

PART II - PEACE STUDIES

CHAPTER FIVE

Peace Studies: definitions, concepts and scope

5.1 Introduction

In essence, Peace Studies is about understanding the underlying causes of conflict and nonviolent ways of resolving such conflict. In this chapter, we examine several ways of viewing Third World development and underdevelopment and thereby indicate the scope of Peace Studies.

5.2 The nature of violence in the Third World

In Chapter 3, we examined various types of violence in PNG. This chapter both provides a theoretical explanation of such violence and locates it within a global context. Part of the reason for violence within PNG is its lack of development which results from its connection to the world economic system.

Global level violence and peacelessness are more visible in this century than ever before: wars, terrorism, the arms race, poverty, violent crime, inequality, injustice, ethnic hatred, greed, violation of human rights, corruption, power struggles, malnutrition, sexual and racial discrimination, pollution, environmental degradation and global warming all add up to a world in major conflict in need of urgent resolution (Arnold, 1986; UNDP, 1994 & 1996 Chambers, 1997:1-7).

Violence of such extent and diversity makes peace seem an impossible dream. 'Yet, everywhere, the cry is for peace!' (Swan, 1995:34 & 1997, 1). This scenario has prompted peace researchers and educators and other groups and individuals around the world, to search for a paradigm within which violence can be critically analysed and solutions sought. Toh (1990:1) expresses the underlying concern:

What is the state of planet Earth? In what condition are we, today's adults, handing the world over to today's children, much of whose

existence lies in the next century? Can we, in honesty and clear conscience, look at the next generation of adults full in the eye and assure them "don't worry, be happy-you will have a bright, prosperous, secure and stable future"? These are enormous questions of responsibility - ethical responsibility, moral responsibility, indeed spiritual responsibility

To '*give peace a chance*' demands radical change. All these wishes for a peaceful world cannot take root within current political and economic structures. Rather, there needs to be an adoption of a range of new values such as compassion, harmony, love and selflessness, together with an overarching concept of justice that is congruent with this affirmative value system. The materialistic world of the present global capitalism is eroding human qualities in spite of its rhetoric of achieving human betterment through economic growth (George, 1976; Leroux, 1982, Harrison, 1993). True peace can only come about through cultivating the human heart to incline it to act for peace *on earth and with the earth* in line with Gaia's basic principles (Barnaby, 1988; Swan, 1997). Swan (1995:38) adds '*it should be accepted that in the study of peace both mind and the heart must have a place with this should come the admission that knowledge based on scientific and rational means alone is incomplete and therefore narrowly true at best*'.

The underlying goal of the curriculum designed and taught as part of this research (see chapter 11) is to critically analyse the many facets and contradictions of conflict and violence and to design an alternative curriculum, presenting learners with the opportunity to cultivate the theme '*think globally, and act locally*' for peace (Carson & Gideonse, 1987:6). Indeed, there are individuals, groups and organisations in PNG already involved in a range of relevant activities. These include groups working in the areas of literacy, awareness, human rights, and conflict resolution skills in rural communities. There are also environmental groups and community-centred development initiatives designed to conscientize to empower the rural and urban poor.

'No peace without development' and 'no peace without justice' are slogans taken from Toh (1986:18) and Swan (1995:46) emphasising the intricate relationships between peace, justice and development. Development has two meanings - both economic and human development. This thesis uses development to mean human development.

Human development rejects injustice, exploitation and imperialism and emphasises justice through the practice of compassion, forgiveness and reconciliation.

According to Galtung (1969 & 1980), there are two applications of the meaning of peace. Negative peace is defined as absence of war whereas positive peace focuses on dealing with structural violence, which is inherent in the way societies and economies are organised. The second type of peace includes the attainment by individuals of freedom and well being. In other words, peace and development become synonymous. Galtung links peace and development, emphasising that the North is preoccupied with the 'absence of war'. The more implicit levels of peace - the type of peace that fosters human development - is not part of their mindset. The deeper implications of lack of peace in the broader structural sense preoccupies the Southern nations because they understand that poverty and war are also synonymous: *'in war life is taken away from people, people are killed. But in misery life is also taken away from people , not instantly or quickly by a bullet or a bomb, but slowly through diseases until they pass away'* (Galtung, 1980:145).

Despite the fact that there has been a reduction in the proportion of people living in absolute poverty since 1960, around 1500 million people continue to live in absolute poverty (World Bank, 1975; UNDP, 1994; 1996). Some improvements in education, income, health, access to clean water and greater life expectancy have occurred in some areas. However, in 1990, Asia still had 64%, Africa 24% and Latin America and the Caribbean 12% of their population in absolute poverty (UNDP,1990:22). Gross National Product per capita fails to declare how wealth is distributed and who actually benefits (Jackson, 1994:182). Throughout the Third World, the condition of rural and urban poor has worsened significantly since the early 1980s, in part a consequence of the debt crisis. Consequently, millions of children die due to insufficient food and health care. The present economic order benefits the North while the South is caught in a 'debt trap'. Whilst its elites prosper, the majority of the South's populations are growing absolutely poorer (George, 1992 & 1994).

In Third World countries governed by repressive regimes, large numbers have died from genocide and structural violence. It is estimated that between the years 1900 and 1987, 169.2 million perished due to genocide, that is, mass murder of citizens by a

government, excluding battle deaths (Rummel, 1994). This number almost rivals the losses counted in all the international civil wars (38.5 million). Eckhardt (1992) estimates that between 1945 and 1987, “organised killing of a people by the government or its agents resulted in 11.5 million deaths, more than civilian deaths (10.7 million) in civil wars over the same period”. Deaths due to structural violence, however, “occurs amidst social and cultural settings within which individuals may do enormous harm to other human beings without ever intending to do so ... a process working slowly in the way in general, and hunger in particular, erode and finally kill human beings” (Galtung, 1985:145). Thus an estimated 17 million people per annum, mostly children under five years, die from hunger and preventable disease.

Eckhardt sums up the 'surplus death' between 1945 & 1990 as follows:

- Civilian deaths in war - 14 million
- Military deaths in war - 8 million
- Civilians killed by their own governments - 48 million
- Civilian deaths due to structural violence - 795 million

These numbers are elegantly explained by Swan (1995:36):

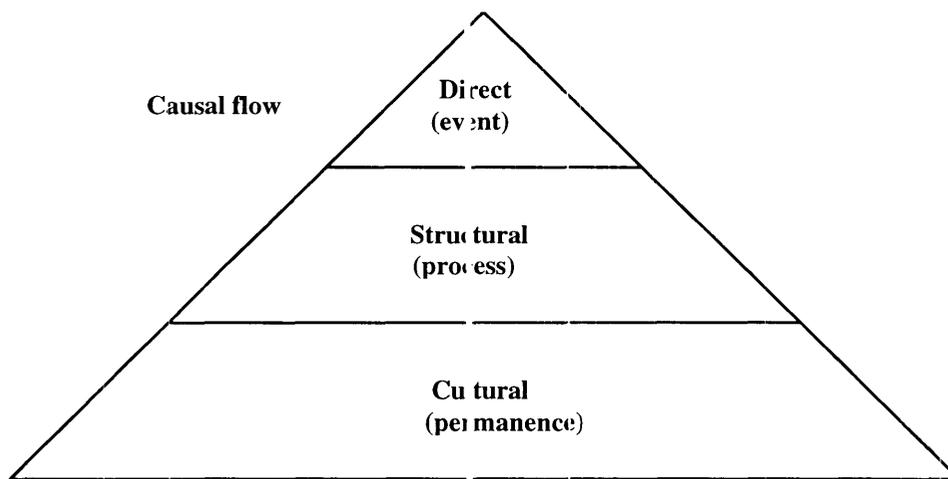
The abolition of international war is no guarantee of peace; the deeper-seated causes of peacelessness must be addressed as well. These are regarded as stemming from the silent violence and oppression perpetuated by the privileged and the powerful over the underprivileged and the weak through systems of social, cultural, economic and political organisation and control. Such indirect violence, which marginalises, impoverishes and often eventually kills (usually from a distance through deprivation of basic requirements of life), needs to be identified, confronted and eliminated along with direct violence ... if peace is to be achieved between and within nations.

Figure 5.1 illustrates Galtung's 'Violence Strata Image', showing a causal flow from cultural to structural to direct violence. At the bottom of the triangle lie 'permanent' cultural violence, where ethnic, religious, gender and other differences are established and used as the basis and justification for structural and direct violence. Each of these types of violence has its parallel type of peace (see section 7.2).

The quiet, unintended process of structural violence which occupies the next strata is enforced by the threat or reality of direct violence and may well bring forth events of

direct violence. Apartheid in South Africa provides a classic example of these violence strata. At the cultural level, race was used to allocate segments of the population to different economic functions and locations. At the structural level, different racial groups had access to very different income earning opportunities and health services resulting for example, in high infant mortality rates amongst black children. This structural violence was enforced by police and military who showed little restraint in the use of direct violence.

Figure 5.1 A Violence Strata Image



Source: Galtung 1990b:294

It can be argued that the underlying cause of violence is deprivation of basic human needs for the majority of population as a result of relying on the growth-oriented development model. According to Summy (1995:65), when basic human needs are neglected, violence in one form or another is likely to become endemic:

What happens when these needs are left unattended is that violence festers or erupts in many forms: it can take the form of revolution against the state and its ruling power elite; it can be reflected in rising crime statistics; it can appear in interpersonal relationships in acts such as wife beating and psychological debasement; it can turn inward and be manifested in the self destruction of drug abuse or suicide; and it can simmer in the 'quiet desperation' that afflicts the lives of so many of the world's powerless.

We now turn to examine two paradigms which represent the main ways of understanding and interpreting Third World conflict and violence.

5.3 The modernisation paradigm

The modernisation paradigm, also referred to by a range of other terms - free market economics, the economic growth approach, capitalist economics - is reasonably well understood. It involves the application of conventional free market economic principles, devised in developed countries, to the Third World or underdeveloped countries. In its earlier versions, it was envisioned that the latter would emulate the historic development paths of the former and industrialisation was given strong emphasis as the means to achieve economic growth. It was assumed that the benefits of development, whilst initially benefiting the rich, would trickle down to the poor (Rostow, 1969).

