding that women in Malta are being educated, obviously. It is simply the contrast of women being educated and obtaining more established positions in the society. According to the Global Gender Gap Report, women are obtaining education at all levels of society. As a matter of fact; literacy rate, enrollment in primary education, enrollment in secondary education, and

enrollment in tertiary education all received a top rank and a score of (1), which equates

to gender equality. The ratios of female to male representation are as follows; literacy

rate (1.03), enrollment in primary education, (1.01), and enrollment in secondary

education (1.07). However, in terms of people in Maltese society as a whole obtaining

tertiary education, the ratio of female to male is (1.42)! "Moreover, there is a noticeable

increase in female enrollment to the extent that it now exceeds the participation rate of

males in tertiary education" (Grech, pg. 98). Conversely, the percentage of women that

are teachers in primary, secondary, and tertiary education are (86%), (57%), and (23%)

respectively. It is interesting to note here that while more women have tertiary education,

only (23%) of tertiary educators are women. Granted, one could also make the argument

that there could be disparity in these statistics due to unknown or unrecognized factors.

Typically however, individuals who seek tertiary education will go into higher positions

other than professional and technical work. As the statistics previously indicated, the

female to male ratio in the legislators, senior officials, and managers sector is (.21) with

an overall participation rate ratio of the labor force of female to male being (.5). Also, to

support this point, women in the "non-agricultural paid labor" category make up only

(35%) of the work force.

CHAPTER 6: Violence Revisited

Is there structural violence present? There seems to be a need to revisit and evaluate

certain specific data pertinent to Malta to come to some sort of conclusion. To summarize

our findings; there is a gender equality in the realm of occupational attainability. Also,

while not mentioned earlier, in a survey of "Ability of women to rise to positions of

enterprise leadership", Malta received a (4.81) out of a possible score of (7). (Source is

the World Economic Forum's Executive Opinion Survey 2010.) Survey question is as

follows: 'In your country, do businesses provide women the same opportunities as men to

rise to positions of leadership? (1 = no, women are unable to rise to positions of

leadership; 7 = yes, women are often in management positions). This is an interesting

finding as well. In a survey petitioning native citizens of the island (where people may

tend to exaggerate to put the country in a better light) the score is a (4.81). Regardless of

one individual statistic or another, the findings as a whole show there is an unequal

gender treatment in certain areas of society. The above data mentioned clearly indicated

there was certainly equality in education (in tertiary education there were larger numbers

of women than men). However when it came to labor force participation rates in the

political and economic realms, women are far under-represented. The first idea we will

have to analyze is whether or not the findings indicated above could be explained through

the prism of Galtung's theory of structural violence. Secondly, we will attempt to uncover the roots of the proposed idea of structural violence.

VI. A. Structural Violence?

With all factors given and portrayed, we must further develop the idea of structural violence to see if these structures of inequality are within the guidelines of this theoretical framework. It seems to be safe to conclude that women and men are essentially on the same level with regards to literacy rates and education in Malta. Hence, we must expect that the potential for women to be given higher paying positions and jobs of higher status must also be present in Malta. Alas, this very expectation does not seem to be realized according to the data analyzed in this study."Thus, the potential level of realization is that which is possible with a given level of insight and resources. If insight and/or resources are monopolized by a group or class or are used for other purposes, then the actual level falls below the potential level, and violence is present in the system" (Violence, Galtung, pg. 169). Using that statement from Galtung's Violence, Peace, and Peace Research, (where his theory of structural violence was first presented in 1969), we can say there is some evidence to back the idea that structural violence may be present in Malta. However, one may argue that the data cannot prove the assertion definitively, one way or another. Instead we can hope to construct a typology using Galtung's initial piece of rhetoric to conclude whether or not this specific case study adheres to the theory.

Initially, we will again draw a line of distinction between structural violence and direct or actor violence. One could argue that there always has to be an "actor" to perform certain actions in a system to produce these sorts of injustices. However, as Galtung

states, "Thus, when one husband beats his wife there is a clear case of personal violence, but when one million husbands keep one million wives in ignorance there is structural violence" (Violence, Galtung, pg. 171). Which means, what structural violence is discussing, is the pattern of inequality, simply not one individual instance or another. He also expresses the idea that at times, rather than continually using the term, "structural violence", he would also supplant this for the term, "social injustice" for the sake of not being too repetitive (Violence, Galtung, pg. 171).

In a society, there needs to be some form of clear track progression that is equally attainable for all parties involved to ensure the absence of structural violence. Is this the case with Malta? Let us take a look at another piece of information Galtung provides to determine whether or not this social injustice exists, and using this information we can break it down piece by piece to help us better determine a conclusion. "Resources are unevenly distributed, as when income distributions are heavily skewed, literacy /education unevenly distributed, medical services existent in some districts and for some groups only, and soon. Above all, the power to decide over the distribution of resources is unevenly distributed" (Violence, Galtung, pg. 171).

1. Are the resources unevenly distributed? This depends greatly on how we define resources, as well as how we interpret how Galtung meant for this term to be perceived. For example, resources could apply to many number of things; timber, land, gas, employees, energy, etc. (However, in the context in which it is used, its application is quite vague, therefore we will assume a very general usage of the term resources, such as in land, labor, and capital). Regardless of the

specific definition of the term "resources" one cannot ignore the very glaring

economic data that could speak to this phenomenon. The relevant piece of data is

the disparity in wage income for men and women. Based on that piece of

economic data alone, one would be hard pressed to accept that resources are

evenly distributed in Malta.

2. Are the income distributions heavily skewed? Out of the 134 countries in the

Global Gender Gap report, as reported earlier, Malta obtained a rank of 34th in

this category if we focus the analysis on identical positions. In other words, the

disparity emanates mainly from women not having access to the same jobs rather

than being paid differently when they have those jobs.

3. Literacy/education is unevenly distributed? This is where we begin to see some

inequality. The answer to this is yes. The literacy rates for men and women are

almost entirely even, and Malta, as indicated previously, received a rank of 1st out

of the 134 countries (obviously sharing this rank with any other nation who also

has achieved gender literacy equality). However, when it came to tertiary

education, the female to male ratio was a 1.42. This implies that there is

inequality, but favoring the female side. However, with this data alone we cannot

determine structural violence, perhaps it is an indicator, but the case could also be

that, for whatever reason, women choose and have always chosen to undertake

tertiary education in higher numbers than the men in the country. There could

always be an exception to the rule.

4. Medical services exist in some districts. For some groups, it is even readily accessible. This area applies to a medical field, this data was not thoroughly researched but for this particular statement if it needs to be examined the closest data relating to this area would be the Health and Survival sub index of the Global Gender Gap report. Previously we had not covered this area from the Global Gender Gap report; however, the data is as follows: Malta received an overall rank of 72nd, with a score of .974, which was higher than the sample average of .955. The sex ratio at birth (female/male) received an overall rank of 1st, with a score of .94, which is higher than the sample average of .92, and a female/male ratio of .95. The last data set for this sub index is the Healthy Life Expectancy portion which received an overall rank of 79th, with a score of 1.04, and a female/male ratio of 1.04 with females expected to live to the age of 74 and men to the age of 71. These numbers would show that Malta is nearing equality in the category of Health and Survival, while the admission is made that this may not have been what Galtung meant precisely when evaluating his comment; however ,the essence of the idea was presented.

