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# PEACE, ENVIRONMENT AND SECURITY: A GENDER PERSPECTIVE FROM THE THIRD WORLD- IPRA 40 YEARS AFTER GRÖNINGEN

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# **END OF COLD WAR SITUATION**

 The end of the Cold War coarsely exposed North-South differences (World Bank, 1995). In the South it revealed existing disparity between social classes (CEPAL, 2003), ethnic and religious groups (Oswald, 2004), urban and rural areas (CEPAL, 2003), but especially gender-based discrimination (UNFEM, 2003, CEPAL, 2003). Multilateral organizations (World Bank: WB, IMF, UNDP, UNESCO) in charge of finances, development tools, debts and debt servicing established the Millenium Goals in order to reduce the gaps between the four worlds (Nuscheler, 1995, Senghaas, 2003), and mitigate within country disparities (CEPAL, 2004, Galtung, 1972; Senghaas, 1972, Sen, Nussbaumer, 2002).

# **UN MILLENIUM GOALS**

 The core Proposals consist in 8 objectives and 18 concrete goals: reducing extreme poverty (less than a dollar PPP per day), reduction of infant malnutrition rates, halving infant mortality by the year 2015; and complementary actions such as gender equality, alphabetization, education, and health improvements (UN, 2000).

#### Methodology for Evaluating UN Millenium Goals by CEPAL

- Poverty is a complex social and economic phenomenon (CEPAL), it is culturally conditioned.
- Poverty contains "a nucleus of despotic irreducible character" (A. Sen, 1983).
- "Poverty is defined as a global value of income shortfall". To reduce "poverty, it is necessary to combine the economic growth with the reduction of income gap inside and between countries, alphabetization, school efficiency, health, poverty alleviation programs, employment, productivity, gender equity, overcoming hunger thanks to access to full basic food basket, increase of family monetary income, number of family members, rural-urban area and human capital" (CEPAL, 2004:16-23). CEPAL includes also other means defined by Forster, Greer & Thorbecke.
- The "isopoverty model" shows that reduction of internal gaps and economic growth are important. For instance, Brazil should reduce extreme poverty from 4% to 2%, but would require 86% of economic growth to do it- 4%/ year, equivalent growth of the last 20 years- or 48 years within the present conditions. In order to reduce in 7 years to a half extreme poverty, Gini index should be reduced by 2.5 (p.37).
- In present conditions, only seven of 18 countries in LA will achieve Millenium Goals: Argentina, Chile, Colombia, Dominican Republic, Honduras, Panama, Uruguay. Ecuador, Paraguay, Peru and Venezuela have to change their policies and Bolivia and San Salvador have severe problems-.

#### **GLOBALISATION AND INTEGRATED HUMAN SECURITY**

- New threats to global and personal security, linked to 11-9 and 11-3 terrorist acts, give scientists and peace researchers a renewed opportunity to think about the importance of development processes and human security.
- Nevertheless, the development paradigm is becoming more complex (Küng, 2003).
- It is being homogenized by a process of globalization, characterized by instant world communications (Castells, 2002, Habermas, 2001), financial flows (Mesiasz, 2003), and an increasing trade interdependence (Solis and Diaz, 2004), controlled by multinationals enterprises (Kaplan, 2002).
- Free market ideology, private competition, deregulation and increasing privatization processes and enterprise mergers (WB, IMF, G-7), linked to a shrinking state intervention, are the new "growth motors" championed by multinational enterprises and multilateral organism of Bretton Woods.
- The mortgage of this economic model of late capitalism (Habermas, 2000, Saxe Fernández, Oswald, 2003), which concentrates income and wealth through unemployment -excluding youth and elders from the labour market-is politically and military supported by a superpower, its allies, and economic elites in the developing countries. Military superiority, and an increasing homogenized culture is based on consumerism and mass media manipulation (Castells, *op.cit.*).

# **NEW GLOBAL CONFLICT FOCI**

- The proposed growth model has created four main conflict foci;
- poverty, marginalization and exclusion;
- militarism and physical violence;
- gender, indigenous and minority discrimination;
- environmental destruction and natural resource depletion.

	WORLD GNP GROWTH (US\$ OF THE YEAR 2000)								
	1961	1971	1981	1991	2000	61-70	71-80	81-90	91-2000
Asia	7.4	4.5	3.5	3.7	3.9	8.46	4.49	4.69	2.82
First World	_	_	-	0.6	3.4	_	_	_	2.08
Third World	2.9	5.8	2.1	5	5.2	5.59	10.35	3.57	4.46
Europe	-	-	-	0.3	3.4	-	-	-	1.54
Arab Count.	_	-	-	5.1	3.9	_	_	-	2.91
S. America	6.5	7.1	3	4.2	3	4.72	5.46	0.87	3.12
Black Africa	_	_	-	0.4	3	_	_	1.65	2.0
World	4.6	3.9	1.8	1.3	3.7	5.18	3.59	3.0	2.52

Source: World Ressource Institute, 2004,

internet

		_				
EU						
USA	38	32.9	4.65	10.533	2	
Japan	38	13.4	2.09	9.852	4	
Germany	27	6.0	1.36	2.242	6	
UK	26	4.6	0.99	1.544	8	
France	26	4.2	0.97	1.543	7	
China	1	3.7	20.84	1.329	3	
Italy	22	3.5	0.95	1.26	9	
Canada	24	2.3	0.51	760	13	
Mexico	62	2.0	1.62	578	14	
Spain	16	1.9	0.65	651	15	
India	0.5			510	5	
Russia	2			252	10	
Brazil	4			715	11	
S. Korea	11			515	12	
Indonesia	0.8			174	16	
Source: World Ressource Institute, 2004, internet						

**GNP** 

**CAPITA** 

**GNP** %

WORLD

% WORLD

PUPULAT.

**GNP** 

**BILLION** 

PPP

**BILLION** 

10.840

10.400

3.550

2.180

1.520

1.540

5.700

1.440

923

900

828

2.660

1.350

1.340

931

663

PPP/CAP

28.600

37.600

28.000

26.600

25.300

25.700

4.400

25.000

29.400

9.000

20.700

2.540

9.300

7.600

19.400

3.100

**RANK** 

POPUL.