Lack of development was seen to result principally from internal deficiencies, particularly low levels of saving and investment, out-dated capital equipment, and low quality labour. Other limitations included limited entrepreneurial drive, overpopulation and traditional values which held back development. To help in the transformative process, political institutions modelled on industrialised countries bequeathed by departing colonial powers, and political stability was sought at all costs, including supporting repressive regimes.

Third World governments accepted that transnational companies would foster development and allowed these companies easy access to their resources. Governments in the Third World were led to believe that these companies were necessary prerequisites of development and the main source of capital, expertise, technology and skills. By accepting this model of development, Third World countries were integrated into the highly competitive world market. In addition, plantations, cash cropping and agribusiness were promoted, to the detriment of subsistence farming in some areas. To help in the development process, faith was put in the application of advanced agricultural technology and higher yielding variety of grain to feed growing populations (Bordang, 1980; Walters, 1982). Although the move appeared positive in redirecting agriculture towards modern development, the project was inappropriate and poor could not afford to participate (George, 1987). The result has been higher productivity but greater inequality.

On the basis of neo-Malthusian theory, modernisation advocates argued that overpopulation was a direct cause of underdevelopment and pushed for population control as a pre-condition for growth.

During the 1970s, it became clear that a large number of Third World countries were nowhere near to achieving economic prosperity, despite large inputs of foreign aid and the intervention of local and foreign 'experts'. In consequence, Robert McNamara, then the President of the World Bank, proposed the 'Growth With Equity' and the 'Basic Needs Strategy' (Chenery, 1974; Brandt, 1980). Although the move appeared a positive move in directing traditional development initiatives, it was replaced, in the early 1980s, by a market and export oriented approach (Bienen & Waterbury, 1992; George, 1994).

The 'debt crisis', which began in the early 1980s as a result of excessive borrowing by Third World governments and excessive lending by Western banks, has provided an important tool for forcing countries to implement conventional economic policies. The IMF's structural adjustment packages (SAPs) provide foreign exchange to enable countries to deal with balance of payments shortfalls (particularly in respect of debt repayments). This support comes at a price, however, as SAPs require a range of measures which reduce the role of government increase that of the market (George, 1992 & 1994; Madeley, 1996). Whilst real incomes of the poor have typically fallen, modernisation theorists see this as the short term 'pain' necessary in order to secure long term gain which will result from an efficient and competitive economy (World Bank, 1995:3).

5.4 Criticisms of modernisation paradigm

The social scientists who pioneered the critique of modernisation emerged from the Dependency School in the 1960s the beliefs of which are based on the Marxist or neo-Marxist theory (Bloomstrom & Hettne, 1984; Hettne, 1995). The early contributors to this new thinking were the political scientists, Baran (1957) and Frank (1970 & 1992), who made a significant contribution to the concept of 'development of underdevelopment'. According to their assessment, the disruption of traditional societies has not been beneficial for Third World countries; underdevelopment was a

consequence of historical contact with the industrialised countries which facilitated economic development in the latter, but left the Third World impoverished. This line of criticism is reinforced by other analysts who suggested that historically, through the process of colonialism and other mechanisms of exploitation, underdevelopment laid the foundations of a modern capitalist world-system (Cardoso, 1972; Rodney, 1972; Amin, 1974; Wilber & Weaver, 1979; Wallerstein, 1980).

The historical process integrated the Third World into the capitalist system as producers of raw materials for industrialised countries. Third World countries were initially drawn into international trading markets which were assumed to be free and to enhance the comparative advantage of all parties. In reality, the cards were stacked in favour of the already well off and most benefits flowed to the citizens of the North (Harrison, 1981:350; Lappe, Collins & Kinley, 1981:12; Madeley, 1996). The Third World remains dependent on a few commodities which do not earn enough of the much needed foreign currency. Meanwhile prices of imported industrial goods and services have risen over the years, further disadvantaging the Third World. In order to purchase these manufactured goods and services, the nations of the Third World must borrow more, pushing them into worsening debt situations and adding more stress to their economies (George, 1994; Atkinson, 1993; Swift, 1994).

Basically, the record of progress in Third World countries since, say, 1960 has been mixed. The numbers of people with access to basic fruits of development such as education, health services and clean water has increased. However, in general, the proportion of people in absolute poverty has increased and around 1500 million people are in absolute poverty in the mid-1990s. Even in the southeast Asian 'tiger' nations - Singapore, Taiwan, Hong Kong and South Korea - the rapid growth of the 1980s and 1990s has resulted in worsening income inequality (Hamilton, 1983, 1989 & 1992). The UNDP's Human Development Reports show that inequality, both within and between countries, has increased dramatically since the ascending free market economies in the early 1980s. A minority of people have become better off, and some have become extremely rich, but the poor have suffered real income cuts, often of 50 percent or more, since the early 1980s. 'Trickle down' has clearly not occurred

5.5 The PEACE paradigm

The PEACE paradigm derives from Toh Swee-Hin & Cawagas (1987) who proposed it as an alternative development model to the modernisation and dependency paradigms. The PEACE acronym denotes **P**articipatory, **E**quitable, **A**ppropriate, **C**onscientization and **E**co-management principles and suggests peaceful paths to liberate the oppressed and move towards authentic development (Toh, 1986; 1987 & 1988). Each term presents a critical question with which to evaluate the modernisation ideologies and policies and, most importantly their impacts on the people. The alternative model reverses the usual pattern by giving power to grassroots people in planning and managing their own development and offers development which would directly benefit the poor. With the poor as the centre of development, a new era is possible. (Korten & Klauss; 1991; Korten, 1990).

The PEACE paradigm advocates a **PARTICIPATORY** mode of development whereby citizens, particularly the poor, are actively involved in all development programmes. According to Edwards (1989:120) *'development is about processes of enrichment, empowerment and participation, which the technocratic, project-oriented view of the world simply cannot accommodate'*. This allows for 'autonomous' development (Carmen, 1996) and gives every person the opportunity to create their own future. Participatory development recognises the importance of drawing upon the knowledge and the wisdom of the local people, making them the centre of development (Toh, 1987b; Cernea, 1991; Chambers, 1983 & 1997). Previously, they have been segregated to remain ignorant, disempowered and passive observers of change implemented from above by elites and experts. They have not had the privilege of being agents of change in their own right. The results of the top-down model of development have been very disappointing for the advocates of modern development (Harrison, 1981; Gran, 1983; Crittenden & Lea, 1989; Toh, 1990). This component of the peace paradigm seeks to improve development efforts encouraging people to be active participants in steering the process of development.

The second component, an **EQUITABLE** distribution of society's resources, reflects the importance that perceived maldistribution has in promoting conflict and violence. Capitalist values have eroded much of the Third World human values of mutual

respect, tolerance, care and sensitivity. Through the process of conscientization, ordinary people can revive the richness of their cultures and exploit values, including reciprocity and redistribution, which are fundamental to personal development and nation building (Falk, Kim & Menlovitz, 1983; Toh, 1988).

The third component highlights the need for development efforts to be **APPROPRIATE** to local knowledge and skills, in order to utilise local physical, human and cultural resources in the development efforts (It is a change necessary for directing the course of development towards the local context. Contemporary institutions have been instrumental in imposing Western political, social and economic changes unsuited to indigenous cultures. Third world indigenous cultures and their environments need to be protected to secure the intricate relationship people have with their environment and cultures (Gou et, 1977; Ekins, 1992). For example, schools in the Third World nations typically mimic dominant Western education systems and curricula which are likely to be inappropriate to the indigenous context. To superimpose such foreign systems onto the delicate fabric of native culture merely increases alienation and displaces the original culture.

Similarly the push to impose modern technologies of farming onto Third World rural economies has cost the poor access to land and environmental damage. The quest for efficiency and profit has contributed greatly to the demise of the local economy.

Fourth, it is essential to raise the awareness or level of **CONSCIENTIZATION** of the people to enable the disposed and poor to understand the root causes of their poverty. Such insights provide the intellectual strategies to empower the poor to liberate themselves from forces of oppressor (Freire, 1972; Goulet, 1992).

The fifth component concerns the **ENVIRONMENT**. The rapid depletion of the environment within mainstream development is of global concern and contributes to major imbalances in the ecosystem. Over generations, people in the South have been able to survive because of the resources provided by their environment and their harmony with it. The imperative to stop further ecological violence perpetuated by transnational companies is a vital component of this principle of development. The design of development initiatives in harmony with the environment will promote

sustainability for future generations (Adams, 1993; Jackson, 1994). The whole livelihood of the indigenous people is therefore protected and not destroyed as in many parts of the Third World. In these places the indigenous people are forced by internal and external elites to allow or participate in forms of commercial agriculture, fishing, mining and logging which are ecologically unsustainable.

The critical analysis conveyed by the PEACE paradigm has a direct link with the dependency paradigm and neo-Marxist initiatives in the Third World. The dependency approach originated in Latin America to debate problems of underdevelopment and provided a platform for an effective criticism of the modernisation paradigm. The dependency concept emerged from a certain dualism in Marxist thinking, i.e. on the one hand the traditional approach, focusing on development and taking a eurocentric view and, on the other, an approach focusing on the concept of underdevelopment and expressing a Third World view (Hettne & Bloomstrom, 1984:27). Related to this approach is the concept of Liberation Theology (Balasuriya, 1984; Boff & Boff 1987).

Hence, the modernisation paradigm fosters the growth model of development with emphasis on GNP as a measure of development. The PEACE paradigm, on the other hand, argues that this means that the benefits of development go to internal and external elites and proposes more humane and direct development strategies.

In order to fill out this explanation of the PEACE paradigm, much of which will be utilised later in this thesis, we turn to examine a number of issues from this paradigm's perspectives.

5.6 Issues in development - a PEACE perspective

5.6.1 Definition of Development

Development must shift its emphasis from being growth centred to being people centred. Development in this way emanates from grassroots, using localised skill and expertise. The idea that development must be provided by the expertise of outsiders proclaimed by modernisers has led to much exploitation. The rural poor in this way lose control over their own resources and futures. The inability of local people to be instrumental in their own development leads to conflict and further perpetuates the

cycle of violence (Ghai & Vivian, 1992; Ekins, 1992; Jackson, 1994:185; Carmen, 1996; Chambers, 1997).