5. **Above all**, is the power to decide over the distribution of resources unevenly distributed? This was stated by Galtung to be the most important factor involved when determining structural violence or social injustice in a society. Is the power in Malta evenly distributed? Considering the above data, men in Malta hold higher positions in higher numbers. Furthermore, decisions usually are made at the top of organizations and businesses. Also, the men heavily dominate the political atmosphere wherein the

decisions to distribute resources are made. Also, in terms of the labor participation as a whole, men are paid more than twice as much as women on average. Therefore, it would seem the power to make decisions with regards to distribution of resources is heavily skewed in Malta to the male gender's advantage. This combined with the notion that more women have received and are attempting to receive tertiary education should send out some red flags.

To touch on a quote used earlier, "Is it now possible to construct a corresponding typology for structural violence ? If we accept that the general formula behind structural violence is inequality, above all in the distribution of power, then this can be measured; and inequality seems to have a high survival capacity despite tremendous changes elsewhere" (Violence, Galtung, pg. 175). What Galtung is arguing, is there a way, a legitimate and universal way, to construct a typology for structural violence? Due to the nature of feudal structures and how they can often vary in different systems, there is not a way to implement a ranking system that would be a cookie cutter method able to accurately and flawlessly label the broad spectrum. However, Galtung addresses specific terminology including six different mechanisms and applies it in a reasonable fashion to get a gauge for social injustice in different areas of different societies. These six different mechanisms are:

1. linear ranking order- the ranking is complete, leaving no doubt as to who is higher in any pair of actors
2. acyclical interaction pattern- all actors are connected, but only one way - there is only one 'correct' path of interaction

3. correlation between rank and centrality- the higher the rank of the actor in the system, the more central his position in the interaction network

4. congruence between the systems- the interaction networks are structurally similar

5. concordance between the ranks- if an actor is high in one system then he also tends to be high in another system where he participates

6. high rank coupling between levels- so that the actor at level n-1 are represented at level n through the highest ranking actor at level n-l

   (#6 may seem tricky, but let us assume n=2, therefore, the actor at level 2-1= 1, is represented at level 2, through the highest ranking actor at level 1. This then firmly solidifies your role in the level and does not allow a lesser member to circumvent a superior actor in the level that they are defined to) (Violence, Galtung, pg. 176)

There needs to be a distinction here regarding some of the terminology. Galtung discusses five elements to help establish his theory further, "Most fundamental are the ideas of actor, system, structure, rank, and level. Actors seek goals, and are organized in systems in the sense that they interact with each other" (Violence, Galtung, pg. 175). Also, "The set of all such systems of interaction, for a given set of actors, can then be referred to as a structure. And in a structure an actor may have high rank in one system, low in the next, and then high in the third one; or actors may have either consistently high ranks or consistently low ranks" (Violence, Galtung, pg. 175). He also seeks a further distinction here, "…if we look more closely at an actor, e. g. a

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nation, we shall very often be able to see it as a structure in its own right, but an integrated structure since it is able to appear as an actor" (Violence, Galtung, pg. 175). Essentially, Galtung is attempting to produce a typology for any sort interactions defined within a global context.

Where does this take us? Would this imply that social structures in general are simply alignments in which the, "rich get richer, and the poor get poorer?" Galtung offers an explanation, "Many propositions can now be developed about this, a basic one being that social systems will have a tendency to develop all six mechanisms unless deliberately and persistently prevented from doing so. Thus the pattern is set for an aggravation of inequality, in some structures so much so that the lowest-ranking actors are deprived not only relative to the potential, but indeed below subsistence minimum" (Violence, Galtung, pg. 177). These six mechanisms, according to Galtung, are inevitable unless as a society there are hindrances put in place to restrict their formulation. "Hence, special measures are needed to prevent the formation of feudal structures: structural violence seems to be more 'natural' than structural peace"(Violence, Galtung, pg. 179) . This would imply a thorough education and understanding of how and why these systems develop, and how to prevent them. One of the main issues with these structures is the idea of deprivation of the lower classes. "They are deprived because the structure deprives them of chances to organize and bring their power to bear against the top dogs, as voting power, bargaining power, striking power, violent power - partly because they are atomized and disintegrated, partly because they are overawed by all the authority the top dogs present" (Violence,

Galtung, pg. 177). What would this mean? There would need to be checks and balances on social power, which would then produce social justice or no structural violence. This would be completely necessary for immediate change and to help influence the mentality and mindset for future generations. However, does this solve the root problems of the issue? Those answers lie somewhere in the Maltese history and culture formulation.

VI. B. Cultural Violence?

"One may argue that all cases of structural violence can, by closer scrutiny, be traced back to personal violence in their pre-history" (Violence, Galtung, pg. 178). Similar to any other problem in life, it is necessary to get to the root of the issue. Using this quote, what Galtung is implying is that structural violence is simply the "left-over" negative energy from violence committed in this society from long ago. If this is the case, then it almost becomes a cultural issue native to that society, and will be carried through any means or mode of transportation of culture such as; symbols, customs, social interactions, gestures, mannerisms, rituals, etc.

Cultural violence as discussed earlier, "…serves to legitimize direct and structural violence, motivating actors to commit direct violence or to omit counteracting structural violence; can be intended or unintended" (Peace by, Galtung, pg. 31). Therefore, cultural violence, through many different avenues of society, helps justify, or even solidify some of these structures put into place that hinder women in the Maltese society. As Galtung states, "Cultural violence divides by content: religion, law and ideology, language, art, empirical/formal science, cosmology (deep culture) and by carriers: schools, universities, media" (Peace by, Galtung, pg. 31). In Professor Omar Grech's chapter in the collection

of MEDAC papers, *Women's Rights in the Euro-Mediterranean Area*, two extremely relevant and important areas were highlighted. These were the rhetoric written in children's textbooks, beginning in primary education, and also the mindset of public officials or people within the work force in general. Referencing women in roles of; secretaries, nurses, primary school educators, and then addressing men as; scientists, engineers, high level business representatives.

This is an issue with serious consequences due to the socialization of human beings. Taken from a book written by David Brooks called, *The Social Animal,* "Walter Lippman once wrote that, 'above all the other necessities of human nature, above the satisfaction of any other need, above hunger, love, pleasure, fame- even life itself- what a man most needs is the conviction that he is contained within the discipline of an ordered existence'" (Brooks, pg. 118). Assuming this logic as correct, this will then fuel the need or desire as a human being to adhere to this 'ordered existence'. This is a pretty simple idea actually, almost every human being wants to love and feel loved, or be accepting and be accepted. It is the idea of recognition, which is said by some peace researchers to be a basic human need (John Burton first cited this in his Basic Human Needs theory). Therefore, using this logic, almost every child born in Malta will adopt these cultural tendencies due to wanting to become familiar with his/her environment. Perhaps, the parents of this child, (unless they are educated and well aware of these gender issues), may contribute to an inappropriate or misogynistic mentality as well. As a whole, the mentality is reinforced through years of the society having developed this perspective and attitude.

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Thus leads us to the next step of our research. It is evident that structural violence is present; it seems that there is cultural violence that has in fact reinforced this structural violence over time. Therefore, what are the defining events, mentality, attitudes, or beliefs that allowed this sort of behavior to develop? Yet again, Galtung's theory of structural violence involves another piece of information relevant to this discussion. "An exploitative caste system or race society would be seen as the consequence of a large-scale invasion leaving a thin, but powerful top layer of the victorious group after the noise of fighting is over" (Violene, Galtung, pg. 178). As referenced earlier, Malta is a small island that has been the focus of many attempts to be conquered several times in its 7000+ year history. These invasions certainly had a lasting cultural effect on Malta, which is represented through the attitudes, beliefs, and the behavior of the Maltese people today.

