



Printed with the support of:

Research Advisory Board of the Alpen-Adria-Universität Klagenfurt
(means of the municipality of Klagenfurt)

Austrian Federal Ministry for Education, Arts and Culture in Vienna

Austrian Federal Ministry for Science and Research in Vienna

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Copyeditors:

Martin Gallob | Sarai Melina Lenzberger | Rosemarie Schöffmann

© Drava Verlag 2010

Layout and Print: Tiskarna/Druckerei Drava

All: Klagenfurt/Celovec

www.drava.at

ISBN 978-3-85435-631-8

Yearbook Peace Culture 2010

Culture of Peace

A Concept and A Campaign Revisited

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Alpen-Adria-Universität Klagenfurt/Celovec
Austria

Drava Verlag Klagenfurt/Celovec

In memoriam of Elise Boulding
(1920–2010)

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Mary Lee Morrison

Elise Boulding (1920–2010)

Elise Boulding died at 4:40 pm, on June 24, 2010 in Needham, Massachusetts, USA. Hailed as a "matriarch" of the twentieth century peace research movement, she was sociologist emeritus from Dartmouth College and from the University of Colorado and in on the ground floor in the movements of peace, women's studies and futures and played pivotal roles in each. Her writings on the role of the family, women, spirituality and international non-governmental organisations have offered activists and educators new ways of conceiving the tasks inherent in making peace. Beginning in tandem with her late husband, economist and Quaker poet Kenneth Boulding and later on her own, she went on to build a life that encompassed research, writing and teaching, networking and building communities of learning. Dr. Boulding is the author of over 300 publications and was nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize in 1990. Her theoretical work on the role of the family in educating toward social change, and the role women have played in peacemaking, together with her ideas on transnational networks and their relationship to global understanding are considered seminal contributions to twentieth century peace education thought. Prior to her scholarly career, which formally began for her at age fifty after receiving her doctorate from the University of Michigan, Dr. Boulding was making major contributions in other areas, most notably as a peace educator and prominent Quaker and as a leader in the *Women's International League for Peace and Freedom* (WILPF), rising up to be International Chair.

She was a founder of the *International Peace Research Association* and later became its International Secretary-General. She was a co-founder the *Consortium on Peace, Research, Education and Development*. As an active opponent of the Vietnam War, Dr. Boulding ran for Congress in the 1960s on a Peace Platform in Ann Arbor, Michigan. She taught sociology and women's studies at the University of Colorado, where she helped to found the peace studies programme. She later taught sociology and helped to found the peace studies programme at Dartmouth College. She took key leadership

positions in the American and International Sociological Associations, worked on climate change, population, and arms control with the *American Association of the Advancement of Science*, was engaged with the *American Futures Society*, the *World Policy Institute*, the United Nations University in Tokyo, consultative work with UNESCO, and was appointed by President Jimmy Carter as the only woman to sit on the Commission to establish the *U. S. Institute of Peace*. She was on the boards of the *National Peace Institute Foundation*, the *Boulder Parenting Center*, the *Exploratory Project on Conditions for a Just World Peace*, the *International Peace Research Association Foundation*, the *Committee for the Quaker United Nations Office*, and Honorary Chair of the *National Peace Academy Advisory Board*. Prior to her retirement from Dartmouth College, she was a Senior Fellow of the *Dickey Center for International Understanding* at that university. In 1993, Dr. Boulding represented Quakers at the inaugural gathering of the global *Interfaith Peace Council*.

Born in 1920 in Oslo, Norway, her status as an immigrant profoundly affected her life and work. A graduate of Douglas College (now part of Rutgers University), Dr. Boulding joined the Religious Society of Friends at age 21. Her sense of herself as a Quaker and her deep spirituality informed all of her subsequent work. Blessed with a very high energy level, at times she also sought out Catholic monasteries for times of retreat from her very heavily scheduled life as an academic, activist, author and speaker. In 1973, she spent a year in retreat in a mountain cabin outside Boulder, Colorado, where she began writing her seminal work on women, *The Under-side of History, a View of Women Through Time*. Her last book, *Cultures of Peace: the Hidden Side of History*, is a celebration of the many ways peace is made in everyday places and hidden spaces and its writing was a culmination of her life's work. Retiring from Dartmouth College in 1985 she returned to Boulder, Colorado. In 1996, she relocated to Wayland, Massachusetts and in 2000 she moved to a retirement home in Needham, Massachusetts.