5.6.2 Colonialism

The education of Third World people about colonialism and its impact on their culture is a peaceful way to conscientize and empower local people for change. Armed with the historical context of their own development they are better equipped to find sustainable solutions and be pro-active in determining new directions. Education can also expose the reality of world economic orders so to put Third World countries in a better position to avert exploitation (Trainer, 1988). If Third World people can be educated and contribute to policy discussions then decisions which result in human suffering can be challenged and possibly avoided.

5.6.3 Food and population

Many modernisers uphold the neo-Malthusian theory which holds that overpopulation is a principal cause of poverty. Some Western nations have proposed various sanctions if Third World nations do not adopt population control policies. The PEACE paradigm criticises family planning strategies for a number of reasons:

- (1) Focusing on population control can become a diversion from the real issue - the elimination of poverty - which is in part a matter of redistributing profits earned by internal and external elites (Trainer, 1985; Short, 1991; Peatfeld, 1995).
- (2) Food shortages occur partly because of a maldistribution of food between and within nations. Food is usually available, but the poor often lack the necessary purchasing power (Wells, 1991:6). Often, food - producing land is used to produce food or products destined for industrial nations (Harrison, 1993; Jackson, 1994:21-23; Hunt, 1992). The North have just over a billion people and yet consume 5/6th of the world's resources while the South has access to only 1/6th to feed four and a half billion people (Vittate, 1992:3; Godrej, 1995). Conventional myths are propagated about overpopulation in order to

divert attention away from the affluent lifestyles of the Western world (Trainer, 1985 & 1988; Harrison, 1993:275).

- (3) Poverty also exacerbates overpopulation. In many Third World countries, children provide security in old age and are needed to work the land (Harrison, 1993:251).
- (4) The Green Revolution, adopted in some parts of Africa and Asia, converted local subsistence farming into large scale mechanised farming systems using fertilisers and methods foreign to local farmers. This system resulted in worsening poverty as a result of mechanisation and indebtedness. Consequently the poor are disadvantaged by losing valuable land and access to employment (Jackson, 1994; Morehouse, 1994). These initiatives were designed to develop cash crops for quick profit and not food crops for local consumption.

PEACE advocates demand the cooperation of the Northern countries to address these hidden causes of poverty. In particular, the objectives of the world economic order must be dismantled so as to free the Third World from the bonds of indebtedness and co-dependence. As it stands, many countries are little more than feedlots for the more powerful nations.

5.6.4 TNCs and the environment

The PEACE paradigm raises some critical concerns about TNCs, given that their primary motive is short term profit (Madeley, 1996:86-103; Swift, 1994). PEACE advocates argue that the TNCs profit through the exploitation of cheap labour and natural resources and access to new markets (Hayter, 1971 & 1982:38). Behind the facade, there is substantial environmental damage and a dislocation of local customs leading to conflict and violence. Third World countries also serve as dumping grounds for toxic wastes and pharmaceutical products and pesticides no longer permitted in the West (Madeley, 1996:104-118)

The ultimate coup for TNCs occurs when a country is caught in the debt trap so that uncontrolled exploitation of natural resources takes place (Hunt, 1990; Ransom,

1992). Indeed, the IMF and WB design structural adjustment programmes so as to effectively force countries to open themselves to resource exploitation. In this way small countries such as PNG are subjected to economic imperialism by TNCs based in industrialised countries (Madeley, 1996:119-130).

Some of the economic and environmental exploitation at local levels emanates from the ignorance of village people of their rights as indigenous landowners. TNCs demonstrate no ability to empathise with native cultures, the survival of which is wholly dependent upon a close relationship with their environment (Patkar, 1992:17; George 1995:223-241).

5.6.5 Foreign Aid

The modernisation paradigm maintains that foreign aid results in accelerated growth in the economies of needy nations. By contrast, the PEACE paradigm contends that such aid is not a humanitarian gesture but a political and economic venture designed principally to serve the interests of the donor. This is particularly evident in 'tied aid' which sets conditions and engages in projects using donor country inputs. Aid becomes a means by which the needy country is restructured to serve the needs of the donor countries (Hayter & Watson, 1984; George, 1992). The emphasis on export-oriented industrialisation has largely failed to benefit the poor, due mainly to the use of a 'top down' model of development where the benefits never reach the poor. Aid money is used principally in ways which benefit the already well off (Ekins, 1992) or misappropriated by corrupt leaders.

5.6.6 Militarisation

The modernisation paradigm argues that high military expenditure is necessary for security from external aggression. This security will encourage domestic and foreign investment and lead to economic growth. The PEACE paradigm, on the other hand, contends that the state is not so much interested in security as in protecting their own internal political and economic dominance. Frequently, the military is used to oppress opponents of the elite and to violate human rights. The presence of a strong military means that nonviolent ways of resolving conflict may be given little attention.

Militarisation involves another concern - the opportunity cost of the huge amount of resources allocated to the military. In many Third World countries, scarce foreign exchange is diverted to purchase weapons from Northern countries who benefit handsomely from the sales (Thee, 1982:114), although it should be noted that the majority of military expenditure goes on personnel. Military expenditure depletes the resources which can be used to alleviate poverty. UNDP (1994:77) estimates developing country military expenditure in the 1990s to be around \$125 billion per annum, and that a package of basic education, health, clean water and family planning programs would cost K30 - 40 billion per annum between 1995 and 2005.

5.6.7 Human Rights

Barash (1991:467) and Toh and Cavagas (1990:135) see human rights as part of the relationship of governments and their people, whereby governments allow individuals to develop fully as human beings. Many countries ostensibly uphold the United Nations 'Declaration of Human Rights' but many do not enforce these standards. At the core of violations of human rights - the largest of which is poverty - is the proliferation of militarism and structural violence. Ekins (1992:65) notes that Western countries 'seek strategic and economic benefits at the back of human rights violations'. Examples of this include the selling of weapons by the US to various regimes considered to be of the correct political shade, but with poor human rights records.

5.6.8. Education

Modernisation advocates perceive education as an investment in human capital which contributes to economic growth. There is increasing doubt that such investments beyond basic literacy and numeracy have influenced economic growth (Oxenham, 1986). Much of this is due to a pedagogy which Freire referred to as 'banking education'. Instead of being tailored to fit the local context, schooling is adapted to Western educational patterns.

PEACE advocates call for more localised education systems which are culturally appropriate and which empower students to critically analyse the status quo and to also respect the diversity of cultural traditions (Toh, 1987:37). Such education systems seek to liberate the individual using an integrated approach to learning

supported by peaceful teaching strategies. Education should also seek to impart realistic aspirations in the students which are in keeping with limited job prospects.

5.6.9 Cultural solidarity and identity

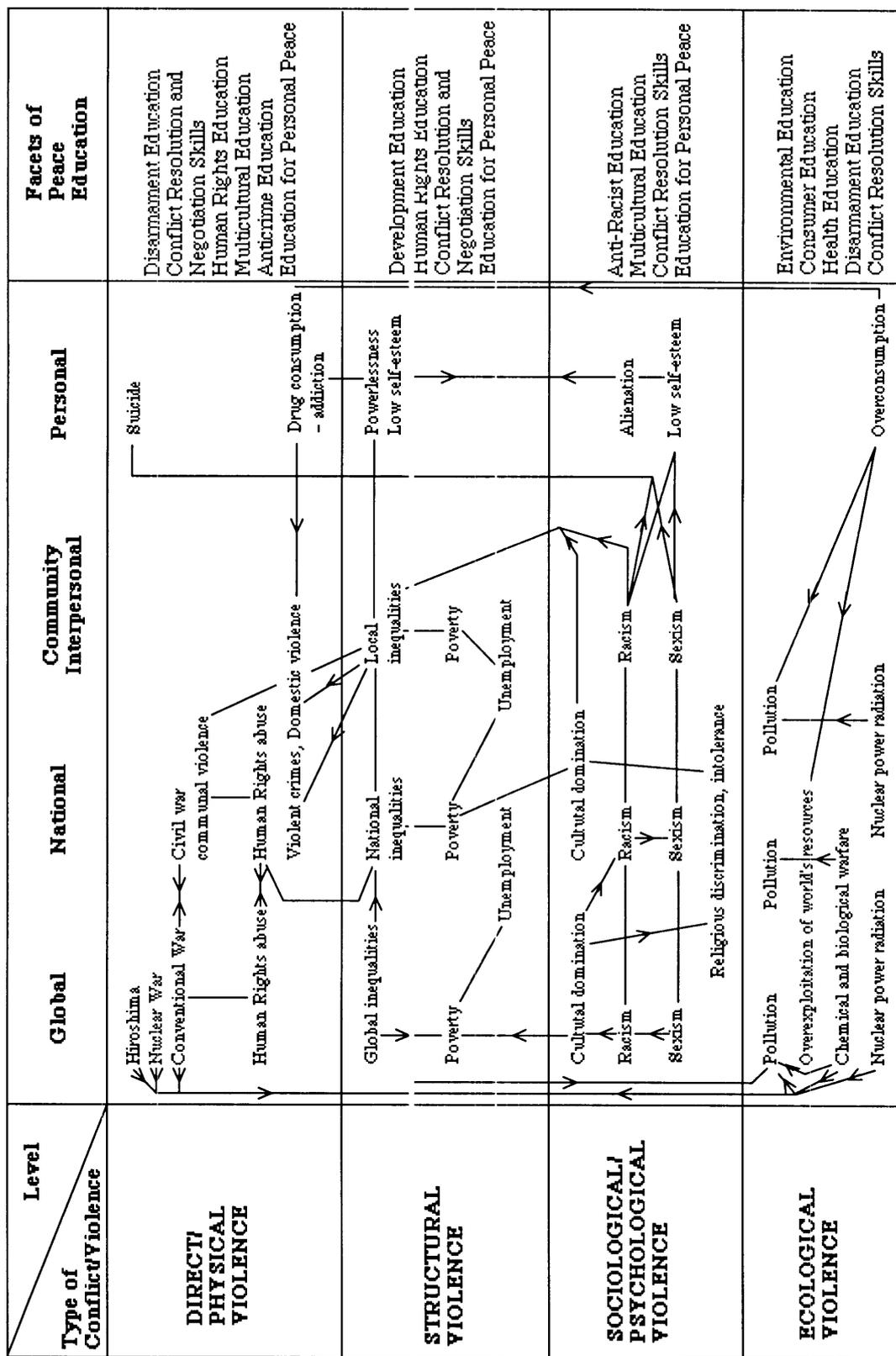
'Unity in diversity' is a strategic concept aimed at avoiding intolerance, prejudice and hate. In part, this can be achieved through the encouragement of different traditions and cultural practices, e.g. students learning the traditional methods of resolving conflicts. It is important that education validates indigenous traditions (Pradevaad, 1989). If local values are elevated above Western values, students will be better equipped to maintain local culture.