Million

379

290

127

82

60

60

57

32

104

40

1.049

144

182

45

234

1.287

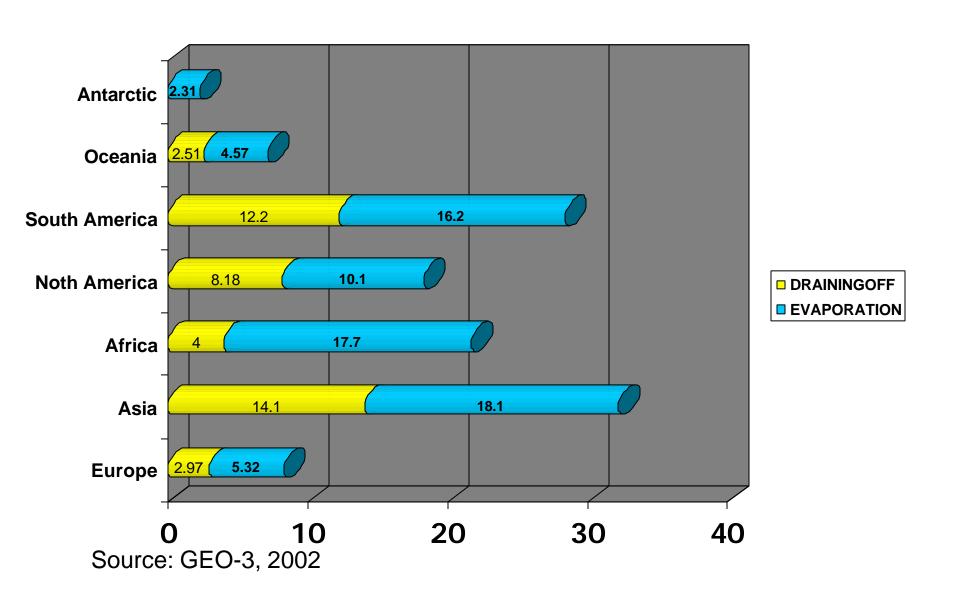
#### **MILITARY BUDGET IN BILLION US \$**

USA	340.0	Bolivia	0.82
Brasil	18.0	Nicaragua	0.37
Canada	8.2	El Salvador	0.18
Colombia	2.4	Guatemala	0.15
Mexico	5.5	Uruguay	0.37
Chile	2.1	Dominican Rep.	0.11
Argentina	4.6	Paraguay	0.1
Peru	0.88	Honduras	0.09
Venezuela	1.8	Panama	0.14
Cuba	0.7	Rusia	1.4
Ecuador	0.4	UK	1.4
	•		

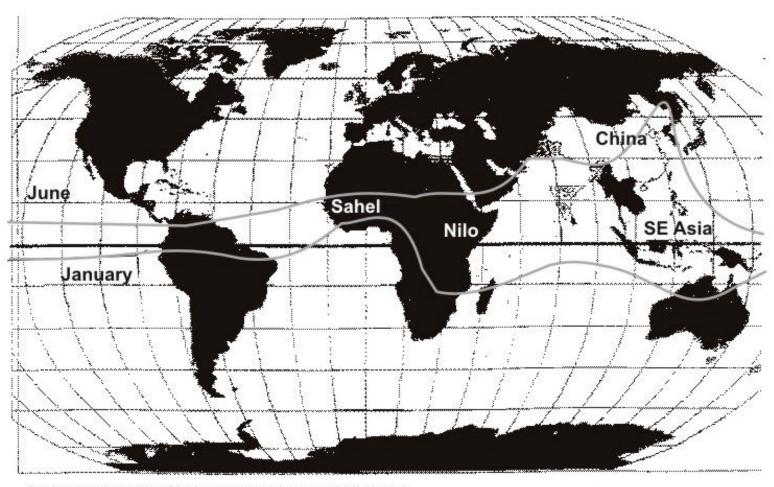
Source: World Resource Institute (2004)

Germany	1.9
France	1.4
Italy	1.1

#### Precipitation, Evaporation and Raining of by Regions



#### Climate Change the High Vulnerable Tropic



Source: http://.water.hut.fi/wr/research/glob/acewwwl/sld010.html

#### **OIL:** Reserves, Production and Consumption

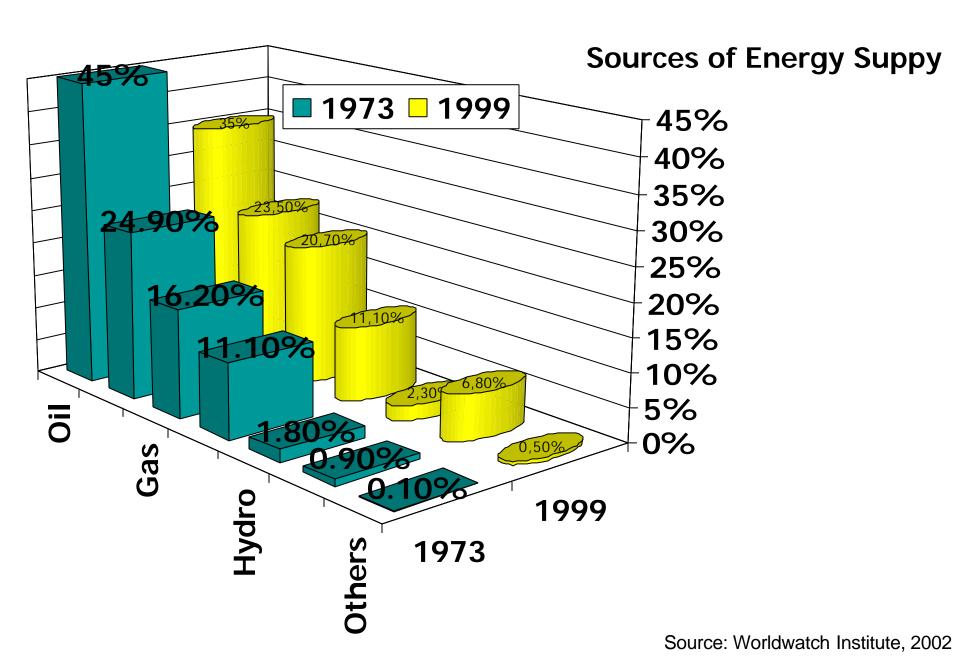
Reserves: Million barrels		Production		Consumption	
01/01/2002		mio barrel	s/day	mio barrels/day	
Saudia Arabia	261.750	South Africa	8,528	USA	19,993
Irak	112.500	USA	8,091	Japan	5,423
UAE	97.800	Russia	7,014	China	4,854
Kuwait	96.500	Iran	3,775	Germany	2,814
Iran	89.700	Mexico	3,560	Russia	2,531
Venezuela	77.685	Norway	3,408	S. Korea	2,126
Russia	48.573	China	3,297	Brazil	2,123
Lybia	29.500	Venezuela	3,137	Canada	2,048
Mexico	26.941	Canada	2,749	France	2,040
Nigeria	24.000	UAE	2,550	India	2,011