Viktorija Ratković | Werner Wintersteiner

Introduction

Regards on and Perspectives of "The Decade of a Culture of Peace and Non-Violence for the Children of the World"

*Humans are not condemned to endless rounds
of violence and counterviolence.*

Elise Boulding

Why this Book?

The UNESCO programme of a *Culture of Peace* and especially the *UN Year of a Culture of Peace* (2000) and the *Decade for a Culture of Peace and Non-Violence for the Children of the World* (2001–2010) raised great hopes all over the world. They were conceived and elaborated in the historical moment after the fall of the Iron Curtain and after the East-West confrontation, but also in confrontation with the atrocities of civil wars in Africa or in Yugoslavia. However, a balance of the Decade is rather disappointing, as many authors of the book lament. Whilst the programme itself is undoubtedly an inestimable step forwards, it seems that there is a very strong political refusal to act according to the insights and achievements of the programme's philosophy.

Hence, more efforts are needed, basically coming from the civil society and representatives of a lower political level (like from communities) in order to make a difference (see David Adams in this book). This book wants to make a contribution to these efforts that will continue even when the campaign is over. A contribution by peace research to a peace movement shall be in first line a clarification of the notions, terms, concepts and programmes as well as a critical examination of the movements and activities. This is exactly the aim of this publication which gives much space to the main actors of the *Campaign for a Culture of Peace*.

The *Culture of Peace* is the result of a peace research and a peace politics that defines peace not only as the absence of war, but focuses on the content and the conditions of peace. In the words of David Adams:

"A culture of peace consists of values, attitudes, behaviours and ways of life based on non-violence, respect for human rights, intercultural understanding, tolerance and solidarity, sharing and free flow of information and the full participation of women" (Adams 1995, p. 16).

According to David Adams, who as the programme director of UNESCO has shaped substantially the concept of the *Culture of Peace*, one can distinguish three levels of culture:

- "the way of looking at the world": cosmologies, ideologies, narratives;
- "values": formulated in form of political programmes, laws, philosophical doctrines, textbooks, etc.
- "attitudes, behaviours and ways of life": internalised values, as shown in the daily practice and in various situations.

The transformation of a culture of violence and war into a culture of peace has to start at all these three levels simultaneously. This includes dealing with the "ideologies" and thoughts, with the material artefacts of a culture of war – texts and media, statues and monuments – as well as with the political structures that support and engender a violent culture. For instance, it would not be enough to focus on the change of the contents and methods of education, as long as the very organisation of education – schools, kindergartens or universities – remains pervaded by structures of hierarchy, (economic) power or violence.

Since this is a very huge, comprehensive and long-lasting project, it may be useful to identify some main fields on which we should focus our attention. We propose five fields of first priority (see in detail Wintersteiner 2006):

- From the domination of nature to peace with nature.
- Gender democracy instead of gender hierarchy.
- Social inclusion and democratic participation instead of exclusion and persecution.
- Conflict transformation instead of violent forms of dealing with conflicts.
- Social justice instead of exploitation and misery.

Obviously, this is more than the liberal peace programme that defines peace according to the formula "formal democracy + free market capitalism = peace". It goes deeper, focussing on the princi-

pal mechanisms constructing social relations. Furthermore, it goes beyond since it defines peace as the well-being of all, including the domain of social justice and inclusion of all marginalised groups.

A short definition of the Culture of Peace

"Put in the simplest possible terms, a peace culture is a culture that promotes peaceable diversity. Such a culture includes lifeways, patterns of belief, values, behavior, and accompanying institutional arrangements that promote mutual caring and well-being as well as an equality that includes appreciation of difference, stewardship, and equitable sharing of the earth's resources among its members and with all living beings. It offers mutual security for humankind in all its diversity through a profound sense of species identity as well as kinship with the living earth. There is no need for violence. In other words, peaceableness is an action concept, involving a constant shaping and reshaping of understandings, situations, and behaviors in a constantly changing lifeworld, to sustain well-being for all."

(Boulding 2000, p. 1)

The Culture of Peace concept is also a basis of the Alpen-Adria-Universität Klagenfurt Centre for Peace Research and Peace Education, founded in 2005. The Centre's mission is to promote peace research that includes the cultural dimension and combines it with social, political and economic approaches to an integrative programme. One specific research focus is the *Research Network Culture & Conflict* that the Centre is organising, together with various partners, namely the Centre for Women's and Gender Studies, The Faculty of Humanities, the Institute of Philosophy and the Faculty for Interdisciplinary Studies, all Alpen-Adria-Universität Klagenfurt. The network, founded in 2006, is conducting a series of international workshops and is publishing the book series *Culture & Conflict* (Transcript Publishers, Germany). Given the strong interconnection between culture of peace and peace education, the Centre has, from its beginnings, a double name – Centre for Peace Research and Peace Education – highlighting both the important role of peace education and the necessity of integrating it into peace research. In the words of Ingeborg Breines (in this book): "Education is the most important process by which people can attain the values, attitude and behavioral patterns consistent with a culture of peace".