Many countries are made up of diverse cultural traditions, beliefs and ethnic origins. Education can play an important role in preventing the extinguishment of these minority groups and developing an atmosphere of tolerance and peace.

It can validate and strengthen minority cultures. Where tolerance and respect are exercised, intercultural conflicts will be minimised. Toh & Cawagas (1987a:21) assert that cultural solidarity expresses the spirit of trust, empathy, respect and understanding of plural society where different cultures must learn to live together.

5.7 The scope of peace studies

Toh Swee-Hin and Floresca Cawagas (1987) have stressed that Peace Studies needs to take a multi-faceted approach in order to develop a critical understanding of the causes of conflict at the personal, interpersonal, community, national and global levels. Then strategies can be developed to reduce the incidence of violence. The scope of Peace Studies is very wide, as illustrated in Figure 5.2, which relates the type of violence to the various levels at which it has its impacts.



Source: Toh, 1986:3

Figure 5.2. A typology of peace studies

An example will help to illustrate the linkages and relationships. The global world economic order perpetuates structural violence whereby a 'core' of countries in the North maintain and enhance their economic well being while leaving the South on the periphery of development and highly dependent on the North. This may, for example, result in environmental degradation as Third World countries struggle to earn foreign exchange to repay debt. Internal elites promote the same violent structure in their own countries to their advantage. The eventual poverty results in a sense of alienation and marginalisation which is associated with domestic violence and crime. The Peace Studies response to this is development and human rights education, as well as training in nonviolent means of achieving social change. The obvious question is whether such education and training makes a difference given the strength of the opposing forces.

To sum up this section, conflict and violence need to be analysed holistically and tackled nonviolently. These themes have been discussed earlier and will be returned to at a number of points later in this thesis.

5.8 Conclusion

For many people who have been indoctrinated by mainstream thinking, moving from the modernisation paradigm to a PEACE paradigm can help the process of finding 'nonviolent, radical solutions involving the structural and value changes necessary if development is to be humanising' (Swan, 1997:33). The following chapter discusses the nonviolent means by which the objectives of the PEACE paradigm can be implemented.

CHAPTER SIX

Developing a culture of peace through nonviolence

6.1 Introduction

Chapter Six presents an alternative to violent processes and structures. The nonviolent alternative is an answer to a basic question: how do individuals or groups work for desired social change. It contends that to use direct violence is morally unjustifiable and probably ineffective. The alternative strategy involves 'soul force', to use Gandhi's phrase, by resorting to the spiritual strength to 'fight' violence. The following nonviolent strategies are suggested as an effective way forward in constructing a culture of peace.

6.2 Nonviolence and nonviolent action

Nonviolence refers to a myriad of beliefs and methods of action for dealing with conflict. It stands in contrast to a series of beliefs about conflict and violence put forward by the mainstream (refer to Appendix 1). Nonviolence is a process, a strategy or philosophy defined by its rejection of any use of violence as a remedy against other individuals. Nonviolence is about alternative and peaceful means of resolving conflict (Weber & Burrowes, 1991:1; Galtung, 1990a & 1990b) and is a means by which ordinary citizens can wield their power despite their state of apparent disempowerment. Sharp (1973:64) regards non-violent action as:

...a technique by which people who reject passivity and submission, and who see struggle as essential, can wage their conflict without violence. Nonviolence is not an attempt to avoid or ignore conflict.

Nonviolent methods are essentially proactive methods for bringing about change and do not imply non-action; they are simply action without the use of violence. Nonviolence is a potent tool for achieving desired structural changes (Ostergaard, 1977).

The use of nonviolence is justified by Huxley (1938:139) as follows:

If violence is answered by nonviolence, the result is physical struggle. Now a physical struggle inevitably arouses in the minds of those directly and indirectly concerned in it, emotions of hatred, fear, rage and resentment ... Nothing matters anymore except victory. And when at last victory comes to one another or other of the parties, this final outcome of physical struggle bears no necessary relation to the rights and wrongs of the case; nor in most cases, does it provide any lasting settlement.

(Quoted in Weber & Burrowes, 1991:4)

Critics are skeptical of the effectiveness of nonviolence and it is worth noting that not all methods used are equally 'peaceful'. However, advocates of nonviolence argue they result in far less destruction compared to direct violence (Sharp, 1973; Martin, 1984). In addition, the main motive of the advocates of nonviolence is to reduce injustice and inequality rather than build personal wealth or power.

The following section examines some of the theories of nonviolence out of which the notion of 'people power' originated as a way of securing change by the use of nonviolent actions. The discussion outlines different types of nonviolence and various methods of nonviolent action.

6.2.1 Types of nonviolence

Nonviolence, involving different methods, has been practiced in various religions, cultures and interest groups in the world for centuries based on the belief that it was wrong to use violence in their struggle to achieve their goals. The commitment to nonviolence stems from religious and cultural beliefs or as a political weapon when other methods fail or result in defeat (Summy, 1995; Weber & Burrowes 1991:1). As already noted, nonviolence is not inaction, but action that is non-violent. It is also perceived as a technique for conducting conflict effectively, with as little damage as possible to individuals. Nonviolence wields social, political and economic power and helps people to discover their potential as a source of change in the community.

The many practices of nonviolence comprise nine types of nonviolence (non-resistance, active reconciliation, moral resistance, elective nonviolence, passive resistance, peaceful resistance, nonviolent direct action (Gandhian nonviolence and nonviolent resolution), of

which five have a spiritual or ethical motivation and four a political and/or social motivation.

6.2.2 Tactical non-violence

Non-violence is approached in two ways - the *tactical pragmatic* approach and *principled or ideological* approach (Holmes, 1990:3; Burrowes, 1996). The tactical approach involves the use of passive resistance techniques to 'fight' violence and to force the opponent to submit. Passive resisters may have little concern for the truth because they believe they know the truth and assume that error is on the side of the opponent. Ostergaard (1977) mentions that passive resisters struggle against their opponent to seek a victory and effectively fulfil their own interests. Passive resisters can be as powerful and manipulative as the protagonists in conventional politics in many Western societies. Although nonviolence is not an entirely peaceful means to an end, it gives non-violent actors a sense of empowerment with which to counteract their opponent. According to Sharp (1973:3)

Nonviolent in this sense is a technique used to control and destroy the power of the opponent because some conflicts do not yield to compromise and can only be resolved through struggle.

6.2.3 Principled ideological nonviolence

Ideological nonviolence is founded on a spiritual belief that violence is evil. In all the world religions, references are made to the use of nonviolence as the main principle of living. The Chinese philosopher Lao Tse, who founded Taoism emphasised that military force was not the way for humanity to follow. He frequently referred to the peaceful images of water or wind. Confucius maintained that peace came from social harmony and equilibrium. The basis of Jainist ethics is Ahimsa that denied the will or desire to kill or do harm. Gandhi and his philosophy of nonviolence (satyagraha) brought ahimsa into the active moral consciousness of Hinduism. The sixth commandment "Thou shalt not kill" (Exodus 20:17) is one of the fundamental premises of Christian doctrine and the Christian God is viewed as a God of love and peace. The basis of biblical teaching is founded on nonviolence and peace even though people have misused its doctrine to justify war as 'the will of God' in order to protect justice and freedom. There are a few

Christian groups which adhere to nonviolence, including the Quakers, Anabaptists and the Brethren which, claim that war and violence are contradictory to the teaching of Christ. The liberation theology advocated by some Third World Catholics emphasises nonviolence. These churches teach that nonviolence starts with the belief in Christ and the ultimate worth of the individual to create a society in which one finds enrichment and self esteem (Stanton-Rich, 1987:22).

Principled or ideological nonviolence is practiced with, rather than against, an opponent. The practice is accepted as morally right and an attempt is made to convert all parties towards 'the truth' and accept its practices as a way of life (Holmes, 1990:2; Swan, 1995:42; Martin, 1984). Nonviolence is based on the fundamental dignity of human beings and involves, above all, the refusal to hurt someone who is valuable and worthy of respect (Vanderhaar, 1990). It is axiological to the concept of non-violence that every human being has a fundamental dignity. Consequently, principled or ideological nonviolence stems from the imperative not to do physical or emotional harm to any individual.

Principled nonviolent activists value the means more than the end (Merton, 1980; Holmes, 1990:2; Swan, 1995:42). The philosophy demands commitment to spiritual and religious morals and values in daily living. This approach takes the concept of nonviolence practiced, for example, by Jesus and followed by Mahatma Gandhi and Martin Luther King as the higher search for truth and for mutual growth and conversion. Merton (1979:109) explains that:

Christian nonviolence is not built on a presupposed division, but on the basic unity of God. It is not out for the conversion of the wicked to the ideas of the good, but for the healing and to the adversary, the right which is objective and universal. He is fighting for everybody. For this reason, as Gandhi saw, the fully consistent practice of nonviolence demands a solid metaphysical and religious basis both in being and in God.

Gandhi realised that the means by which peace was achieved would be just as significant as the final result. His nonviolence integrated religion with politics as a force for liberating India from British colonial rule and attracted radical thinkers such as Martin

Luther King. Gandhi's approach stands as an example of the effectiveness of principled nonviolence.

Gandhi viewed satyagraha as a process for moving towards peace. Using satyagraha he hoped to eradicate the injustice inherent in human society in a way that was affirming to human dignity. The philosophy of satyagraha is the search for the truth using nonviolent means which require a casting off of fear and a willingness to sacrifice (Jesudasan, 1986; Ostergaard 1977; Galtung 1989; Jayaraman, 1987). It involves the exercise of power or influence to effect change without causing injury to the opponent, using various methods of civil disobedience.