# OIL Reserves, Production and Consumption (continuation)

China	24.000	UK	2,540	Mexico	1,932
USA	22.045	Iraq	2,377	Italy	1,881
Quatar	15.207	Nigeria	2,223	UK	1,699
Norway	9.947	Kuwait	1,838	Spain	1,465
Argelia	9.200	Brazil	1,589	South Africa	1,415
Brazil	8.465	Algeria	1,486	Iran	1,109
Oman	5.506	Lybia	1,427	Indonesia	1,063
Kazakastan	5.417	Indonesia	1,384	Netherland	.881
Argelia	5.412	Oman	.964	Australia	.879
Indonesia	5.000	Argentina	.825	Taiwan	.846
World	1,032,132		75,226		75,988
		Annual	28.180	Annual	28.460

Source: W. Res. Inst.,

2004,



#### **HUMAN SECURITY**

- "Protection from the threat of disease, hunger, unemployment, crime, social conflict, political repression and environmental hazards" (UNDP: 23).
- The Canadian and Norwegian governments as the new foreign policy and Weltanschauung, and as alternative to arms races or military confrontation, originally promoted *Human Security*. Military ideology was substituted by progressive attitudes such as respect for human rights, international human laws, refugee protection, promotion of humanitarian aid in case of natural catastrophes and wars, development based on gender and social equity, and cultural diversity with religious freedom.

#### **HUMAN AND ENVIRONMENTAL SECURITY**

- Brauch (2003: 56-59) thoroughly revised the UNDP approach and linked it to environmental security. Faced with the mounting threat of global environmental changes, three research phases on human and environmental security and peace were developed.
  - Firstly, the impact of wars and the military outlook on the environment were revised.
  - Secondly, resources scarcity and conflicts it generates were explored.
  - Thirdly, conceptual and empirical conflict resolution models were developed.
- The interactions among climate change, soil erosion, agriculture, hydrological cycles, with urbanisation and population growth were established. In a *survival hexagon*, Brauch revised the long-term structural input factors; the medium and short term political processes; and the short, medium and long-term outcomes, where state, economy and society have to take decisions in order to prevent, mitigate or handle disasters, crises or conflicts (Brauch, *op cit*. 35-143).

#### **HUGE: HUMAN, GENDER AND ENVIRONMENTAL SECURITY**

Degree of expans.	Denomination	Mode of Expans.		
		Reference object	Values at risk	Sources of threat
No expansion	National Security	The State	Sovereignty	Other States
			Territorial Integrity	(Substate actors)
Incremental	Societal Security	Nations	National Unity	(States)
		Societal Groups	Identity	Nations
				Migrants
				Alien culture
Radical	Human Security	Individuals	Survival	The State
		(Humankind)	Quality of Life	Globalisation
				Nature
Ultra-radical	Environmental	Ecosystem	Sustainability	(Humankind)
	Security			

Source: Bjørn Møller, 2003:279

Trans-radical	Gender	Gender relations	Equality	Patriarchy
	Security	Indigenous	Identity	Totalitarian
		Minorities		Institutions
				(Governments,
				Churches, Elites)

Source: Úrsula Oswald, 2003

### **GENDER SECURITY**

 Developing Møller's, approach, the following lines deepen into a trans-radical approach, accounting for gender security guarantees. Relations including gender, indigenous and minority status are the reference model, and equity and identity (E. Serrano, 2004) are the values at risk. The source of threat comes first from a patriarchal order, characterised by totalitarian institutions, such as authoritarian governments, churches and elites.

#### **PATRIARCHY**

Patriarchy can be understood as a "hypothetical social system based on the absolute authority of the father or an elderly male over the family group. Inspired by classical Darwinism Lewis Henry Moran and Henry Maine envisioned cultures as having developed through evolutionary stages, one of which was patriarchy....Later anthropologists were sceptical of such evolutionary schemes, and ethnographers found absolute male authority to be rare even in societies with patrilineal decent systems" (Encyclopedia Britannica, Vol. 6: 200).

- Old theories on state and society (Plato and Aristotle) focussed in the character of families in pre-state (patriarchy), or the significance of the family as a specific cell of the state and society.
- Compte and Fustel de Colange sustained this viewpoint and claimed that the composition of states and societies sprang from individual families and still represented some variants of precarious natural laws. Their analyses never answered the questions regarding the transference of the "patria potestas" to a wider net of state and society, where the contractual rights of society and power had to be defined.
- Bachofen (1861) unveiled "mother rights", questioning the primacy of patriarchy. However, "mother rights" were initially linked to natural biological laws, and religious taboos.
- Sir Henry Sumner Maine analysed multiple forms of patriarchy, all of them linked to constructivism.
- Friedrich Engels related the origins of the family to private propriety and the State, but took for granted the division of labour between women (domesticated wives, carers, and mothers) and men (breadwinners).
- Anthropologists and archeologists dismissed this traditional role division and researched the matriarchal family organization from native cultures.
- Marcel Mauss described the circulation of women as well as the circulation of other goods, establishing an economic relation of reciprocal interchange, and from her fieldwork experience in Samoa, Margaret Mead also scrutinized the biological role given to maternity and paternity.

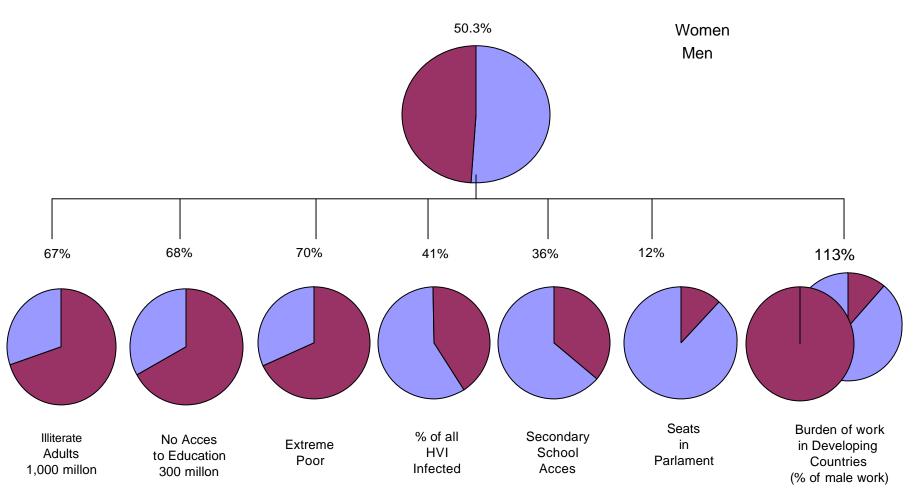
- Feminist studies stress "that feminine and masculine identity(ies) must be constructed and should be understood as cultural achievements" (Moore, 1994: 42).
- Lacan argues that the constellation of "self" has no essential attributes and is bound up within the world of images and representations; contextualized in an important system of meaning and signification that forge "subjectivities". In this sense, patriarchy represents the deepest ideology of an occidental system of domination where for thousands of years a social division of labour subjected women, sanctioned by a specific social, cultural and legal system (e.g. Pateman, 1989).