Their mentality is very hardened for several reasons. The first, and obvious reason, would be the nature of living on a small island that was the target of many attempted invasions. Any time another nation would attempt to conquer their small island, the men and any able young man would grab their arms and go to fight. It was a tradition and an honor to defend the country from invasion, and the Maltese today are very proud of gaining their Independence from Britain and holding onto a language and culture that is their own. Taken from a book, *Malta: Culture and Identity*, "To be more mobile or useful socially, it is generally the subordinates who tend to be impressed by or to seek to conform themselves to roles and models practiced or put forward by superiors and men of influence" (Frendo, pg. 8). This quote, written by a Maltese author on the

issue of Maltese culture suggests that it was in fact men who were the prototypes for a civilization.

In more present day however, due to the nature of an island, one would understand resources are limited, and the general population are very much isolated from other civilizations. Taken from the CIA World Factbook report, "Malta produces only about 20% of its food needs, has limited fresh water supplies, and has few domestic energy sources. Malta's geographic position between the EU and Africa makes it a target for illegal immigration, which has strained Malta's political and economic resources". Naturally, if there are limited resources, and people begin to feel the strain of illegal immigration, the Maltese will become resistant towards these people, or relevant to our argument, hesitant to a change in attitude or behavior some forms of integration may bring. Galtung argues that the disposition of the international community also contributes to this, "The whole 20th-century machinery of borders, border control, visas, passports, stamps, and similar irritants, is structural violence that impedes unrestrained contact with anybody, any "Other", including the "Very Different Other"" (Peace by, Galtung, pg. 67). There would have to be some drastic changes made to curb the norms or attitude of the Maltese towards cultural integration, however, "Timothy Wilson of the University of Virginia puts it more scientifically: 'One of the most enduring lessons of social psychology is that behavior change often precedes changes in attitude and feelings'"(Brooks, pg. 129). Which would imply some strict Maltese law making that would allow an easier path or amnesty towards illegal immigrants (however, if the way

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the Maltese government handled the Libyan refugee case, there is no hope of that in the near future).

The main point or argument is clearly not one based upon illegal immigration or integration, this simply helps to supplant an explanation for the even present day hesitancy of the Maltese society to change. Also Galtung would argue, "When the structure is threatened, those who benefit from structural violence, above all those who are at the top, will try to preserve the status quo so well geared to protect their interests. By observing the activities of various groups and persons when a structure is threatened, and more particularly by noticing who comes to the rescue of the structure, an operational test is introduced that can be used to rank the members of the structure in terms of their interest in maintaining the structure" (Violence, Galtung, pg. 179). In other words, while there are reasons even now, that create a mentality hesitant to change, there is also a deeper running reason which would be, why would people want the society to change? The 'men of influence' are completely satisfied with the situation. They hold the highest positions of government and the most powerful in the economic realm as well. They guarantee less competition through restricting immigrants and women, which take out two large portions of potential contenders. There is no incentive for them personally to hop on board with a more progressive mentality.

Why is this the case? Why do men in particular have a mentality that is stubborn towards this sort of progression, Galtung suggests a psychological one, "Turning to structure, but still close to religion: besides religion, how do human beings solve the problem of finite life? For women, eternal life is guaranteed through their children, their

offspring, particularly in matrilineal terms. For men the answer is less obvious. Patrilineal, patrilocal, even patriarchic systems are partial answers, and they start with giving children the (presumed) father's family name. Beyond that there is competition-entering eternity through corrosion-proof fame, whether gained in arts of science, sports of entertainment, business of politics, or by military prowess. The latter has the advantage that lasting geopolitical changes often carry the names of battles and generals, at least for a while" (Peace by, Galtung, pg. 44). While that may seem foreign or questionable it may have some influence as well.

Galtung continues with a tangible example, "There is something strange about the military profession as career opportunity. Where other professions offer a relatively steady opportunity to prove oneself, the military profession implies very many years of waiting for that sudden opportunity, a war. Of course war is then embraced with enthusiasm as the chance to enact the skills, as if an author were given access to paper only once or twice a lifetime. *Village Voice*, 26 March 1991, reports the enthusiasm among Desert Shield military in the Gulf area when Desert Storm was declared" (Peace by, Galtung, pg. 48). Therefore, for some men, in this case military personnel from Desert Storm, relish the opportunity of war and approach the idea of death on the battlefield such as Lieutenant Dan from the film *Forrest Gump*. However, currently there is not a war Malta is engaged in and not all the men are a part of the military. There is still a culture that has embraced the entire notion of; fighting, being a warrior, masculinity, and several sporting teams having the word "Knights" somehow implemented into their club names. Thus, these men will seek to gain this culturally

fabricated "status" in some other way. Through a culture of fighting or warding off enemy invasion, and hoping to leave their mark or legacy, Galtung would suggest that the entire system is hesitant to change partly due to the male ego. Or perhaps even the idea of the legacy a prominent man should leave behind that is threatened in some way or another by leveling the playing field.

Interesting to note, from the more recent media realm of Maltese society was an article published on November 26th, 2010, written by Matthew Vella of Malta Today online newspaper. "I asked a police inspector who came to give a talk to a girls' secondary school whether she preferred being referred to as *spettura* or perhaps *spettrici*. But she replied that feminine appelations like *surgenta* and *spettura* were considered disparaging and humorous in the corps, so she preferred the male form" (Vella). This would lead us to assume that women in roles of authority still feel insecure about their position, due to the male dominance in these roles, and the attitude put forward in society regarding women in these roles as well. Which helps supplant the notion that there is a tendency to associate power or authority in Malta with a man, not a woman.

VI. B. 1. Malta as a Patriarchal Society

"But in the politics with which most of us have to live, of course, most voices go unheard, and certain male visions-- those of the people in power-- carry the day. Women's voices and visions are pushed aside, shunted off to the margins of existence -- i.e. marginalized. This is especially true in issues of war and peace, as many theorists and practitioners have observed, war or the threat of war puts the patriarchy on center stage.

The sense of crisis creates a spirit of cooperation which generally silences all dissent, all doubts, all alternate voices" (Evangelista, pg. 2)

A related concept to this is, "Patriarchal terrorism, a product of patriarchal traditions of men's right to control 'their' women, is a form of terroristic control of wives by their husbands that involves the systematic use of not only violence, but economic subordination, threats, isolation, and other control tactics (Johnson, pg. 284). (Malta subsequently has rather high levels of domestic violence, and the non- legalization of divorce has been discussed as a gender restricting method in Maltese society if we are to make the point that patriarchy does indeed have a negative effect on society). Taken from a book written by Marshall Cavendish titled, *Italy, Malta, and San Marino,* "Maltese life has been shaped by traditional Mediterranean patriarchal society, Roman Catholicism, and the influence of the British in colonial times". These three areas highlighted in the book: *Italy, Malta, and San Marino,* help to tie in a good deal of what we have been discussing about the origin and nature of Maltese life. The idea of Maltese patriarchy is a culturally infused practice that helps to restrict the women's role in society. As Professor Grech mentioned earlier, the influence of the Catholic Church helps to instill the mentality of women being the sole care-giver of the children and why women should stay at home rather than pursue their own careers. As well as the influence of the British in colonial times which has left hints of anger, violence, and oppression, which were then transferred into society to remain stagnant and manifest itself in different ways over time. The residue of negative feeling and resentment towards the British rule is then transferred towards women due to the influence of the Catholic Church and the

patriarchal nature of the society. Also, the resistance of the Maltese public who resided

under this British rule to be open to new ideas, or to integrate their mentality due to the

feeling of mistrust and stubbornness left over from being stripped of their identity during

that time period. Also from the same book, on the issue of gender equality, "Women's

rights were relatively slow to be won in Malta. Women did not gain the vote until 1947

and subsequently did not play a major role in national politics, although Agatha Barbara

(1923-2002) occupied the ceremonial presidency from 1982 to 1987, the National

Council of Women of Malta monitors women's rights, and although equality is enshrined

in law, a gender pay differential is evident, and there are few women in higher executive

roles in Malta" (H. Frendo, pg. 848). This section will mostly discuss the relationship

between religion and patriarchal society.