Gandhi believed that violence propagates violence and that no liberation will ever be achieved by these means. The source of his teaching is in the Hindu classics, mainly the Bhagavad Gita, which sees religion as something dynamic and evolving. Gandhi accepted Indian traditional symbols and gave them new meaning, but was also influenced by Christian traditions and writings on nonviolent processes. His nonviolent techniques were implemented to fulfil seven political struggles as identified by Galtung (1990b:146):

- (1) The fight for independence, 'swaraj', against colonialism and imperialism.
- (2) The fight against the caste system, for the untouchables, the 'harijans' and against inequality and exploitation.
- (3) The fight against economic exploitation, for a new economic order, 'sarvodaya'.
- (4) The fight for a new way of implementing change, non-violently, 'satyagraha'.
- (5) The fight against communal strife between Hindus and Muslims.
- (6) The fight against sexism; for the liberation of women.
- (7) The fight against racism, against the discrimination of Indians, in South Africa.

Gandhi's approach to politics contains three essential elements: (a) personal nonviolence as a way of life, (b) constructive work to create new society and (c) nonviolent resistance to direct and structural violence (Burrowes, 1996:102). All three address the fundamental need of individuals and incorporates an intention to provide for these needs. Gandhi rejected capitalism with its emphasis on competitiveness and material progress which leads to greed and exploitation. His vision for the future was the decentralised

network of self-reliance and self-governing communities in order to eliminate the potential for structural violence inherent in a dependency relationship. He introduced Khadi, handwoven cloth industries intended to make the village more self-reliant and proud of their identities after years of oppression and exploitation under British rule.

Gandhi used Khadi as a symbol of unity for the Indian identity, its economic freedom and equality. It was also an attempt at reducing the accumulated wealth of the rich and raising the living standards of the poor (Burrowes, 1996:104). Gandhi's vision was to satisfy the needs of individuals. He also addressed the social status of Indian women being systematically oppressed by India's patriarchal society and the British law which reinforced male power and dominance in all spheres of development. Similarly, he worked to restore self esteem, dignity and justice to the Harijans or those without caste in Hindu society.

Gandhi was totally dedicated to these struggles and committed to his non-violent actions or Satyagraha. For him, truth and God became indistinguishable and any search for truth was in fact a search for the divine; a search to uplift the spirit. To Gandhi, the only possible way to search for truth was by adopting Ahimsa, nonviolence as a method of action and philosophy. The translation of Ahimsa is non injury (himsa), but Gandhi believed it to be much more than a renunciation of the will to kill or damage. He equated it with love or active goodwill towards others. In order to carry out Ahimsa, the satyagrahi had to accept the third principle of *tapsaya*, that is of self suffering (Bondurant, 1958). The acceptance of suffering was meant to demonstrate to the opponent the seriousness of purpose. Gandhi stressed that self suffering was not a weapon of the weak and is of a very different nature to that of cowardice. The willingness to suffer, Gandhi believed, had the force to change the tyrant by appealing to his soul.

According to Gandhi, *Sata* (Pursuit of Truth) implies love and *agraha* means firmness or force. These were the two concepts that formed the basis for Gandhi's social and political action. Gandhi sought solutions that were creative, constructive and not destructive. Satyagraha led to India gaining national independence and changed some fundamental Indian social values. At its best, it developed an interacting force with an

opponent to transform movements which emerged with new patterns of relationships. In modern jargon, it emphasises win-win over win-lose, a resolution of conflict which will be of real benefit to both sides. Satyagrahis naturally believe that they are right, but they do not assume that the truth lies only on one side. Gandhi did not search after immediate goals but rather valued the process which would lead to a just, peaceable, morally and intellectually vibrant community of responsible people (Burrowes, 1996:110).

Martin Luther King was profoundly influenced by Gandhi's ideology. Inspired also by the works of theologian Reinhold Niebuhr, he led the civil rights movement to liberate blacks from white domination in the United States. King (1958:102-106) valued six basic principles of nonviolence.

First, nonviolent resistance is not a method for cowards: it does resist. Passive resistance gives the false impression that it is a sort of "do-nothing method" in which the resister quietly and passively accepts evil. The method is passive physically, but strongly active spiritually, constantly seeking to persuade his opponent that he is wrong.

Secondly, nonviolence does not seek to defeat or humiliate the opponent, but to win his/her friendship and understanding. The nonviolent resister expresses his protest through non-cooperation or boycotts such actions that work to awaken a sense of moral shame in the opponent. Thirdly, a characteristic of this method is that the attack is directed against forces of evil rather than persons who happen to be doing the evil. King (1958:104) stated that "the tension is not between differing people but between justice and injustice, between forces of light and the forces of darkness".

A fourth point that characterises nonviolent resistance is willingness to accept suffering without retaliation, to accept blows from the opponent without striking back. The nonviolent resister is willing to accept violence, if necessary, but never inflict it. A fifth characteristic not only avoids physical violence but also internal violence of spirit. The nonviolent resister not only refuses to shoot an opponent, but he also refuses to hate him.

The sixth characteristics of the nonviolent resister is the conviction that the universe is on the side of justice. The believer in nonviolence has deep faith in the future. The struggle

for justice has a cosmic relationship). In delivering his Nobel Peace Prize Lecture in Oslo in 1964, Norway, King remarked:

... in spite of spectacular strides in science and technology, and still unlimited ones to come, something basic is missing. There is a sort of poverty of the spirit which stands in glaring contrast to our scientific and technological abundance. The richer we have come materially, the poorer we have become morally and spiritually. We have learnt to fly the air like birds and swim the sea like fish, but we have not learnt the simple art of living together as brothers.

(Quoted in Bickmore, 1984:7).

6.2.4 Nonviolent theory of power

'Power' is a dynamic multifaceted phenomenon that can be manifested in a variety of ways (Burrowes, 1996:85). According to nonviolence theorists, power is not a characteristic owned by an individual, but is present in every relationship (Summy, 1997; Sharp, 1973 & 1980). This means that every individual, including the most oppressed, equally have a measure of power, that is, the capacity to dominate and control. The power of elites are based on external sources. These include **authority** (the acceptance by people of the elite's right to command), **human resources** (the elite's supporters with their knowledge and skills), and **intangible factors** (such as psychological considerations and ideological conditioning) (Burrowes, 1996:85). The sources of power are externally dependent on the obedience and cooperation of the people (Sharp, 1973:10). Societies have set up structures to facilitate the exercise of power either through elected officials of those who impose themselves on others. The continuation of the structure depends on the co-operation of the rest of the community. Sharp (1980:22) describes this as the "ruler-subject classification" where the wielder of power does so only with the consent of the rest of the population.

These perceptions of power are contrary to the dominant view that power flows downward to command the rest of society. If political power is dependent on the good will of the populace, it therefore, follows that the masses can upset the balance of power by withdrawing their co-operation and refusing to comply. This point is central to nonviolent action.

When people refuse the r co-operation, withhold their help and persist in their disobedience and defiance, they are denying their opponent the basic human assistance and co-operation which any government or hierarchical system requires. If they do this in sufficient numbers for long enough, that government or hierarchical system will no longer have power

Sharp, 1973:64.

6.2.5 Nonviolent action

Gene Sharp (1973) outlined 198 types of nonviolent actions and divided them into three broad categories: nonviolent protest and persuasion, nonviolent non-cooperation, and nonviolent intervention. The first includes actions that are mainly symbolic in character such as mass demonstrations and marches. The second involves withdrawal of a particular type of cooperation with the opponent such as strikes, boycotts and tax refusals. In the third category are actions that intervene in situations either negatively, by disturbing the normal pattern of work or positively by creating new ones. The latter are usually more radical involving actions, sit-ins, fasts, work-ins or even the establishment of an alternative government.

When an individual or a group actively decides to withdraw their co-operation or to disobey or ignore the government, they are acting non-violently. There are many types of nonviolent action. The type chosen will depend on the circumstances of the situation. Based on Sharp's theory of power, three conditions must be satisfied in order for nonviolent action to be effective: first, consent must be withdrawn with a clear refusal to cooperate; second, collective commitment to action must be given; and third, there must be a coherent strategy. This understanding is fundamental to nonviolent action because, according to Burrowes (1996:91):

... the consent theory of power identifies people as the ultimate source of all power and highlights the notion that elites are dependent on the cooperation of the people they represent.

6.2.6 The practice of nonviolence methods

The use of nonviolence is increasingly been used in the Western countries and also in some Third World countries. On the other hand, nonviolence may not be all that attractive because people expect quick results and perhaps see nonviolence as time consuming, less effective and as a weapon of the weak (Summy, 1995). Such attitudes may occur from ignorance about how nonviolent methods work (Anderson & Lamore, 1991:113). If nonviolence means are to work in the Third World, people must be made aware of the issues that are contributing to the conflict and also to the different ways of dealing with it. Therefore, activists in Third World countries need to have access to a broader understanding of the structures in place to influence change for justice (Martin 1989).

The starting point for any action is the empowerment of people. It involves an insight into their own capacity to effect change. As Sharp (1973:778) states:

Participation in non violent action both requires and produces certain changes in the previous pattern of submissiveness within the grievance group. A change of the opponent's outlook and beliefs may or may not be an object of the campaign, but some "Change of Heart" must take place in the nonviolent group and in the wider grievance group. Without it there can be no nonviolent action. Without a change from passive acceptance of the opponent's will, from lack of confidence and helplessness and a sense of inferiority and fear, there can be no significant nonviolent action and no basic transformation of relationships.

There are several factors which contribute to the success of non-violence, including development of a strong organisational network; training of activists in the basic principles of nonviolence; good planning; a compelling issue; a careful choice of which nonviolent action to pursue; consistency in the struggle; and a vision to which a group is committed.

Whilst there is a great deal of formal and informal education about the desirability, effectiveness and glory of violence, there is relatively little concerning nonviolent methods (Burns & Weber, 1996; Weighert, 1989). As Holmes (1990:5) observes:

If we want to measure the effectiveness of nonviolence thoroughly, we need to begin looking at things in a different way. We need to think harder about what constitutes the success or failure of both violence and nonviolence. The question is not whether nonviolence works; it is also whether violence works. And if they both sometimes work and sometimes do not, does nonviolence work better than violence?

6.2.7 How successful is nonviolent action?

In a nonviolent campaign, a successful outcome is never guaranteed. The opponent may be unmoved by the campaign or may choose to react to nonviolent actions with further repression and counter-violence. However, if the actions are sustained and effective, change may occur to promote social justice. The aim of nonviolent action is to effect a change of heart from an adversarial position to one of co-operation. Usually the adversary will change their behaviour either because they are accommodating the nonviolent activists or because they are forced to do so. People power movements are tolerated more in the West, where they have gained public support and to some extent political recognition.