#### LINKS OF FEMINSIM

- Feminists, from the beginning of the last century onwards, started to promote, first women's right to vote and later, gender equality and equal participation in society, politics, culture and the economy[1]. They linked existing patriarchal structures (Mies, 1998; Bennholdt-Thomsen, 1999; von Werlhof, 1988, 1996) with violence (Oswald) and war (Reardon), domination (Young), power (Shiva, Bartky), classism (MacKinnon, Abel), racism (Cresnhaw), conflicts (Butler), (hetero)-sexism (Calhoun, Littleton, Ferguson, Greer), democracy (Mouffe), science (Haraway), moral (Held, Card, Benhabib), identity (E. Serrano, 2004), culture (Williams), and naturism (Warren, Plumwood, Wan Ho, Shiva, Mies).
  - [1] Undoubtedly, the processes of political transformation were particularly adverse to women. Mary Wollstonecraft (1759-1797) became a fervent defender of **feminine emancipation**. At her college in Islington, contemporary thinkers were criticized, including Rousseau and Burke. Her publications such as "A Vindication of Women's Rights" have been basic to the subsequent suffrage movements led by Elisabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony. Current feminist struggles unveiled new aspects, particularly its relation with globalization and patriarchy.

#### **GENDER INEQUITY**

#### **Women Worlwide**



Source: UNFPA, 2 000 and UNAIDS, 2000

90% maternal deaths ocurr in developing countries: 500,000 per year

# **GENDER AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION**

- Abolition of genital mutilation In Ghana, Djibouti, Burkina Faso, Ivory Coast, Togo, Tanzania and Senegal
- Brazil accepts sterilization of people over 25 or with two children
- Abolition of women trafficking in Cuba, Green Cape, Thailand, Tanzania and Vietnam
- Abolition of discrimination based on child birth or pregnancy in Chile, Cyprus, Sudan and Zambia
- Higher gender equity requires legal changes, decided policies and daily practices.

# **GENDER VIOLENCE AND SEXUALITY**

- From 20 million abortions, 78 thousand women die/ year
- 80 million undesired pregnancies/ year
- 2 millions women affected by HIV/AIDS in Africa
- Each third women is beaten in the world
- 60 million of girls do not live because of abortion, infanticide or negligence
- 2 million girls enter the sex trade
- 130 million girls suffer genital mutilation
- 4 million girls are sold/year for marriage, slave and prostitution

Source: UNFPA, 2003

# FEMINIZATION OF AGRICULTURE

- Women in poor countries produce between 60 and 80% of food and half of world food
- In México, only 17% of women has a right to land
- In Africa women generate (FAO, 2002):
  - -33% labour force
  - 70% agricultural journeys
  - 60-80% subsistence production
  - 100% of food transformation
  - 80% de storage of food
  - 90% of weave and spin
  - 60% of storage and market activities
  - -2% of propriety rights or use of land rights

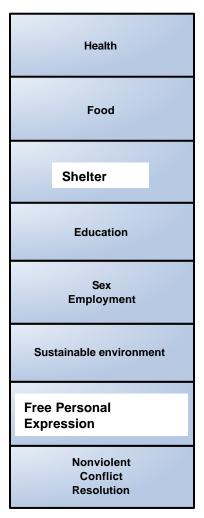
# **ECOFEMINISM**

- Related to the proposals of the Club of Rome, and later to the sustainable development concept following the Brundlandt Report, feminists have elucidated the existing links between the domination and discrimination of women, minorities (indigenous, Roma), children and elders, as well as the destruction of the natural world; both obey to the exercise of dominant patriarchal power.
- The theoretical birth of ecofeminism was a logical consequence of this type of analyses and from the start, it embraced a variety of approaches. Its complex cultural critique shows that requirements are multifaceted.
- The involvement of theoreticians and activists from the North and the South induced a transgressive process, which was multilocated. Varied and decentralized political processes related to political activism and scientific reflection, offered a bride alliance with the upcoming movements of altermundism and the World Social Forum.
- Margret Thatchers "TINA: there is no alternative" was supplied by "TIAA: there is an alternative" (Mies, 1998). In fact, "there are many alternatives TAMA", in plural (E. Serrano, 2004).
- The agenda has changed across space and time, but from the beginning onwards a serious analysis investigated the effects produced by new technologies and scientific advances such as genetically modified organisms, clonation, nanotechnology, internet and communication, cyberterrorism and genetic medicines, especially the way they affect women (Diverse Women for Diversity).

# A Feminist Critique of the Human Security

- The Human, Gender and Environmental Security concept is also result of a historical process of development (for in depth reference for human security see Brauch et al., 2003). It responds to certain political demands, but it brought up and articulated other security concepts.
- Atvater (2004) claims that the UNDP concept is based on universal conceptions of sovereignty (Oswald, 2003; Syse, 2000; Kaplan, 2003), normally satisfied by the nation-state structure (Shurke, 1999) and the provision of public goods (UNDP, 2003, Martínez, 2003, Tello, 2003).
- However, as the process of globalisation deepens and basic public services such as schools, health, water supply, social security and pensions are supplied by private, normally multinational enterprises (Public-Private-Partnership, WB, 2004: Chamdessus Proposal), classical risks such as war or internal conflicts are played down by the UNDP's human security concept.
- Instead of consolidating social justice, prime purpose of universal and indivisible human rights incorporated in the respective UN-Conventions, Altvater and Mahnkopf argue "that talking about human security is in fact part of an ever more widespread process of informalization causing uncertainty, insecurity, defencelessness and vulnerability" (2002: 28).

#### Basic Human Rights: Life



#### **Determinants**

Equity
Sustainability
Justice
Democracy
Vulnerability
Risks
Biodiversity Peace
Conflict & Changes

## **Archaeomythology**

- A multidisciplinary approach permitted to challenge the patriarchal bids from different angles and overcome the classical exclusivist dualistic hierarchies, such as good-bad, male-female, scientific-popular, characteristic of occidental thinking.
- The inclusion of cultural elements, such as sacred and religious beliefs including goddesses and gods, linked ecofeminism to the archaeomythologists. Systematic archaeological work has shown how throughout history matriarchal organizations were rarely militaristic societies before the Indo-Aryan invasion of Europe and the consolidation of stratified societies in Mesoamerica and Asia. People lived normally in small villages, surrounded by sacred places (Stonehenge, the temples of Malta, pyramid structures and the Temazcal ritual place, where the uterus-like construction brought security, health and community life to traditional societies).