While religion is open to different interpretations, there is a somewhat common

view that many of the widespread religions; Islam, Judaism, Hinduism, Christianity, etc.

are very male dominated. This would imply that if a society heavily relies on male

dominated values during its inception, or throughout its history, this would in turn create

a patriarchal society. Chrisler's research indicates, "In cultures characterized by hunting

and gathering, goddess worship grew out of reverence for nature and recognition of the

awesomeness of the life-producing power of women (Goodman 1988). Eisler's (1987)

research into archaeological data suggests a shift from goddess worship to patriarchal

religions. This change seems to have coincided with the realization of the male role in

reproduction and the development of tools that could be used to kill people or destroy

nature. Males began to subjugate rather than to cooperate with nature and to assert

dominance over women. Men may then have determined that their power over women, nature, and reproduction must be divinely ordained. They developed religious beliefs that were consistent with and supportive of this intent. The patriarchal religions addressed in this chapter- Judaism, Hinduism, and Christianity- express some of these ideologies and may have developed at the time of this shift from goddess worship to male deities, male-centeredness, and male domination over women" (Chrisler, pgs. 107-108). As we can surmise from this passage, there was an evolutionary shift in the ideology of all religions. As every individual was hoping to understand their place or role in society and gain their spirituality through a deep understanding of the world and universe around them, this shift occurred. There is some logic behind it; these were simple minded people who just assumed that because men were physically superior it must have been a sign from God that they were above the female gender.

The view that many of these mainstream religions are patriarchal, if correct, would in turn have a large contributing effect on society, as mentioned. A large deal of societies in Europe, (including present day Malta) have strong religious influences, therefore these societies were constructed with the rules and regulations of religion in mind. Therefore, patriarchy and how it is expressed through these religions, is both pertinent and relevant in terms of understanding the cultural violence displayed in Malta. While relating the patriarchal notion to societies as a whole and structural violence, Galtung had this to say, "Patriarchy is structural violence with men on top and women lower down, expressing itself…as countless forms of violence against women,

legitimized by certain cultural patterns; again to be understood relative to its peaceful

negations" (Peace by, Galtung, pg. 33)

Chrisler's research, "The Impact of Patriarchal Religion on Women" is relevant to

our discussion. This relates to Roman Catholicism and its previous and current impact on

Maltese society with regards to gender roles . It reads as follows, "Patriarchal religion

today, through its institutions, leaders, literature, rituals, rules, and regulations,

establishes systems and definitions of morality that affect the general population,

including those individuals or groups who are neither religiously observant nor identified.

Although particular practices differ among religions and even among different factions of

a given religion, all patriarchal religions profess a morality that controls the intimate and

everyday lives of women in the following manner:

1. by defining gender roles, including the limits of permissible sexual behavior,
   gender-specific dress codes, food restrictions and preparations, and
   gender-specific religious rituals and observances
2. by defining the family unit, including heterosexual imperatives, limitations of
   sexual partners, and ownership of women and children by males of
   household
3. by establishing rules and regulations that control reproduction
4. by establishing male hierarchies that perpetuate male dominance and female
   submissiveness within the family and within the religion, including
   institutionalized male leadership, and power within each religion and the

absence of women as deities, historical figures, role models, or priestly

officiants

Religious beliefs and religiously sanctioned customs further affect women:

    1. by limiting women's participation in the formulation of ideology and in the

        enforcement of religiously based rules of conduct, thus teaching women to

        be silent

    2. by determining and enforcing inheritance laws that keep women in economic

        dependency

    3. by the use of masculine and at times hierarchical and military language in

        referring to the deity, thus suppressing any identification with the

        feminine, and/or cooperative, peace-loving aspects of the divinity

    4. by insisting on adherence to a specific ideology and loyalty to its leaders and

        followers, separating and establishing hierarchies between ethno-religious

        groups, between believers and non-believers, between observing or

        practicing members and those who don't, thus preventing alliances

        between women of different religions, different classes, and different

        geographic origins

    5. by teaching and encouraging the externalization and projection of negative

        traits onto those who do not conform or belong to that religion, thus

        creating negative stereotypes and scapegoats

    6. by justifying the societal control of women's bodies by predominantly male

        politicians, doctors, lawyers, and ministers, in the name of religiously

sanctioned morality, thus limiting women's reproductive choices and

sexual behaviors" (Chrisler, pgs. 109-110).

We can relate some of these points and how they affect women in different areas of contemporary Maltese society. For example; the lack of child-care facilities for women, the inadequate support provided during maternity leave, and the legalization of divorce. Also, the act of abortion being illegal contributes by limiting a woman's autonomy over their own body, which also translates to a hindrance in terms of the decision making ability of a woman.

In a speech given on Maltese Women's Day (March 8th) of last year, by the Prime Minister Lawrence Gonzi he, "…acknowledged that the country's biggest shortcoming – the huge dearth of female presence in the workforce, at decision making levels, and even in politics, is due to family burdens" (Laiviera). This would imply that the Prime Minister, while making a speech on Women's Day, (a day to address equality and activism for women), that the main issue of women not being involved in decision-making roles of the political and economic spectrum was due to "family burdens". This statement makes a lot of assumptions, the most glaring being that the sole responsibility of these "family burdens" rests on a women's shoulders. As Galtung stated, there needs to be a carrier for cultural violence, having your Head of Government give a speech on the National Holiday of petitioning and hoping to recognize equality for women with misogynistic undertones will certainly qualify as a carrier. Equality activist Angela Callus, in response to Prime Minister Gonzi's emphasis on what women should do for

equality, had a differing opinion, " I am fed up hearing about how we should introduce measures for women," she said. "What we need are measures for both men and women because men are part of the issue too" (Laiviera). This is certainly a valid point, one cannot address the issues plaguing a society with only involving a portion or faction of the society in the deliberation and active processes necessary. CEO for the National Commission for the Promotion of Equality of Women Romina Bartolo stated, "The way maternity leave is seen by employers need to change – it is not a luxury or a frivolity, but essential if the country is to ensure future generations for sustainable development". National Council of Women representative Grace Attard added the notion of balancing out the family and work burdens between men and women. "She added that despite how there are many female graduates, the number of women in the workforce drops considerably by comparison. She said that this was due to women findings themselves under considerable pressures from having to keep up with career and family responsibilities, 'if not even of having also to care for children'. Also speaking during the event, Education and Employment Minister Dolores Cristina said that workplace flexibility when it comes to children is the biggest problem and one that is of great importance. Saying that it is true that Malta has a 'low' female workforce participation rate, she nevertheless added that 'it is increasing fast'" (Laiviera).