On the other hand, some Third World countries during recent years have become active in advocating nonviolent movements for social change. For instance, the Philippines where people power movement led to the downfall of Marcos and similarly Soeharto in Indonesia. Gandhi's nonviolent action liberated India from colonial British rule and Martin Luther King and his nonviolent resistance led to the overturning of white discriminatory practices against blacks.

In the Third World, nonviolence is often met with strong military opposition from governments and their supporters, but there are some important success stories, which are summarised in Table 6.1. Ralph Summy (1995), a nonviolent theorist, criticises the orthodox view that nonviolence is ineffective against ruthless leaders and provides compelling empirical evidence to support this argument in his *Nonviolence And The Case of The Extremely Ruthless Opponent*.

Table 6.1 The success of nonviolence

Year	Location	Objective	Methods	Reference
1915–1947	India	Liberate Indians from British colonial rule. Also Badish Khan known for his acts of violence turned to accept nonviolence and its practice	Use of Satyagraha i.e. passive resistance. Organised nonviolent army against British rule in aid of Ghandi	Barash, 1992; Burrowes, 1996
1950–1960	America	Liberate black Americans from mainstream white American dominance	Montgomery bus boycott (Alabama)	Barash, 1992; King, 1958
1986	Philippines	Overthrow Marcos	Nonviolent protests	Cawagas, 1987; Sider, 1986; Barash, 1992
1986	Haiti	Topple Jean-Claude Duvalier	Nonviolent protests	Sider, 1986; Barash, 1992
1987	South Korea	Topple Chu Doo Hwan	Nonviolent demonstrations	Barash, 1992
1980s	Nicaragua	Witness for Peace (WFP) formed by concerned Americans to conscientize other Americans to the American Government repression of Nicaraguans by supporting the Contra rebels	Nonviolent direct action awareness campaigns led many Americans to oppose Reagan administration. Similarly people power movements have led to overthrowing ruthless governments in Latin American countries	Sider, 1989
1944	El Salvador	Topple General Martinez	Non-cooperation (lawyers, engineers, teachers, shopkeepers and railway workers all left their posts). Martinez fled to Guatemala	Sider, 1989
1931	Guatemala	Overthrow General Jorge Ubico	Nonviolent resistance (strikes) business and offices closed July 1, 1944. Ubico gave up	Sider, 1989
1997	PNG	Toppling of Chan Government over the deployment of the mercenaries on Bougainville	Nonviolent protests initiated by Gerry Singirok, backed up by army, the police force and common citizens. The army were armed but instructed not to shoot by Singirok.	—

On a smaller scale, numerous nonviolent actions around the world have had a profound impact for justice and equality. For example, in Australia, the success of people power was seen in the Franklin River campaign organised by the Wilderness Society to prevent the proposed Gordon River Dam which succeeded in extracting concessions from the Tasmanian Government. Other examples include the anti-Vietnam War campaigns, many forest campaigns, MABO -- which led a legal basis for indigenous people of Australia to claim customary lands, a series of protests against uranium mining and the presence of US bases, campaigns against visiting warships carrying nuclear weapons and

many others, including many trade union actions (Weber & Burrowes, 1991:3). According to Sharp, (1973:779):

One of the most important problems faced by people who feel that they are oppressed, or that they must oppose dominant evil policies and systems is; how can they act? Nonviolent action provides a multitude of ways in which people, whether majorities or minorities can utilise whatever potential leverage they may possess to become active participants in controlling their own lives.

Some conflicts however, can only be resolved through use of tactical nonviolence as part of an attempt to achieve wider social change. In everyday disputes and conflicts, the use of a wide range of conflict resolution methods, including the many traditional ways of resolving disputes can result in more peaceful resolutions. Nonviolent techniques should be more widely taught in schools and universities.

6.3 Transcendent Peace

Ultimately, the spiritual imperative provides a vital motive to seek nonviolent solutions. Inevitably the concepts of peace that can be articulated and utilised are those central to the various religions of the Third World (see section 6.2.3), all of which embrace the interconnectedness of peace, justice and development as human and God-centred. In support of this view, Hunthausen (1983:5) reiterates the views of Thomas Merton that:

... the whole gamut of man's activities today constitutes an indivisible whole. You cannot divide social, economic, political and purely religious work into watertight compartments ... it is to declare the secularist mentality of recent centuries that religion is to be locked up in the sacristy and in the home.

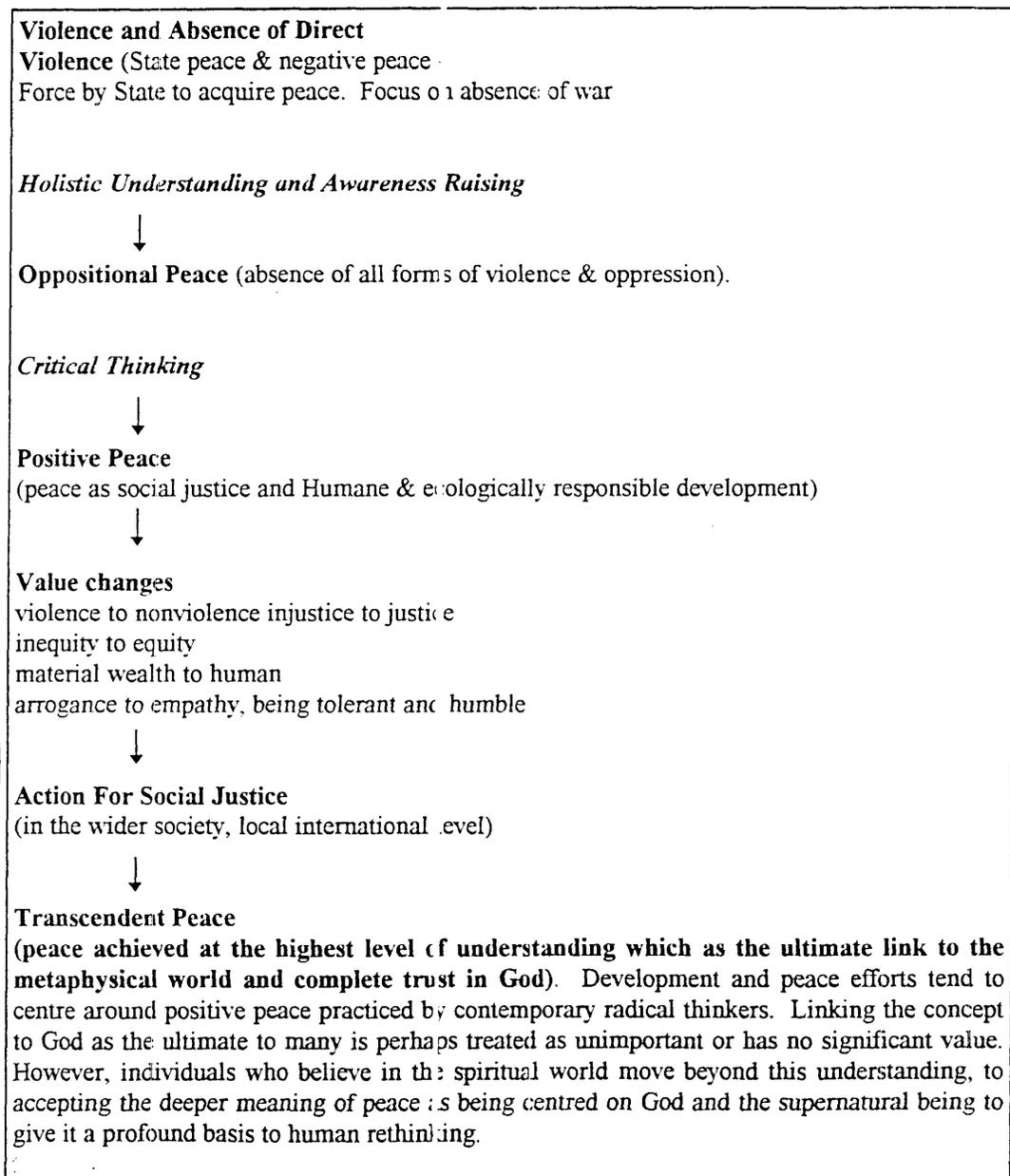
Religion and peace can be practiced at two levels. At one level people practice peace in their social encounters and actions by obeying their religions' rules. At the second level, peace is accepted as through the act of complete trust in God, through placing God above and before all else. God becomes the centre of all actions and peace is accepted not as a goal, but as a process. In addition, Swan (1995:41) adds to Galtung's violence triangle a fourth dimension: 'moral violence' caused by inconsistencies in human morals and ethics, which occurs when individuals use their own judgements of what is right and wrong without an outside moral or philosophical basis:

Moral violence confuses and culminates in societies where the blind believe that they can see, and lead the blind. It mitigates against peace, for it may in fact and indeed, poison societies, organisations, groups and individuals whether secular or religious and even those who speak for peace.

(Swan: 1995:42)

These processes act together or in isolation to promote a culture of peace summed up in Table 6.2.

Table 6.2 **Peace As A Process**



6.4 Conclusion

Chapters 5 and 6 have outlined the PEACE paradigm as an appropriate way of understanding conflict and violence in the Third World, and the philosophy and practice of nonviolent ways of implementing the objectives of that paradigm. Clearly, these deserve to be studied at university level and the next chapter outlines some peace studies programs in different countries. Chapter 8 examines some attempts to evaluate the impact of peace studies.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Peace Studies in Universities

7.1 Introduction

This chapter outlines some of the origins of peace studies and its evolution since 1945 before examining some examples of peace studies programs in selected universities.

It is worth noting, as an introductory remark, that peace, and how to achieve it, is not studied to any extent. This may be because conflict and war are more exciting or because the 'spirit of our age' admires strength, if not aggression, in personal, business and political life. There is also the more pragmatic reason that, particularly during times of economic constraint, mainline disciplines in universities will strongly resist 'fringe' activities which compete with them for resources.

7.2 The origins of peace studies

The study of peace or 'peace studies' evolved chronologically over three separate eras in the last fifty years (Harris et al, 1998). The first phase emerged in the 1950s, based around the study of Cold War. The definition of 'peace' developed a discourse which included concepts of deterrence, diplomacy and international organisations and their role in promoting inter-state peace.