As bigger cities were established, patriarchal structures displaced local organization. Militaristic sky gods replaced earth goddesses and gods, as the ancient symbols of power. The Earth was linked with evil, hell and suffering whilst paradise was elevated to the skies.
Male gods killed female and animal deities and Eve or the

snake symbolized evil and human expulsion of earthly paradise.

These mythological transformations gave rise to new

- ideological and religious projections, which were studied by "Deep Ecofeminism".
  "Dao" (the way) in Chinese society means harmony as highest societal goal, exemplified by the physical world with its perennial rhythm of the four seasons. The harmony within human society starts with "Ren", the highest virtue of human
  - perennial rhythm of the four seasons. The harmony within human society starts with "Ren", the highest virtue of human beings in the sense of inner excellence, follows three basic relationships. It is cultivated within the family, "then between the human and physical world and nature, and finally, the human and physical world. A world of harmony where human society is free from war, crime, and all extreme forms of human conflict" (Watkin-Kolb and Qing Chao, 2000: 46).

- This oriental outlook and its moral principles deeply question patriarchal social systems, reflected in the advances of a scientific knowledge where the "Fathers of Knowledge" have proposed the scientific revolution to dominate humans and nature (Francis Bacon), as well as the ongoing processes of exclusionary globalization and international "competition".
- Both bring the world to an overexploitation of natural resources and a concentration of wealth in the hands of a minuscule elite, exacerbating the depauperation of the remaining world citizens.

 The inclusive frame of ecofeminsm has attracted also several social movements, such as peace researchers, antimilitarists, antinuclear movements and established a global ecological sisterhood. However, these approaches were criticized and denounced as essentialising women with nature. In addition, the greater interconnection due to globalisation brought a critique from the South to the western development model and thinking. The occidental mechanistic approach has been enriched by women from Africa, who insist in processes of racism, involving ecofeminists and white women domination, in number as well as in the theoretical discussions and representation of new ideas. From the South "Afrocentric ecowomanism" opened the doors to a natural alliance with ecoindigenism, and in Latin America, the dependence and "machismo" theories linked to existing class structure with racism and colonialism - all of them interconnected processes of oppression and exploitation of human beings and nature.

- "There are a number of people who interpret the end of the East-West confrontation as not only signalling the end of all socialist dreams and utopias, but also of all universal ideology based on a universal concept of human beings and their relation to nature and other human beings (Bell, Fukuyama). These ideologies have been 'deconstructed' as being eurocentric, egocentric and –according to some feminists- androcentric, and materialist." (Mies and Shiva, 1993: 11).
- The deeper links of ecofeminsm and female discrimination have been also confronted by Edwards Albeys eco-macho approach.
- Several social groups developed a legal base to protect animal rights together with human and gender rights. A special campaign criticised livestock, meat, chicken, fish and seafood production modes, promoted by industries especially in the USA and Europe, which are increasingly imposed by multinational enterprises in Southern countries.

#### PATRIARCHY AND DEVELOPMENT

- Patriarchal structures have been affected by the multidisciplinary, decentralized and integrative approach of ecofeminism.
- The UN together with the World Bank decided to clarify in theory and practice the "pay off" from all improvements concerning women. Diverse studies in the Third World brought up very interesting results. Girls education in Arab countries raised the GDP per annum in these countries by an average of 1% (World, Bank, 2004), compared with neighbour states where such policies were not implemented.
- However, there exist further complementary benefits: an educated woman has healthier children, better nourished families, lower birth rate, less infant mortality and morbidity and fewer years of childbearing, because she gets married older. In economic terms, FAO, World Bank and regional development banks proved the boost in agricultural productivity, a feminization of agriculture and the development of human capital, with trained and educated women.

Court (O. Serrano, 2004). Facing increasing unemployment, small enterprises and microcredits alleviate poverty and 80% of microborrowers are women. The income goes directly to their families improving overall life styles, facing increasing unemployment, small enterprises and microcredits alleviate poverty and 80% of microborrowers are women. The UN also visibilized the role of women in peacekeeping. A special study group gave the Secretary General new suggestions for including female elements in both the missions of the Security Council, as well as in special peace missions. However, there are still deep differences between Arab states. For example in Afghanistan, after the war generated by USA, where warlords still fights with arms and repression against women's rights. The USA has not ratified the Convention to Eliminate Discrimination against

Saudi Arabia has still a special moral police to patrol and enforce discrimination against women and in a recent accident dozens of girls were killed by fire, as the police did not allow them to leave the burning building

Women (CEDAW), effectuated by other 175 countries.

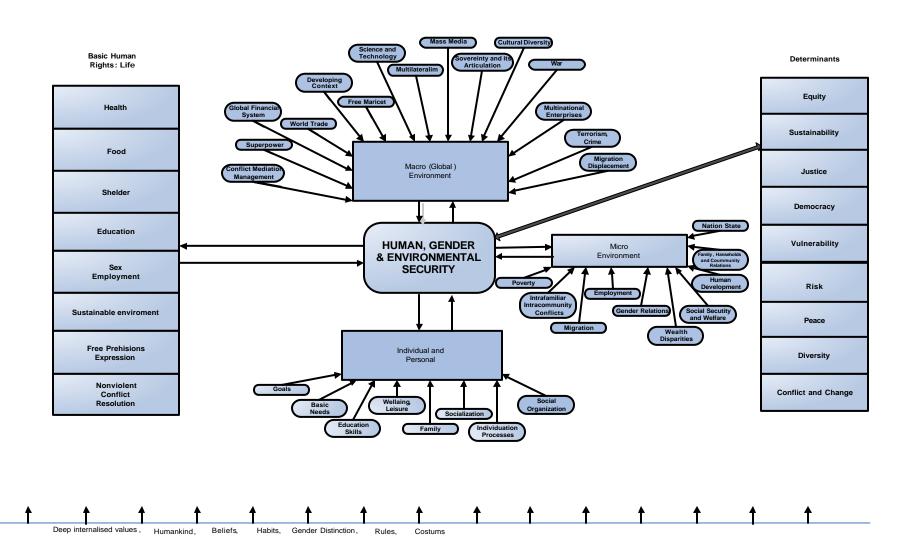
without being "properly dressed".