The current policy on maternity leave does not seem to be adequate or appropriate in supporting women. The Global Gender Gap report reports, "…an employee on maternity leave is entitled to full wages during the first 13 weeks of leave, with the 14th week unpaid; social security pays maternity benefit at a flat rate for a maximum of 13

weeks for those not covered under the Employment and Industrial Relations Act". The

National Council of Women of Malta commented recently in a news article for the Times

of Malta, "The NCW has made a number of recommendations to the government to

address the issue of maternity leave. It suggested that the government should subsidize

employers' social security payment for all or part of the maternity leave, that financial

incentives be provided to the private sector and that the government commissioned a

study on the cost of non-participation of women of child rearing age in different

occupations. The council also suggested strengthening social security measures for self-

employed women and introducing legal provisions on parental leave" (Incentives to

Boost). There are all legitimate ideas for creating better policies. However, these ideas

need to also address the issue of education or awareness for men and women, or adjusting

the attitudes towards women in the workplace through education. We mentioned earlier

there is a need to alter rhetoric in children's school books, also the curriculum needs to be

adjusted in schools as well. However, the mentality or the mindset must also be altered if

any of these changes will have a long term effect. One can be educated in a classroom

about the evils of gender inequality; however if in the home, work place, Prime Minister's

speeches, there are underlying forms of misogyny, then there is indeed cultural violence,

which in turn will reinforce the structural violence.

Abortion is also illegal in Malta, this is more than likely due to the deeply

religious foundation inherent in Maltese culture. However, human beings are obviously

free thinking creatures, therefore, if a woman wants an abortion, certainly she could still

find a way to do it through an illegal method. Which could in turn be largely dangerous to

the mother as well. The very notion of abortion being illegal affects the woman more than the man, this is biological of course because a man cannot become pregnant. It limits choice, and freedom over a woman's body. Also important to note is the lack of child-care facilities in Malta, as equality activists have highlighted, which could also be a factor for a woman wanting an abortion. This is simply because if a woman gets pregnant but also wants to have a career, they know there is no way in Malta to accomplish both. Which means a woman has to choose, but if she cannot choose the abortion, this will skew her choice towards having the child, and will in turn take women out of the work force. This is also either a result of or a reason supporting this inequality between men and women in the work force.

Obviously in a free market economy, the market determines the need. However, due to the numbers of tertiary educated women (which is higher than men), there should be a large need for these facilities, barring other factors. As mentioned previously, women typically do not have these higher roles in the work force, so they potentially may be lacking the funds typically to open these facilities. For men to open a child care facility would violate the strong Maltese male identity, and does not seem likely. Therefore, one suggestion of who has the ability and funds necessary to do this would be the Government. This idea may be rejected immediately simply due to the lack of cultural understanding that there is a need for this in the economic sphere of Malta. However, if the Government were to fund some of these facilities, they would create jobs directly, and then it would also create jobs for women indirectly due to allowing them to place their children in protective care while they seek to further advance or establish their careers. It

would level the playing field as well. However, when the Head of Government, Prime Minister Lawrence Gonzi is making politically insensitive speeches on days that call for gender equality, it doesn't seem likely that the Government is putting their best foot forward on this matter. The only way for this to progress, is if the women of Malta lobby for this proposition heavily, but also as Angela Callus stated, this men's issue as well, which means the men of Malta who has influence need to step forward. It has been proven time and time again, that societies that do not fully utilize their women suffer as a whole. Which means gender inequality is not just a Maltese women's problem, but in fact it is a Maltese problem.

CHAPTER 7: What can be done?

The question now remains, what can be done? While there are several different approaches to these issues currently plaguing the Maltese society, and others will be introduced, a very general application of Galtung's idea for conflict transformation will be presented. Firstly, Galtung proposes, "Peace Education and University Peace Studies. Education and study at all levels as a way of transforming the culture" (Peace by, Galtung, pg. 34) Of course, as we have earlier addressed, a widening of the knowledge and education is necessary. Adjusting rhetoric in children's school books was an idea offered by Professor Omar Grech; adjusting the manner in which teachers at a young age treat their students, addressing the media's role because it has so much influence in any culture, and obviously managing the way political figures and individuals of influence address society. Why is there such a focus on implementing these programs at a young age? As David Brooks mentions in his book, *The Social Animal,* "The biggest impact comes from focusing on the young…learners learn and skill begets skill, so investments in children have much bigger payoffs than investments in people who are older. Parenting classes teach teenage moms how to care for their children. Nurse home visits help provide structure for disorganized families and provide on-the-job pointers for young mothers. Quality education programs have lasting effects on childhood development. Sometimes the IQ gains fade away as children from quality preschools enter the regular

school population. But social and emotional skills do not seem to fade away, and those produce lasting gains- higher graduation rates and better career outcomes" (Brooks, pg. 331).

Essentially, implementing these programs is seen as an investment, and when dealing with any investment, one must take the route of highest yield potential, which would mean applying them at a very young age. This is also an age of highly impressionable minds that will carry these social and emotional lessons, as David Brooks outlines. While on one side we work on addressing the issue of raising awareness, we must also implement strategic programs on training those administering these skills as well. To elaborate, teaching children is one thing, but teaching educators so that they are able to convey those skills is also an integral piece of the puzzle.

While this seems to be an overwhelming amount of information to digest, Galtung analyzes conflict transformation of structural conflicts, "In a structural conflict there is, by definition, structural violence. The basic contradiction/content of the conflict lies in the verticality of the structure, the repression (of freedom) in the political case and the exploitation (of well-being) in the economic case. But this repressive/exploitative structure is then protected by other structural (meaning operating regardless of intent) arrangements" (Peace by, Galtung, pgs. 93-94) He addresses the point that while there are immediate issues that need to be addressed, this will not simply resolve the entire problem. There are several different factors that help maintain this structurally violent infrastructure, and they must be eliminated as well. "More precisely: preventing consciousness-formation, conscientization: penetration, conditioning of the mind above,

segmentation, those below getting limited vision of reality; preventing mobilization, organization of those below: fragmentation, splitting those below away from each other, marginalization, setting those below apart from the rest" (Peace by, Galtung, pgs. 93-94). What Galtung is arguing by "preventing consciousness-formation", is that these very structures in a society, essentially disrupt free thought and the ability for an individual to "think for themselves" and also to think autonomously with their own independent definition of fairness and morality in mind. What is deemed "appropriate in society" will then become each individual's basis for determining right and wrong dependent on these structurally violent infrastructures. "Conscientization", allows this viewpoint to pervade every free thinking individualist and "conditions their mindset" for the "penetration" of the approved societal mentality, and blocks the "penetration" of a different or new idea. Almost as if people are brainwashed in a sense. The three factors highlighted from the book, *Italy, Malta, and San Marino:* "…traditional Mediterranean patriarchal society, Roman Catholicism, and the influence of the British in colonial times…", have constructed this mindset.

"Segmentation" is when people receive a "limited vision of reality", which in turn "prevents mobilization or organization from those below". This is also how many dictators quell the general public, by casting them in a shadow of doubt which causes them to believe they do not have the ability to overcome. Also, being put into a structure like this has other adverse effects, "In their book *The Spirit Level,* Richard Wilkinson and Kate Pickett argue that the mere fact of being low on the status totem pole brings its own deep stress and imposes its own psychic costs. Inequality and a feeling of exclusion

causes social pain, which leads to more obesity, worse health outcomes, fewer social connections, more depression, and anxiety. Wilkinson and Pickett point, for example, to a study of British civil servants. Some of the civil servants had high-status, high-pressure jobs. Others had low-status, low-pressure jobs. You'd think the people in the high-pressure jobs would have higher rates of heart disease, gastrointestinal disease, and general sickness. In fact, it was the people in the low-pressure jobs. Low status imposes its own costs" (Brooks, pg. 330).