Beginning in the 1960s, a second phase emerged, energised by the Vietnam war (Harris, 1995; Young, 1981; Brouwer, 1992). A main component of this phase was a proactive attempt to reexamine the myth that war was inevitable. Sovereign states had long upheld the idea that peace was achieved through trade, diplomacy, economic progress and a build up of strong defence capacity (Jones, 1989; Swan, 1988). The rationale of high military expenditures was that these acted as primary deterrents against potential aggression and led to (negative) peace. Third World governments have succumbed to similar indulgences, financing military power at the expense of needed social

expenditures to secure their own political and economic interests, and those of the superpower allies (Smoker, et al., 1990; Ahmad, 1985; Apostolakis, 1992).

The 1980s saw a third phase whereby peace researchers moved to emphasise that peace included indirect as well as direct violence (Brouwer, 1992; Brock-Utne, 1985; Haavelsrud, 1981:95). The reason for this change of emphasis is explained by Tonkin (1982:28) as follows:

... even if there was no war as such, people cannot be said to experience peace when they live in conditions of injustice, domination and exploitation, with their basic rights denied and their potential for full personal development constrained. Peacelessness in other words, came to be understood not only as physical violence, but structural violence as well, to be at peace came to mean not only as freedom from overt violence, but freedom from oppressor of any kind.

The progressive reconceptualisation of peace highlights the need for public awareness and education to overcome traditional preconceptions. It is the traditional and misinformed epistemological standpoints of the general public that restrict progressive ways of thinking about war, security and peace (Smoker & Herman, 1987:36). In an interview with Carol Rank, Nigel Young comments:

Peace research has a responsibility for providing a critique of international relations and realpolitik that can land us in a thermonuclear graveyard. Peace Studies is an emancipation from ideas which are oppressive and ultimately supportive of a system which is destructive and potentially lethal. One has to critique the language, assumptions, strategies of the system [and this] cannot be done within a traditional international framework.

(Rank, 1988:57)

The events of the late 1980s and 1990s have been interpreted as reducing and increasing the need for peace studies. Events such as the initiatives by Gorbachev, the dismantling of the Berlin Wall in 1989, the demise of communism in the Soviet Union and the end of apartheid in South Africa have been interpreted by some as the result of economic imperatives and nothing to do with the peace movement, and by others as the fruits of many years of peace activism. Even with massive political changes, however, the economic injustice referred to by Tonkin (1982) above remains largely intact. There has also been a redefinition of the major enemy. With the breakup of the Soviet Union,

America is now apparently threatened by hostile Islamic fundamentalist regimes, thus justifying continued high levels of military expenditure. The wars fought since 1945, almost all in Third World countries, have claimed a disproportionate number of civilian lives, repressive regimes continue to violate human rights and the global economy perpetuates injustices in order to secure the political and economic interests of Western industrialised countries and Third World elites.

In response, there has been a shift of emphasis within the peace movement and by academic institutions towards positive peace, with its emphasis on injustices and inequality, and towards conflict management, meditation, arbitration, reconciliation, and conflict resolution. Other current emphases include the study and practice of nonviolence, mutual-confidence building and non-military ways of achieving security e.g. social defence or civilian defence.

This redefinition of emphases has involved the growth of other areas of independent study such as development education, multicultural studies, peace education, environmental studies, world studies, human rights and conflict resolution (Toh, 1991). While each study will have its own emphases, the notion of interconnectedness contributes to the strength and the quality of peace studies as a whole.

Universities and colleges offer peace studies at both undergraduate and postgraduate level. Academics concerned with peace have often allocated their extra time into creating peace studies programs. Professional journals have been produced, including the *International Journal of World Peace*, the *Journal of Peace Research*, the *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, *Peace and Change*, *Pacifica Review* and *Peace Science*. Many national and international conferences are held, of which the International Peace Research Association and its regional constituents are prominent. Myriads of local groupings are also emerging to push for particular changes and, increasingly, to lobby experts and decision makers in such areas as international relations, the nuclear arms race, environmental issues and 'local' issues such as domestic violence.

Although the positive dimension of peace, the main emphasis in peace studies - is gaining momentum in Western institutions, other peace educators are drawing attention to the

notion of transcendent peace (see section 6.3). This shift links the concept of peace with a deeper *spiritual* meaning:

Peace Studies originated as a Western reaction to problems generated largely by the West and by those who take their cue from the West. Western values permeate Peace Studies, as do Western ways of thinking, seeing and doing: emphasis is on problem-solving and the pragmatic attainment of goals. ... There is awareness of much of what Peace Studies should help lead away from (*e-duco*). There is less confidence over what such studies should lead to (*ad-duco*), excepting that it should be to peace, and if possible, in peace. The concept of peace itself is in need of fuller development... Little heed is paid to the lessons of metaphysics, theology and religion on peace, and a vast body of literature and thought on the subject is untapped or barely so... There appears to be subscription to the notion that metaphysics, theology and religion afford insights that are less amenable to proof and that, as such, they are removed from *realpolitik*, practicality and even credibility.

Swan 1995:37

The historical movement towards transcendent peace has been charted by Bernard Swan (1995:34-46) who also notes that each type of peace is linked to a type of violence (see section 5.2):

- (i) ***State peace***: Peace is linked to the establishment of law and order practised in the mainstream. Peace is defined as the absence of war between states and within states. Although peace is not the main concern of the state, other than for the protection of its own political and economic interests, these are often explained as national interest. War has been resorted to throughout history as the last resort. State peace is to be defended by means of diplomacy, trade, economic progress and a readiness to fight if necessary.
- (ii) ***Negative peace***: Peace is still defined as the absence of war, but there may be moves to go beyond the conventional wisdom and to search for alternative means of defence such as mutual-confidence building measures.
- (iii) ***Oppositional/Positive peace***: It is recognised that abolition of international war is no guarantee of peace. What is required is to address the deep-seated causes of peacelessness. Emphasis is placed on structural violence, the silent oppression perpetuated by the privileged and the powerful upon the underprivileged and the

powerless through systems and structures of social, cultural, economic and political control. The emphasis is the promotion of justice, respect for human rights and human dignity and tolerance.

- (iv) ***Transcendent peace:*** This peace is linked to religion, cosmology, metaphysics, God, morals and ethics. Swan argues that all the other efforts to deal with violence in the hope of achieving peace are incomplete until given a spiritual meaning.

7.3 The status of peace studies in academia

Although peace studies has expanded, it is still a long way from being accepted as an academic discipline (Harris, 1995: 07). This, and its non-vocational aspect, leads to a relatively low intake of students which means that such courses may be deleted in the face of financial stringencies faced by academic institutions. The impetus for peace studies typically comes from interested academic staff in other disciplines, typically with little or no University funding. This has two problems: it can result in the 'burn out' of interested academic staff who take on an extra load above their normal teaching. In addition, when such staff move to another location or retire, the whole project may be discontinued (Harris et al., 1998). The other major issue is the lack of appropriately trained people for either the Western or Third World teaching.

Other constraints on peace studies include its marginal and essentially subversive nature. The goals of peace studies conflict with an established culture where nationalism, violence and militaristic traditions still play an important role. Against this background, peace studies has become strongly established in some universities and now we turn to consider some examples.

7.3.1 Department of Peace Studies, University of Bradford, UK

The Department was established in 1973 with the initiative and financial support of the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers). A sum of \$75,000 was raised to establish a chair and this was supported by an encouraging environment at Bradford during a time of University expansion. There are currently nineteen members of the academic staff and about 300 students of whom one third are postgraduates. In addition to normal

academic responsibilities, staff run courses at military and civil service establishments and are in demand from the media for radio and television interviews. It is the only fully-fledged peace studies department in the UK, although there is a teaching institute of 2.5 members within the Department of Politics and International Relations at the University of Lancaster, and several similar sized groups elsewhere.

The Department has organised its courses around six themes:

1. **Philosophy of peace and methods of conflict resolution.** Research and teaching is carried out on the history and analysis of the concept and value of peace, and related concepts and values, especially security, justice, freedom and 'just war' theories. Conflict resolution examines methods of mediation, negotiation and arbitration at all levels. A Centre for Conflict Resolution has been established within the Department.
2. **International politics and security studies.** This theme includes security relations between states, origins and causes of peace and war among states, international regimes and theoretical perspectives on global society. It also carries out work on the arms dynamic, arms control and the economics of defence spending. Emphasis is also placed on the intergovernmental responses to global environmental problems.
3. **Development and conflict.** Included under this theme is consideration of the relationship between conflict and development in the Third World, covering democratisation and citizenship in the countries of Latin America and sub-Saharan Africa. The topic also covers political change and the causes and management of conflict in the regions of Iran and India.
4. **Politics and society.** Under this theme, emphasis is placed on conflicts around ethnicity, social class, gender issues, human rights and the future of industrialised countries. The sociology of the U.K. is examined and also its processes of social and political change. It considers the concepts of democracy and analyses trends and debates shaping society and their implications for the achievement of a peaceful society. Also explored are issues of human rights.
5. **Regions in conflict.** Under this theme, emphasis is placed on Northern Ireland, drawing attention to the internal and external roots of that conflict and the role that

conflict resolution can play. It also examines the problems of political and economic underdevelopment in the Middle East. A multi-faceted approach is used in order to conceptualise the causes of conflicts.

- 6. International politics and the environment.** The role of international action and inaction with respect to the environment is considered, with particular attention paid to the problem of global warming.

Undergraduate students complete a BA in Peace Studies over three years, taking core Peace Studies courses in their first two years, as well as some units from cognate disciplines, and optional units in their Third year when they also write a dissertation of 15,000 - 20,000 words.

The wide-ranging MA Peace Studies began in 1974 and examines conflict and peace at all levels - interpersonal, societal and international. The MA/Postgraduate Diploma course in International Politics and Security Studies was introduced in 1991. The emphases of the course are problems of international conflicts and security and methods of conflict avoidance and resolution.

7.3.2 Colgate University – USA

Colleges and universities in many parts of the United States offer Peace Studies through a wide range of courses covering issues such as nuclear arms, wars, peace, violence, conflict, conflict resolution, negotiation, mediation and nonviolence. The Brethren college in North Manchester, Indiana, founded in 1948, has the oldest peace studies program. A large proportion of these institutions do not have a distinct department of peace studies, but relevant courses offered by different staff are made available to students majoring in peace studies. the 'peace studies program' is coordinated, usually voluntarily, by interested staff.