"A culture of peace will be achieved when citizens of the world understand global problems, have the skills to resolve conflicts and struggle for justice non-violently, live by international standards of human rights and equity, appreciate cultural diversity, and respect the Earth and each other. Such learning can only be achieved with systematic education for peace."
(Hague Appeal for Peace Global Campaign for Peace Education)

Contents of this Book

This book, obviously, does not provide a systematic evaluation of the Campaign, but throws some flashes on several aspects and topics. To a large part, it is a reflection on the culture of peace. Its authors come from eight different countries on three continents (Europe, Asia, Northern America as well as Latin America). They are partially experts or leading personalities with a long working experience in the UN/UNESCO context, or peace researchers or peace activists.

In the first chapter, next to the description of the decade, theoretical discussions on the concept "Culture of Peace" are presented. National and international perspectives on achievements and expectations are voiced in the second chapter, while in the third chapter, the interconnections between peace and gender/media/education/history are portrayed.

In conclusion, a report on the Centre for Peace Research and Peace Education's work over the past five years is presented.

The motto of the Klagenfurt Peace Centre, borrowed from Virginia Woolf, says "thinking peace into reality". This is an acknowledgment of the power of ideas whose time has come, and, more generally, of the power of imagination as such. This is much more than an imponderable subjective factor, it is – according to Castoriadis – a necessary element of social structures and institutions, the *social imaginary* (Castoriadis 1987). Thus, *Culture of Peace* can also be defined as a critique of the imaginary of a culture of war, as well as a powerful imagination of peace. This book wants nothing else than to offer a modest contribution to this noble aim.

This book is dedicated to Elise Boulding (1920–2010), a pioneer in peace research whose seminal books, like *Cultures of Peace*. *The Hidden Side of History*, have contributed a lot to conceive the programme of the Klagenfurt Centre and have substantially shaped the concept of this volume as well.

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CONCEPTS AND REFLECTIONS: REPORTS AND THEORIES

David Adams

Culture of Peace: The UN Decade 2001–2010

1 How the Decade Came About

The United Nations General Assembly proclaimed an International Decade for a Culture of Peace and Non-Violence for the Children of the World (2001–2010) in its resolution A/53/25 on November 10, 1998. At that time, they had already declared the Year 2000 as the International Year for a Culture of Peace, and they had received from UNESCO a draft document for a Declaration and Programme of Action on a Culture of Peace.

UNESCO had been working on the culture of peace for six years already, beginning with its adoption of a Culture of Peace Action Programme in 1992. Hence, a full understanding of the Decade must begin with the previous history of this Programme and the eventual involvement of the UN General Assembly, as described in the following excerpt from my article in a previous issue of this yearbook (Adams 2007).

The Culture of Peace initiative was launched in 1989 by UNESCO at an international peace conference in Yamoussoukro, Cote d'Ivoire. Its final declaration called for the construction of "a new vision of peace culture based on the universal values of respect for life, liberty, justice, solidarity, tolerance, human rights and equality between women and men". The inspiration came from Father Felipe MacGregor of Peru, a participant in the Conference, who had published a richly illustrated book in Spanish on the culture of peace for use by schools.

The Member States of UNESCO then adopted in 1992 a proposal for a Culture of Peace Programme to bring peace to states newly emerging from conflict. With the full support of UNESCO Director-General Federico Mayor, national programmes were then established, beginning with El Salvador and Mozambique, and over the next few years extended to a number of other countries. But the national culture of peace programmes did not receive the financing that had been expected from the rich Member States, and by the end of the decade they had mostly disappeared.

Meanwhile, at the UN General Assembly in New York, the Member States from the South began as early as 1995 to request a global culture of peace programme for the UN system, and in 1999 they adopted a Declaration and Programme of Action on a Culture of Peace (Resolution A/53/243) and proclaimed the Year 2000 as the International Year for the Culture of Peace and the Decade 2001–2010 as the International Decade for a Culture of Peace and Non-Violence for the Children of the World. The UN resolution called for a "global movement for a culture of peace" that would include initiatives of the civil society as well as governments and the UN, and that would be "promoted through sharing of information among actors on their initiatives in this regard".