In this same regard, "fragmentation" which is the "splitting of those below away from each other" is related here due to the lessening of social connections, the higher rate of depression, just the general feeling of hopelessness that reduces the want or desire in a human being to embrace another in a social atmosphere. The final stroke of this social injustice is the idea of "marginalization". This is simply the "we are better than you" mentality in which the people below are "set apart from the rest". This is the ultimate feeling of degradation for some. It is one thing for a lower class to know a higher class feels negatively about it; however it is an entirely different thing to know a higher class feels absolutely nothing for them at all. In Maltese society, the notion of not providing adequate maternity leave, not providing opportunities for higher work force occupations or political offices, not allocating enough child care facilities, paint the society as a male dominant portrait.

It is a tall task to adjust the mindset, culture, behavior, attitude, political system, economic structure, etc. of an entire country or society. There are different ideas that could be utilized as well. There is a program and strategy that has proven successful in

many areas of the world that currently marginalize women. This program is called the "Pathway to Empowerment" by CARE relief agency. (While some money will be necessary to help institute these programs, the general idea is that the government will provide loans into well worthwhile projects that will then be repaid with interest over time).

Taken from the CARE website, "In CARE's six decades of experience, we have come to see how women's well-being is the fuel that drives vibrant, healthy societies. Yet today, discrimination against women and girls siphons off societies' best resource to overcome poverty. They are less likely to be educated, less likely to receive the health care they need, less likely to control family finances, and less likely to have a voice in the social and political systems that shape their lives. CARE believes that if we target these key injustices and denials, we can break the vicious cycle of poverty. Our plan is called PATHWAY TO EMPOWERMENT because it's a journey forward, together: women and men, young and old, wealthy, poor and those in between. When each of us has the opportunity to contribute to our full potential, we'll achieve the lasting change we seek" (About CARE). While women in Malta do not suffer the harsh educational and economic limitations or maternal health struggles that the women of sub-Saharan Africa suffer, (where CARE is focusing their efforts), they do address the issue of female gender roles in the political and social atmosphere.

"PATHWAY TO EMPOWERMENT engages women and girls at key moments for greatest impact: when applying classroom skills in the home and community, when earning a living, and when pregnant and raising an infant" (About CARE). As the CARE

website explains, "Education is more than spelling tests and math equations. It's more than text books, maps and quizzes. Education also means thinking critically and solving problems, yet even these are just a portion of the promise of quality education. When fully realized, that promise includes learning how to get along with others, overcoming challenges, accepting leadership responsibilities and planning for success. Quality schools are incubators for healthy societies" (About CARE). This is similar to an argument David Brooks made in his book, *The Social Animal,* with regards to American policy writing on the topic of equality of education for all. "The first generation of human-capital policies gave people access to schools, colleges, and training facilities. Second-generation policies would have to help them develop the habits, knowledge, and mental traits they needed to succeed there. It's not enough to give a student the chance to go to a community college if, once she gets there, she finds the requirements confusing, the guidance counselors rude and unavailable, the registration process baffling, the important courses already full, and the graduation requirements mysterious. These obstacles defeat students lacking social capital. Second-generation human-capital policies have to pay attention to the hidden curriculum of life as much as to the overt one" (Brooks, pg. 332). Therefore, there needs to be more focus on the interweaving of the fabric of society to help women overcome these societal struggles. As Galtung explained earlier, "Personal violence represents change and dynamism -not only ripples on waves, but waves on otherwise tranquil waters. Structural violence is silent, it does not show - it is essentially static, it is the tranquil waters. In a static society, personal violence will be registered, whereas structural violence may be seen as about as natural as the air

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around us" (Violence, Galtung, pg. 173). These hidden barriers are often times the most frustrating for an individual who is attempting to advance themselves in society. While on paper, it seems that all the opportunities are set and provided, but this may be deceiving. Take for example Brooks' argument if, "…the guidance counselors are rude and unavailable", this is a sort of structural barrier that would be similar to a woman hoping to advance in the parliament, and she must be trained to overcome a barrier such as that. While education cannot account for every single possible struggle or roadblock, if programs are implemented correctly they can equip women with the skills necessary to accomplish almost everything.

When speaking on this very issue, CARE has three main points for achieving educational equality or, as they label it, the *POWER WITHIN* program for women, is explained as follows; "(1) Increase the number of girls completing primary school through equitable, quality education; better transitions between grade levels; learning opportunities for older girls; supportive households and communities; and gender sensitive education policies. (2) Build girls' leadership skills through diverse extracurricular activities; new social networks; empowering relationships with educators, families and peers; and participation in voluntary civic action. (3) Advocate for the rights of girls by addressing harmful traditional practices, reducing risk and vulnerability, and identifying role models and champions for girls" (About CARE). While Malta does have equal rates of primary, secondary, and tertiary education, it is a matter of what the Maltese women are able to do with this education that is of importance. Two aspects of point number one are relevant, "…supportive households and communities…", which

would mean altering the mindset of the people of Malta as a whole. Casting aside typical gender roles for occupations and broadening the horizon in terms of allowing people to engage whatever profession they feel fit. While attempting to reconfigure this aspect of point number one, the other side would be ensuring, "…gender sensitive education policies". These two points working together will help Malta progress.

With point number two, if there were programs instituted at a young age to give more girls a sense of entitlement, it would produce wonderful results. Malcolm Gladwell speaks on this very notion when discussing the differences between American children raised in a lower economic setting vs. children raised in a more affluent setting. As Gladwell states, "It is important to understand where the particular mastery of that moment comes from. It's not genetic. (He) didn't inherit the skills to interact with authority figures from his parents and grandparents the way he inherited the color of his eyes. Nor is it racial: it's not a practice specific to either black or white people…It's a *cultural* advantage. (He) has those skills because over the course of his young life, his mother and father- in the manner of educated families- have painstakingly taught them to him, nudging and prodding and encouraging and showing him the rules of the game…" (Gladwell, pgs. 107-108). (While the comparison is not an exact match due to different cultures, countries, environments, etc., taking what we know about structural violence, I believe we can conclude children raised in low-income settings endure social injustice as well, and using this conclusion we can make the comparison between American children of low-income settings and the women of Malta).

Taken also from Malcolm Gladwell, from his book, *Outliers: The Story of Success*, "The middle-class parents talked things through with their children, reasoning with them. They didn't just issue commands. They expected their children to talk back to them, to negotiate, to question adults in positions of authority. If their children were doing poorly at school, the wealthier parents challenged their teachers. They intervened on behalf of their kids…The poor parents, by contrast, are intimidated by authority. They react passively and stay in the background…the middle-class parenting style 'concerted cultivation'. It's an attempt to actively 'foster and assess a child's talents, opinions, and skills'. Poor parents tend to follow, by contrast, a strategy of 'accomplishment of natural growth'. They see it as their responsibility to care for their children but to let them grow and develop on their own…But in practical terms, concerted cultivation has enormous advantages. The heavily scheduled middle-class child is exposed to a constantly shifting set of experiences. She learns teamwork and how to cope in highly structured settings. She is taught how to interact comfortably with adults and to speak up when she needs to… the middle-class children learn a sense of 'entitlement'…'They acted as though they had a right to pursue their own individual preferences and to actively manage interactions in institutional settings. They appeared comfortable in those settings; they were open to sharing information and asking for attention…It was common practice among middle-class children to shift interactions to suit their preferences'. They knew the rules…By contrast, the working-class and poor children were characterized by 'an emerging sense of distance, distrust, and constraint'… They didn't know how to get their way or how to 'customize'…whatever environment they were in, for their best purposes" (Gladwell, pgs.

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103-105). When translated into Maltese society, this simply means that the system is geared for the men to be more successful in that society due to the upbringing and socialization, while the women are further pushed onto the periphery.