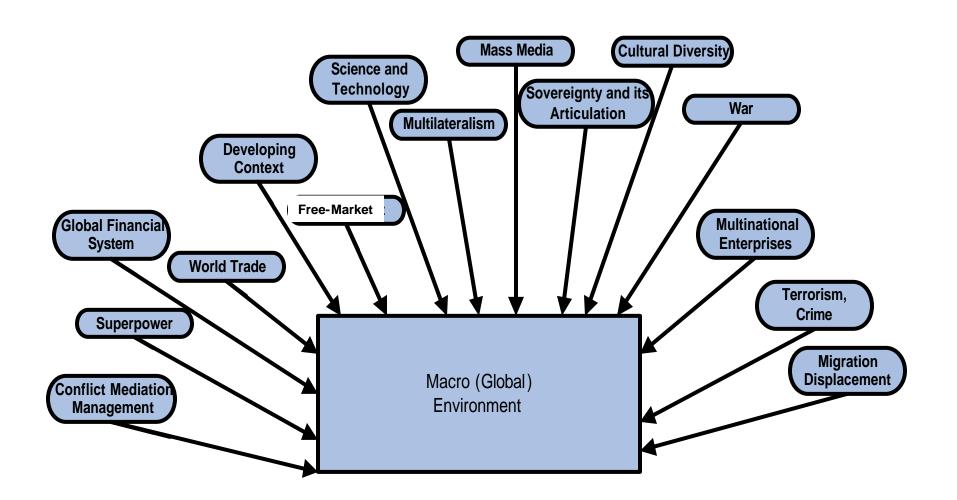
• The control of women over resources gives profits to the whole community, since women invest more in family wellbeing. In politics, women benefit

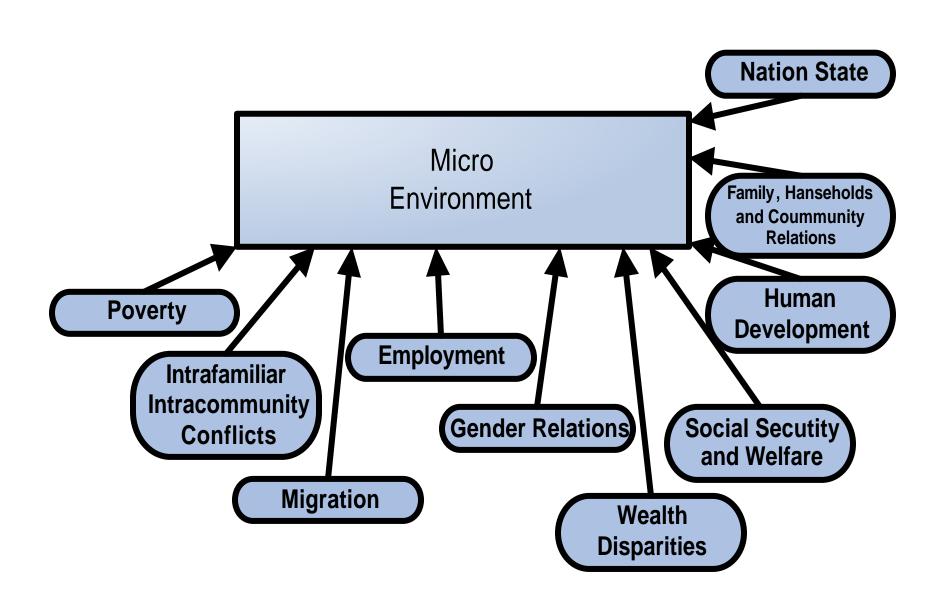
democratic structures and invest more in development and infrastructure of

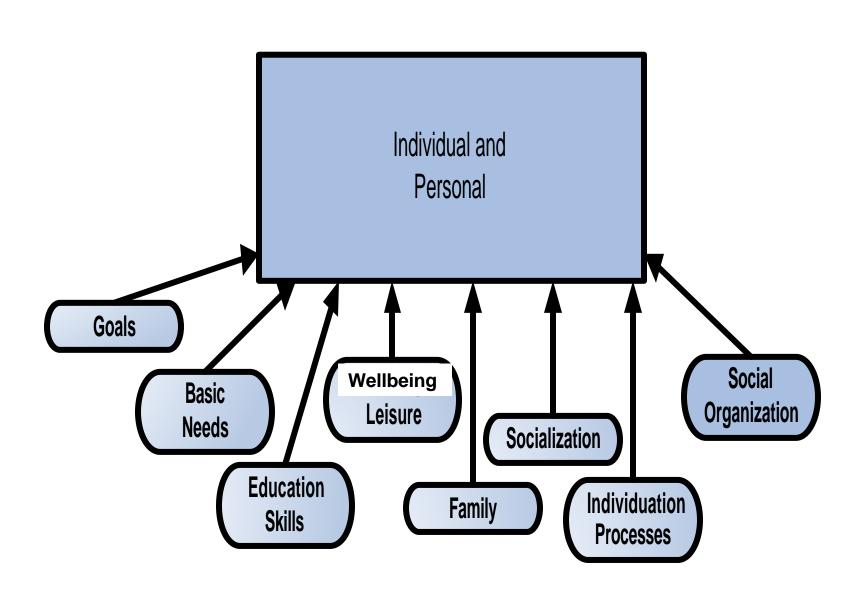
basic needs, instead of public "white elephants". An interesting process of modernization process is occurring in Turkey, where women have been

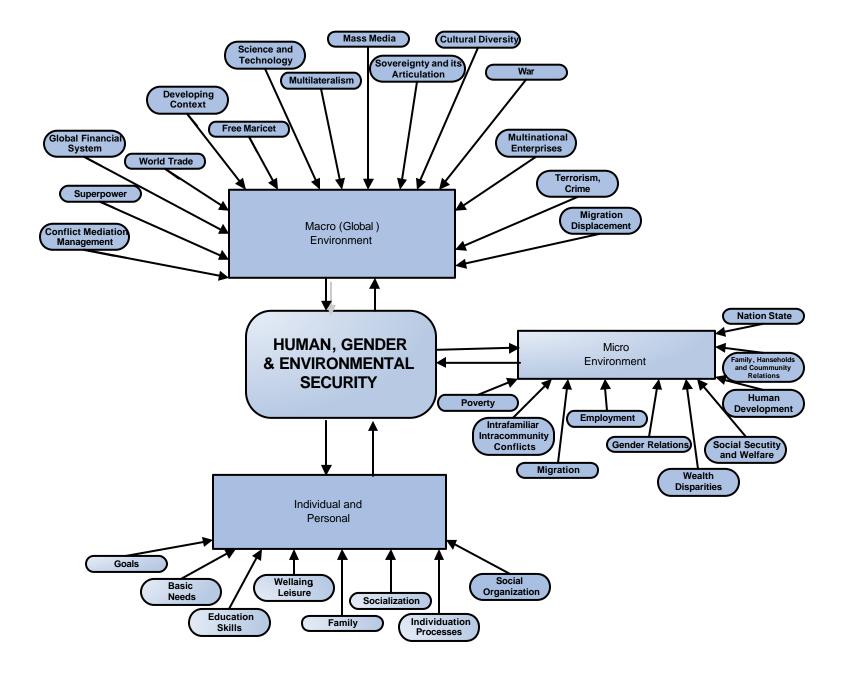
promoted in government, confronting religious and cultural taboos. This country was the first in the world to appoint a female minister to the Supreme