Colgate University illustrates such a program. An interdisciplinary approach to peace studies commenced in the 1970s with a course on 'Problems of War and Peace'. A chair of Peace Studies was established in 1972. The program takes an interdisciplinary approach to the issues of peace and war, conflict and change, violence and nonviolence from local and community level to the international/global level. Added to this, the

program covers issues of 'Violence and Nonviolence: Movements for Peace and Social Change', 'International Ethics', and 'Arms Control'. Students can also take two courses in international conflict and global issues and two courses on intra-state/intra-societal approaches to violence and conflict resolution. The course concludes with a final course, 'Theories of Peace and Conflict and Global Violence', in an attempt to integrate fieldwork with academic courses taken during the major.

To support the program, Colgate has a residence occupied by peace studies majors and where visiting lecturers can stay. It has a library, a reading room, a large dining hall, and provides a meeting place on campus for peace organisations. Lacking a Department, the program is administered by a full-time director who is a member of the Sociology Department. He is assisted by a student intern, a graduate of the program who assists in teaching the introductory course and maintains the office.

7.3.3 University of New England (UNE), Australia

Peace Studies at UNE began in 1982 with the offerings by a geographer of a coursework unit titled 'The Geography of Peace and Conflict'. The academic climate was not encouraging: there was a suspicion of interdisciplinary courses and of the ideological bent of peace studies and mainline departments felt that any funding of peace studies would mean less for them. A plan was devised which dealt with most of these objectives i.e. a major in peace studies was established by utilising a group of relevant existing courses drawn from a number of different disciplines. In 1991, a Master of Letters degree in Peace Studies was introduced, the only post graduate degree in Peace Studies in Australia. This is almost always studied by a mix of coursework (three units) and dissertation. Five units of coursework have been developed which act as the core:

The Economics of Developing Countries: The unit is built around four questions.

What do we understand by development, underdevelopment and the development process? What are the principle causes of underdevelopment? What can be done by developing countries to assist in this task? Consideration of the first two questions involve exploration of alternative analytical approaches; while the third and fourth are addressed through a range of contemporary topics including international trade, foreign indebtedness and government expenditure allocations.

The Philosophy and Practice of Nonviolence: The unit begins by examining non-violence from a number of religious, philosophical and political perspectives. The wide range of alternative methods of non-violence are then briefly examined. Using extensive case study material, the reasons for the success and failure of particular non-violent campaigns are examined, and its potential for building non-violent societies.

Geographies of Peace: This unit examines the present world system in an attempt to ascertain the extent to which the system, including its processes and ideological supports, makes for or militates against peace. Subject matter covers geopolitical and socio-economic aspects of the world system; the effects and implications of strategies for national security and advancement; perceptions, processes, issues and problems of peace realisation, with reference to secular and religious concepts of peace.

Peacemaking and Conflict Resolution: The first part of the unit, peacemaking, has a national and international focus and deals with roles of mediators and negotiators in conflict situations in areas such as Africa, the Middle East and Northern Ireland. As conflict resolution theorists believe that the principles of conflict resolution hold at both the macro and micro levels, the second part of the unit looks at inter-personal conflict resolution in the contexts of education, organisations and the community generally.

The Environment, Development and Peace: The course covers the study of the attitudes to resources and of the way in which resources are used in developing countries in Africa and South East Asia. Attention is paid to particular issues such as wildlife conservation, the loss of tropical forests, and water quality management. Among key issues are land use, aid programs and the attitudes of governments towards development. The specific aims of the course are to develop a deeper understanding of the environment-development issues in relation to natural resources management in the Third World; and of the cultural, social, political and economic issues in relation to natural resources management in the Third World.

The UNE program provides an illustration of the fairly precarious nature of most peace studies programs. Initially there was the dependence on mainline departments to offer relevant units, but this was overcome by devising Peace Studies units as such, including taking over relevant units when departments relinquished them. More importantly, UNE does not fund the program. The program is run by an academic employed in a mainline department above his ordinary duties and, in recent years, four casual staff have been employed to coordinate individual units of coursework. This has been funded by the program's share of fees paid by several overseas students undertaking the program. In 1998, however, there were no such students. If the academic running the program was on leave or retire, there is a danger that the program would fold.

7.3.4 Notre Dame University (NDU), Philippines

Notre Dame University is located on the southern island of Mindanao and was founded by the Catholic Church. Peace education was established in 1987 and is consistent with the University's mission statement - "to give special attention to the poor, deprived and marginalised and exploited [and] to live a lifestyle expressive of Christian values, respecting and promoting life and human rights, working for truth, justice, love and peace".

There is an underlying motive in the NDU decision to offer peace education which needs to be briefly highlighted. The Marcos regime's downfall saw the development of a number of 'peace groups', promoting human rights, community development, disarmament, conflict resolution and social justice by nonviolent means. NDU's decision to set up Peace Studies was part of joining the wider community in their struggle to regain democracy and build social justice.

The beginnings of peace education program were the professional encounters, such as at the Mindanao Peace Studies Centre at Xavier University, Western Mindanao where a framework for NDU peace education was devised. The framework took into account the realities of conflict and violence prevalent in the Philippine society. Inputs into the peace studies program came from various sectors of community: students, village people, development workers and church activists. The result is a holistic approach to peace

studies devised with the Philippines political, social and economic structures in mind, and the needs of its people for peace and justice.

Peace education at NDU focuses on six areas:

- (1) **Militarisation** covers the US-Philippine military treaty which allowed the presence of the US bases, the anti-bases and nuclear-free movements in the country, the continuing global arms race, the 'culture of war' in everyday life; use of war toys, violence in the media, Rambo-style killings, and training in non-military conflict resolution skills and values in early childhood.
- (2) **Structural Violence** analyses death from poverty in the Third World with emphasis on the Philippines. The condition of the rural and urban poor are examined and its causes investigated. The urban and rural elites, either in collaboration or in competition with external economic agencies, exploit natural resources and cheap labour of the Philippines. This leads to unjust social, economic and political structures which inflict violence on the most vulnerable. Unequal terms of trade between North and the South and the debt trap are central examples of equity and justice embodied in the international structures and relationships of production.
- (3) **Human Rights** explores the international declarations and covenants on human rights and actual human rights practice. The annual reports of various international agencies committed to monitoring and advocating human rights continue to document serious and deteriorating conditions in many states. The structures of 'total war' to defeat insurgency lend themselves to human rights violations as does the rise of para-military groups or vigilantes. Structural violence systematically denies the poor their basic needs. The violation of the rights of women and children has led to women's movements rooted in principles of gender equity and self-determination. The Declaration on the Rights of Child pronounced by the United Nations provides the opportunity to address the contradictions of street children and child labourers vulnerable to exploitation.
- (4) **Environmental Care** examines global environmental crisis. The tendency of the South to abet and emulate the North's environmentally-destructive modernisation paradigm results in extensive and ruthless profit-maximising exploitation and

pollution of nation's natural environment. Famines, droughts, floods, hunger and the green-house-effect are some of the critical symptoms of a violent development structure. Indigenous people's rights are often subjected to the needs of loggers and miners.

The works of NGOs and interested environmental groups in creating public awareness to conscientize people to push for the end to such ecological violence is examined. The search for an alternative development model based on sustainable use principles is considered e.g. developing solar and alternative energy sources; recycling wastes; eco-tourism and community controlled sustainable forestry.

(5) Cultural Solidarity involves analysing conflicts and violence among different cultural traditions and groups that have led to tensions, disputes and wars. From the perspective of peace education, means of cultivating an awareness of cultural diversity that is simultaneously committed to a global unity of all peoples are examined. The search for unity in diversity of traditions, cultures and religions is studied. Intercultural healing requires the redress of structural injustices. Educating for cultural solidarity goes beyond promoting tolerance of diversity to transformations for justice and autonomy in economic, social and political spheres.

(6) Personal Peace. Embedded in the Philippines culture is the existence of spirituality and a concern for personal peace. The task for peace education is to draw on the indigenous world views and the religious peace perspectives currently being suppressed by the influence of Western 'civilisation' - to rethink concepts of 'growth', 'happiness', 'materialism'. Why is that those who have little are happy to share and be joyful while the affluent in the North cannot even part with something small and even want to grab more? These contradictions highlight the fact that personal peace transcends self-centred materialism. It seeks a balance between inner peace and the concern for social peacelessness; it supports, in diverse ways, peacebuilding in the wider community.

The program was formulated with two constraining factors - a lack of financial resources and of university teachers with detailed understanding of peace and conflict issues. In 1987, a core program was designed for the MA (Education) and Doctor of

Education degrees. Courses included: Disarmament Education, Education for Human Rights, Global Development, Justice Environmental Education, Ethnicity, Cultural Solidarity and Education, Active Non-Violence, Values Education, Third World Education and Development and religious Perspectives on Peace and Development. A research component was also designed.

Officials in the government's Department of Education, Culture and Sports raised questions whether graduates of peace education would find useful jobs. The other argument was the term 'peace education'. The suggestion was to change to 'development education', a topic area of specialisation in Philippine universities, although not necessarily taught from within a critical paradigm. The finally agreed name was 'development and peace education'.

The main method of teaching involves an interactive dialogue and conscientization process, where the teacher is a facilitator and where the students engage in a variety of active classroom participation. The approach allows students to continually analyse issues and problems of peacelessness and conflict and their interconnectedness to macro structures and realities.

The teacher's role is more of helping and guiding students in critical synthesis and reflection to raise their awareness of the realities of the Philippine's society and to identify and process personal biases, fears, hopes and dreams in dealing with the issues. The processes of learning as well as the content, promotes holistic understanding, relevant skills and personal commitment to peacebuilding. The program specifically involves students in peacebuilding in the wider community, which has included dialogue with members of the armed forces and assistance in curriculum design and practical peace education in schools.

NDU has established networks with many peace groups, and assists related agencies, institutions and organisations, both government and nongovernment in their efforts for peacebuilding. It stands as an impressive model for other institutions in the Third World.

7.4 CONCLUSION

This chapter has outlined four examples of peace studies at tertiary level. It has outlined their impressive work, frequently carried out by a few committed individuals with very limited resources. Perhaps the non-absorption of peace studies into the mainstream is a strength in that its marginality means that those who are involved in it do so because of high levels of personal commitment.

The next chapter discusses the evaluation of previous peace studies courses aimed at measuring their impact on students