Point number three addresses another serious issue relevant to Maltese society. This is, "…identifying role models and champions for girls". This aspect remains an issue because of the difficulty for women to gain these higher positions in the political and economic arenas, which in turn reduces the amount of "role models and champions for girls". However, after implementing different policies or advancing education this issue, it will almost eliminate itself over time. There are several women who are striving for gender equality and are highly notable such as; Renee Laiviera, Doris Bingley, Ruth Farrugia, Sue Mercieca, etc. The late, Miss Agatha Barbara who was the only female President Malta has ever had, must be mentioned in this list as potentially the most prominent female champion of Maltese history. Through adopting different strategies, raising awareness, and welcoming education there will be several new emerging women leaders and role models in the Maltese society for young girls and women alike.

Moving into the second segment of their *PATHWAY TO EMPOWERMENT* program, they have a program titled, *ACCESS AFRICA*, due to their primary focus on the African continent. This program revolves around the idea of micro-financing for poor or low-income families to women specifically. The reason why women are selected is because, "CARE believes that the status of women in the developing world is the key to fighting and ending global poverty. They are the linchpins of their families, and therefore of their communities. They are powerful. With education, skills and basic resources, they

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can become catalysts for change. Women can help build a better world for all" (About

CARE). Also as a woman named Shanthi Satchithanandam speaking at the Second

International UNESCO Forum on the Culture of Peace (1995) offered, "…one of the

reasons why women are especially effective as peacemakers is exactly because they are

marginalized, pushed aside when the 'important' stuff is going to take place, and are

therefore not part of the status competition not particularly threatening to those who are.

This double-edged aspect of women's social identity is an interesting one: precisely

because women have been kept out of the hierarchy of power and the vicious competition

that goes on within, they are freer to take significant actions toward peace. They can

bargain more honestly and in a greater spirit of compromise because of their egos are not

involved in power games" (Evangelista, pg. 9).

Admittedly, these issues mostly address conflict and war torn nations or countries

of severe poverty and how these micro-financing programs bring about change. However,

simply because Malta is at a more advanced state does not mean that some of these

remedies are not applicable. The way micro-financing could be utilized in Malta is if the

government were to finance women-specific projects with lower interest, or have

programs that secure loans for Maltese women who present a solid business plan. This

would put the power of autonomy into a larger number of women's hands. This is not to

make the claim that the women of Malta are incapable of beginning their own business,

organization, corporation, etc. However, if given more opportunities to do so, more

women would have the ability to enter the higher echelons of the workforce, in which

women are very much under-represented. Also, the Government would get paid back the

loans with interest; therefore the Government would not even be losing money, but gaining more funds to be able to provide more of these loans to more aspiring women.

Why are financial means important? As Galtung states when addressing the deprivation that structural violence creates, "They are deprived because the structure deprives them of chances to organize and bring their power to bear against the top dogs, as voting power, bargaining power, striking power, violent power - partly because they are atomized and disintegrated, partly because they are overawed by all the authority the top dogs present" (Violence, Galtung, pg. 177). Obviously, financial gains can transfer into a voice, or some power in a sense, this is just the nature of raising capital which could in turn develop resources. If women were granted more opportunities to enter this realm, they could improve their; voting power, bargaining power, striking power, violent power, etc. due to their ability to gain resources of higher quality and quantity. In terms of applying Galtung's relative terms here, it would de-couple the power relations, and force a re-coupling when these Maltese women prove themselves to be worthy recipients of these micro-loans.

The last step of the *PATHWAY TO EMPOWERMENT* project implemented by CARE is addressing the health of the mother when pregnant or raising an infant. However, the availability of medicine during child birth is not an issue according to the Global Gap Gender report. The only issue would be the supporting of raising the children during their infant stages; which, as discussed earlier, would benefit from providing economic incentive from the Government to build child care facilities and adjusting the male perception of helping with "family burdens" or with these child-care facilities

directly. As a whole, Malta does contain structural violence per Galtung's definition. However, it is not to the point where it is un-resolvable. There is enough resources and the opportunity is there for Malta to cast off its male dominant identity for the hopes of a better tomorrow for both the men and the women of Malta as a whole. It will take a great deal of work, and a lot of patience but it is possible and necessary.

However, as stated, there are different ideas that can be presented, and Galtung does offer a methodology as well. Here are four steps for overcoming structural violence (in the following order: confrontation, struggle, de-coupling, and re-coupling)" (Peace by, Galtung, pgs. 93-94). These terms are pretty straightforward. First, one would have to confront the issue, work through the conflict cycle during the struggle, de-couple the groups (whether it be psychologically, physically, or mentally), and then re-couple meaning, to bring everyone back together as one piece. It is easier said than done. The question arises then, what should or can be done? Published in a report, Concluding Observations offered at the 31st session of the UN Elimination of Discrimination Against Women, we can present some of these suggestions to help eliminate Malta's structural violence.   It is safe to assume that confrontation has clearly been established due to women's organizations of Malta which have been working with the UN to express their concerns about equality. Therefore, the point in which Galtung's methodology would best apply, would be somewhere between the stage of struggle and de-coupling. Let us move into some of the points of discussion from the report to see what some of the suggestions of the Committee were. One point that was reiterated, was adjusting the gender stereotypes in the country. This is a point made time and time again when referencing the

country of Malta. The committee suggested that there are advertising campaigns

introduced to help curb these stereotypes. For instance, as Frendo stated previously, men

will follow men of 'influence' or a prototype, (which is also a common term used by

theorist Volkan). Therefore, if there are Maltese ad-campaigns that put men in the role of

caring for the child, then more men may break this stereotype.

     The committee also claimed, a point we had already made previously in our

economic section, " …women are severely under-represented in the labor market in

general and in senior and decision-making positions in particular. Furthermore, the

Committee notes with concern the strong occupational segregation, both horizontal and

vertical, the concentration of women in part-time jobs, and the persistent wage gap

between women and men" (Malta: Concluding Observations). While we have cited our

own reasoning, the Committee cited this explanation, "Given the low representation of

women in the labor force, the Committee is concerned about the lack of information

regarding the availability of childcare facilities for children under age 3 as well as

information concerning the percentage of children aged 3 years or over attending

kindergarten, and on whether the available facilities meet the needs of working parents.

The Committee also lacks information on the implementation of plans for after-school

care. The Committee is further concerned about the apparently insufficient opportunities

for parents employed in the private sector to balance their employment and family

responsibilities" (Malta: Concluding Observations). These are all points that could help

influence women receiving more opportunity in the labor force. Also, a last contribution

offered by the Committee would be, "…the State party conduct thorough research on the

current and future potential of women wanting to re-enter the labor market and to design, based on such research, a comprehensive policy for counseling, training and retraining these women aimed at reintegrating them into the labor market" (Malta: Concluding Observations). This point would be necessary simply because advertising campaigns and gender stereotype restructuring will take time, however if policies were implemented to reach this target audience of the women wishing to re-integrate into the labor force, it would create a change instantly. (This would assume that the children of these women re-entering would be engaged in primary schooling at a point where the women could fully re-integrate) These are all suggestions provided by the UN Committee with reference to Malta. While a lot of progressive points were discussed from this UN sanctioned event, the point remains however, this advice was given in 2004, and in 2011 the Global Gender Gap Report still cites a bias in gender roles, women's role in the Parliament, and the women's roles in the labor force.