#### **NEW THREATHS IN THE XXI CENTURY**

- Water scarcity, pollution and disasters
- Engery supply and resource conflicts
- Terrorism, warlords, AMD
- Human conflicts: poverty, crime, discrimination, massive migration

### **EMERGENCE & CONTEXT OF IPRA**

- In 1962, WILPF established a Consultative Commission on peace research.
- The IPR Newsletter appeared the following year, and a preliminary meeting was held in Switzerland.
- In 1964 the international Peace Research Association (IPRA) was founded in London and in 1965, Holland organized its first international meeting in Gröningen (see chart 6).
- The fact that Norwegians Elise and Kenneth Boulding took residence in the USA gave IPRA the chance to coordinate research in both hemispheres.
- New peace study institutes in Sweden (SIPRI), Denmark (COPRI), and Finland (TAPRI) consolidated peace research in Northern Europe, actively supported by the Polemic Institute in Holland.
- The constitution of the European Peace Research Association (EUPRA) and the North American COPRED meant IPRA could count with subregional associations and activities.
- In 1972, IPRA organized its first congress in India, a Third World country where much learning from active nonviolent movements took place.
- During the seventies, peace educators joined peace researchers in IPRA and in the eighties, peace movements generated the third pillar of the organization.

# **IPRA's Learning Process**

- The global world order reflects tensions: where old conflicts, such as the Palestinian-Israeli, Indian-Pakistani, China-Taiwan, or African ethnic confrontations, are linked to new threats and to conflicts over natural resources.
- This complex situation is reinforced by structural violence such as poverty, abandoned children, marginalization, women's discrimination, torture, extrajudicial executions, illegal judicial processes and human rights violations.
- With the end of Cold War world geopolitics changed, Germany was reunified and the Soviet Union disintegrated. A failed attempt at rapid political and economic democratization (Perestroika and Glasnost), characterized obsolete productive systems, extensive bureaucracies, corruption, centralization of government in the soviet capital, systematic repression of dissidents and independence wars in Afghanistan and Chechnya, submerged the URSS in a systemic crisis.
- Fifteen independent republics divided the former Soviet Union, although Russia still kept the biggest arsenal of arms and natural resources. However, the reconstructions of its economy, linked to corruption in the privatization processes of almost all natural resources, have limited the future of the former superpower. The speed of its disintegration surprised political analysts and extended to formerly implicated communist countries (Korea, Cuba, Angola).
- China has reoriented its economy to market forces in a kind of "social capitalism" with high industrial growth rates and low agricultural ones. Predictions show that it will soon become an economic power (The Econonomist, 2004), the question is what will happen with its geopolitical interests?
- Korea marched united in the Olympic games recently celebrated in Athens. Can this
  present collaboration overcome one of the most conflictive partition war-process and
  unite this ancestral culture?

## **IPRA's Lessons Learnt**

- Convinced of the importance of forging equilibrium, IPRA has tenaciously cared for gender balance. There is not only a special commission on Women and Peace, but in all public events and plenary sessions, gender equilibrium is promoted. This prority has opened IPRA to new ideas and provided the organization with direct opportunities to deal with internal conflicts in a nonviolent way. However, there was in IPRA's history only one female Secretary General, Elise Boulding, who received the UNESCO peace price in the year 2000. In the year 2001, it was given to Betty Reardon, another brilliant female peace researcher and educator, together with the Peace and Education Commission.
- The rigorous analyses inside of several Study Groups bring new ideas and scientific reflection not only to IPRA, but also to governments and international organizations. Several study groups have formed international collaboration, webs and published their results.
- IPRA also cares about regional equilibrium and South and North are represented in a respectful dialogue where both hemisphere are enriched with new ideas.
- The international recognition of peace research and education inside IPRA is reinforcing ongoing efforts, inject new enthusiasm to analyze the increasingly complex geopolitical situation in the world and its growing tensions in multiple specific fields.

## South- North Dialogue in IPRA

- Southern regional associations have enriched IPRA with valuable empirical peace and conflict resolution materials, opening the door for intercultural exchange and deepening theoretical reflections.
- From Latin America dependency theories emerged, brilliantly transformed into structural imperialism and the center-periphery approach by Senghaas and Galtung.
- Asia contributed with the nonviolence and ahimsa experiences, systematized by Peig and Harvard and transformed into peace education and non-violence.
- The peaceful transition from the Apartheid regime and its brutal apparatus of repression to a democracy in the rainbow nation was crucial for future peace efforts in Latin America (e.g. El Salvador, Nicaragua and Guatemala) and Asia (India-Pakistan, Tamil Tigers and several internal conflicts).
- The reconciliation processes between victimizers and victims created models of multidimensional integration and "Truth Commissions", promoting deep democratization processes.

# IPRA in Latin America, Asia and Africa

- In 1977, IPRA came to Mexico for its international congress. This country had accepted refugees from almost all Latin American countries, expelled by repressive military dictatorships. With more than 120 Latinos present, the Latin American Council of Peace Research (CLAIP) was created.
- CLAIP activities were basically linked to the democratization processes
  occurring in Latin American nations and to international denunciation of
  torture, human right infractions, massacres and disappearances of social
  and political leaders. Slowly, during the eighties and nineties, these
  researchers returned to their countries now ruled by democratically
  elected governments, bringing peace messages with them.
- The positive experience of CLAIP, given its links with universities in the subcontinent and social movements, induced the establishment of the Asian Peace Research Association. The highly conflictive situation in Africa also stimulated the creation of an African Peace Research Association.
- In 1998, the international congress was held in Durban, South Africa, in order to learn from the peaceful transition processes led by Nelson Mandela. His Pan-African Leadership involved multiple peace efforts and reconciliation processes between historically divided ethnic groups and struggling clans.