CHAPTER 8: Conclusion

"A healthy society is a mobile society, one in which everybody has a shot at the good life, in which everybody has reason to strive, in which people rise and fall according to their desserts" (Brooks, pgs. 327-328). This quote by David Brooks is simply saying a healthy society, if managed appropriately, will be one in which success or progress will be merit based. Under Galtung's definition, a healthy society would then also be a society capable of securing social justice, which is essentially the same thing. Who should thus be held responsible for creating or maintaining a healthy society? Is this the responsibility of the powerful elites? Is it the state's job? Theodore Roosevelt once claimed, "The true function of the state, as it interferes in social life, should be to make the chances of competition even more, not to abolish them". However, policies may only go so far if the people choose not to abide by them firmly and extensively. Referencing Galtung's model, this sort of progress or societal change can come from the bottom-up. A grassroots attitudinal revolution of the way gender roles are viewed in Maltese society seems to be necessary. As Benjamin Disraeli, the famous former British Prime Minister and literary figure once claimed, "The spiritual nature of man is stronger than codes or constitutions. No government can endure which does not recognize that for its foundation and no legislation lasts which does not flow from this foundation". Therefore, how will these roles that are so far embedded into the history and culture of the Maltese society be

altered or even destroyed? To alter the culture of a society with over 7000 years of history is certainly a complicated matter. This is why a combination of both, policies instituted by the government with incentives as well as a focus on a mental re-conditioning will be necessary. As referenced earlier in this work, educational re-working and awareness training are two necessary factors. These must be applied at a young age to get the most out of these programs as well. Also, a conditioning of the instructors of the Maltese youth is necessary. This will put the gears in motion for the advancement of Maltese society in the future.

What about relatively immediate progress then? There are a few different ideas to adjust some of the structures put in place for an overall betterment. For instance, the government may look into programs to help subsidize maternity leave, as well as providing incentives for individuals to build and operate child-care facilities so that women, who typically shoulder the burden for raising the family, may have a place for their child to be taken care of while they pursue their careers. (Incentives to Boost). The government could also enact policies of equality in terms of work force participation in the upper echelons of society. For instance, not necessarily mandate a requirement in terms of representation, but perhaps if the men and women in a particular office have equal representation that could lead to a tax break or some other financial incentive. In this manner of policy making, the general population will not feel forced or coerced into doing something, but will feel as if they have the control or decision making freedom. As a general rule of conduct in every day societal interactions, the average person does not enjoy the feeling of being forced or coerced into making a decision. This will eliminate

the feeling and put the power in their hands. The decision then would be, "As a free thinking individual, you may make this decision to give you and your business an advantage, or you may not take this incentive and suffer the consequences of your own decision". It would be hard to believe that many would disagree with a proposition as open as that.

The ball then lands in the employer's court and the decision becomes, "is it worth it to hire a female over a male for a financial gain, even if it violates my culturally archaic mentality?" For the answer to be yes, this would mean that the incentive must be great enough to provide a "no-brainer", so to speak, so that even the most skewed individual could see the error in not selecting this route. This also leads into the largest struggle for any sort of policy writing, which is the financial means necessary to accomplish the policies' objectives. One could suggest an increase in taxes, if possible, to help support these programs, however depending on the Maltese public citizenry reaction, this may not be well received. Therefore, where will this money come from? Would the European Union be a potential funder of such projects? If one considers the current European financial status to answer this question it would be hard to expect it. Which is why micro-financing would seem to be the most realistic approach.

At this point, it is necessary to state the efforts of a Cambodian Women's Group who brought their project to the UN sponsored, 1995 Beijing Women's Conference. They had created a weaving project and had constructed a write-up known as "Women Weave the World". The write-up elaborated earnestly and with sincerity, "Women of the world, our lives interwoven in the global village are planning to link our diverse heritage to our

common future with a woven ribbon. This ribbon will be thousands of pieces from every village and corner of the world and be taken and stitched together at the U.N. World Conference on Women in Beijing. In every part of the world, weaving is a skill possessed by women and an activity undertaken to generate income. More than this, weaving is an expression of our lives, our love, and our aspirations. The 20 kilometer ribbon will be a symbol of this unity, the vision of **Women weaving the world together".** Furthermore, "An article further down the page carried the heading, 'While Men Unravel'. This, of course, was war news" (Evangelista, pg. 11).

This example is insinuating that women are more equipped and constructed for peace, while men are more suited for the attitudes and actions of violence. This is a nature vs. nurture argument. Are women better at peace-keeping because they are socialized to be that way? Or is it their role as a member of the female gender that automatically makes them this way? In either case, there are supporting arguments, why is this relevant? It is simply relevant because we can use both aspects of the argument to help address some of the gender inequality issues that plague Malta. Through this document we have evaluated the economic and political realms of Maltese society and have uncovered some fascinating data. We have introduced Galtung's theories of structural and cultural violence as well, however the question thus remains, how does it relate? Using our conclusions from the data, we can thus relate the problems to these theories to help us paint a better picture of the situation we are facing.

These issues can be consolidated into two primary areas of concern. These areas are the lack of political representation of women and the lack of women in the higher

echelons of the economic realm. While on paper, we examine this statement, the initial reaction may be, "it is worse elsewhere, this is just a matter of being represented, maybe the women are not vying for these positions, or maybe they are not working as hard as the men". Through the data collected however, we've concluded women are actually educated in higher numbers, and more are securing tertiary education. We have also concluded that women do secure positions in the work force, but they begin to level off at the highest levels of society. The way it relates to Galtung's theories is simply that these systems are operated by men, for men. The men hold the highest positions, the roles in Parliament, etc. therefore they dictate the way things are, rather than the way things should be. A clear indicator of violence, as Galtung claims, is a difference in the actual and the potential. This is clearly that sort of situation in action. Therefore, structural violence is present, clearly.

"One may argue that all cases of structural violence can, by closer scrutiny, be traced back to personal violence in their pre-history" (Violence, Galtung, pg. 178). The question becomes, what was the personal violence in Malta's pre-history? The answer is the cultural violence that reinforces these structurally violent systems put in place in Maltese society. Through examining the history of fighting and defending the island from invasion (most recently the British Empire) we come across the reasoning for the lack of women in politics. Also, the heavy influence of the Catholic Church reinforces the mentality of the women as the child-raiser and the man as the breadwinner, which creates systems that do not allow women to climb the economic ladder. Women are seen as weak in decision-making roles because of reinforced gender stereotypes through thousands of

years of Maltese history. These structures are in place, but are almost invisible on the surface. Almost everything about Malta shows gender equality on paper, except for the lack of representation in the higher echelons of Maltese society, which is simply due to a cultural and historical reason, rather than any logical one. These barriers exist because of a large number of factors having been brought together; the size of Malta makes it able to isolate itself and resist change, the history of attempted invasion created the hardened 'warrior' or 'strong male identity', and the influence of the Catholic Church created the patriarchal society, which in turn all contribute to structural violence. All these reasons create the social injustice, and these ideas also create an environment resistant to change. Joining the EU was the most progressive action Malta could have had for women, and until the financial issue is presented with regards to creating a better livable environment for everyone as a whole, change will be slow. It is unfortunate however that there must be a reason presented for a nation to recognize equality for all of their citizenry, rather than simply recognizing it for the sake of fairness and justice.

"So women weave while men 'unweave', and women are able to weave, to bring people and ideas and threads together at least in part *because* they are standing on the periphery, the margin, where the view is different and different rules apply. But it is precisely this outer position that enables women to deconstruct the rules of the center games, to question the assumptions, of what, for instance, *power* and *security* should mean, or even the older assumption that the rules of war should not be questioned. And if when women speak, men seem to think they knew those things all along, that is probably because women's new questions and new perceptions are leading all people back to their

own inner voices, which, yes, have always been there, right in the center of life, but have

simply not been heard" (Evangelista, pg. 11)

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