	Years					
Country		40% of poorest	Following 30% of poor	20% before	10% wealtiest	Average of Income
				richest 10%		
Argentina	1990	14.9	23.6	26.7	34.8	10.6
	2002	13.4	19.3	25.3	42.1	8.1
Bolivia	1989	12.1	22.0	27.9	38.2	7.7
	2002	9.5	21.3	28.3	41.0	6.1
Brasil	1990	9.5	18.6	28.0	43.9	9.3
	2001	10.2	17.5	25.6	46.8	11.0
Chile	1990	13.2	20.8	25.4	40.7	9.4
	2000	13.8	20.8	25.1	40.3	13.6
Colombia	1994	10.0	21.3	26.9	41.8	8.4
	2002	11.9	22.2	26.8	39.1	7.2
Costa Rica	1990	16.7	27.4	30.2	25.6	9.5
	2002	14.5	25.6	29.7	30.2	11.7
Ecuador	1990	17.1	25.4	27.0	30.5	5.5
	2002	15.4	24.3	26.0	34.3	6.7
El Salvador	1995	15.4	20.9	26.9	32.9	6.2
	2001	13.4	22.2	28.7	33.3	6.7
Guatemala	1989	11.8	19.7	26.8	40.6	6.0
	2002	14.2	21.7	26.8	36.8	6.8
Honduras	1990	10.1	19.7	27.0	43.1	4.3
	2002	11.3	21.7	27.6	39.4	4.3
Mexico	1989	15.8	22.5	25.1	36.6	8.6

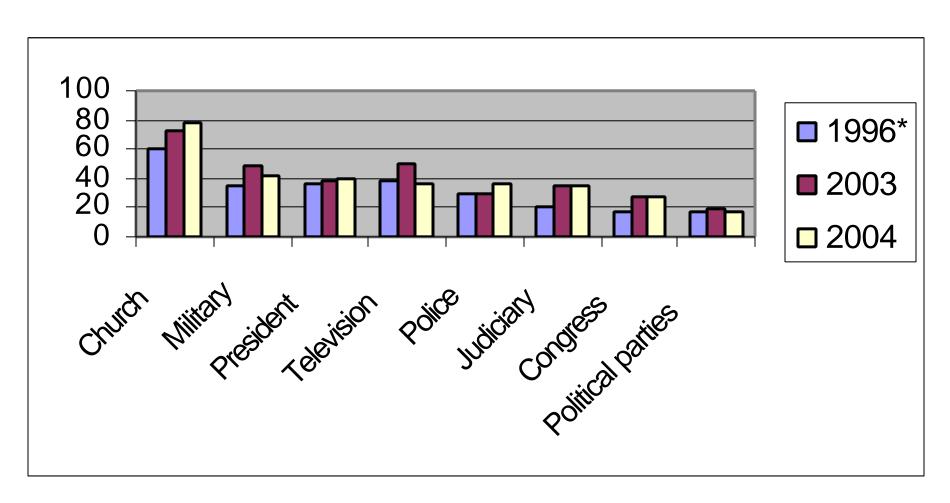
# **Democracy in LA: % of Agreement:**

#### Democracy is preferable to any kind of regime?

	1996	2002	2003	2004	1996
Venezuela	62	75	67	74	12
Honduras	42	57	55	46	4
Chile	54	50	51	57	3
Mexico	43	63	53	53	0
Uruguay	80	78	78	78	-2
Ecuador	52	49	46	46	-6
El Salvador	56	40	45	50	-6
Argentina	71	65	68	64	-7
Brazil	50	37	35	41	-9
Colombia	60	39	46	46	-9
Panama	75	55	51	64	-11
Costa Rica	80	77	77	67	-13
Guatemala	51	45	33	35	-16
Peru	63	57	52	45	-18
Bolivia	64	56	50	45	-19
Nicaragua	59	63	51	39	-20
Paraguay	59	45	40	39	-20
Dominican Repub.	na	75	Na	65	na

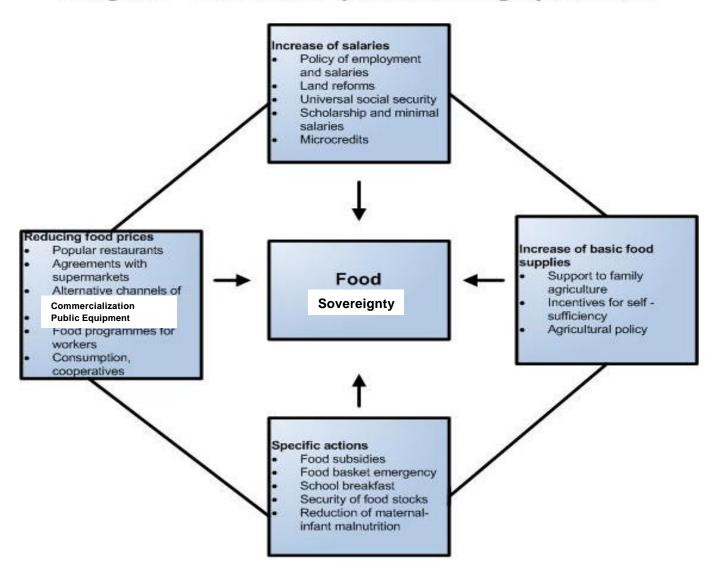
Source: Latinbarómetro, 2004

# Confidence in Institutions in Latin America (as %)



Source: Latinbarómetro, 2004

#### Program "Fome zero" (Without Hunger) in Brasil



Source: Instituto Cidadania, 2001, Sao Paulo, Brasil

# **IPRA's Future Perspectives**

- IPRA and its regional associations has a large research field of activities.
- New challenges to peace education, a growing field to analyze and an invaluable momentum to participate in worldwide peace activism.
- Conflicts are motors of social change and development (Gluckman, 1965), when narrowly oriented towards personal ambitions and geopolitical interests, mismanaged conflict and change dynamics can destroy the entire world order.
- Physical and structural violence is inherent in the highly competitive freemarket system and its present laws of globalization. Socialist utopias were destroyed by a repressive and bureaucratic failed communist regime.
- Which utopia is left to develop ethic principles, communitarian responsibility and environmentally sustainable development processes, in order to induce a "posmodern democracy of consensus" (Oswald, 2004), with equity, real citizen representation and life quality?
- The past history of wars, domination and destruction brought poverty and death; will the emerging civilization guarantee diverse, just, equitable and sustainable coexistence with special care of vulnerability?
- Such is the challenge for peace researchers, educators and activists, and IPRA has to renovate its effort to find concrete answers to it.

#### **ROLE OF IPRA IN ITS 40 ANNIVERSARY**

- Peace Research: new methodologies for conflict resolution, multidisciplinarymulticultural security conceptions
- Peace Education: didactic, age sensitive peace training with mass media within multicultural contexts
- Peace Movements: analyses and participation in nonviolent peace mobilizations for consciousness raising and public awarness raising.