For the International Year in 2000, UNESCO organised a campaign to involve the civil society and individuals around the world. Over 75 million people signed the Manifesto 2000, committing themselves to cultivate a culture of peace in daily life.¹

Manifesto 2000 for a Culture of Peace and Non-Violence²

- Because the year 2000 must be a new beginning, an opportunity to transform – all together – the culture of war and violence into a culture of peace and non-violence.
- Because this transformation demands the participation of each and every one of us, and must offer young people and future generations the values that can inspire them to shape a world based on justice, solidarity, liberty, dignity, harmony and prosperity for all.
- Because the culture of peace can underpin sustainable development, environmental protection and the well-being of each person.
- Because I am aware of my share of responsibility for the future of humanity, in particular to the children of today and tomorrow.

I pledge in my daily life, in my family, my work, my community, my country and my region, to:

1 A more detailed history of the culture of peace at UNESCO may be found on my website at <http://www.culture-of-peace.info/history/introduction.html>

2 http://www3.unesco.org/iycp/uk/uk_sum_manifesto2000.htm

- Respect the life and dignity of each human being without discrimination or prejudice;
- Practise active non-violence, rejecting violence in all its forms: physical, sexual, psychological, economical and social, in particular towards the most deprived and vulnerable such as children and adolescents;
- Share my time and material resources in a spirit of generosity to put an end to exclusion, injustice and political and economic oppression;
- Defend freedom of expression and cultural diversity, giving preference always to dialogue and listening without engaging in fanaticism, defamation and the rejection of others;
- Promote consumer behaviour that is responsible and development practices that respect all forms of life and preserve the balance of nature on the planet;
- Contribute to the development of my community, with the full participation of women and respect for democratic principles, in order to create together new forms of solidarity.

The culture of peace concept, as presented to the General Assembly in the original draft document A/53/370, was specifically presented as an alternative to the culture of war that has dominated states for 5,000 years. For each of eight fundamental aspects of the culture

Culture of War	Culture of Peace
power characterised as the monopoly of force	education for culture of peace
having an enemy	tolerance and solidarity
hierarchical authority	democratic participation
secrecy and propaganda	free flow of information
armament	disarmament
exploitation of people	human rights
... and nature	sustainable development
male dominance	equality of women and men

of war, an alternative approach was proposed for the culture of peace.³

There was considerable opposition to the UNESCO draft by the rich Member States from the North whose power is based on the culture of war. The Americans were most explicit, stating that peace should not be elevated to the category of human right, otherwise it will be very difficult to start a war. Although they could not block its adoption, the Europeans and Americans managed to remove from the resolution any mention of the culture of war.

The rich member states also removed the provision that would have allowed for voluntary financing of proposals in the resolution. Hence, there has been practically no funding for culture of peace activities or responsible staff in the UN system. The Summit Document adopted by Heads of State at the United Nations in 2005 reaffirmed support for the 1999 resolution as well as similar initiatives and called upon Secretary-General to "explore enhancing implementation mechanisms and to follow up on those initiatives". However, as of this date in 2010, there has still been no concrete progress by the UN system in this regard. At UNESCO, support for the culture of peace was severely reduced after the departure of Director-General Federico Mayor in 1999. Although in 2006, the Member States of UNESCO reaffirmed their commitment to the culture of peace as a major theme for the organisations medium-term strategy of 2008–2013, and the UNESCO General Conference adopted a resolution supporting the culture of peace in 2009, it remains to be seen how this will be translated by the organization into concrete programme activities.

The UN General Assembly has adopted resolutions each year concerning the Decade, with the support of a majority of countries from the South, and with the total absence of support from the rich countries of the North, the Europeans, Americans and their allies. The resolutions have continued each year to "welcome" "the efforts made by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization to continue the communication and networking arrangements established during the International Year for providing an instant update of developments related to

3 The following schema is taken from the history on my website at <http://www.culture-of-peace.info/history/page34.html>

the observance of the Decade," despite the fact that the UNESCO unit responsible for the relevant website no longer maintained it after 2008.

2 The Global Movement for a Culture of Peace

Anticipating that there would be problems to gain continued support for a culture of peace from the United Nations and its powerful Member States, the UN resolution included provisions for involvement of the civil society in a "global movement for a culture of peace" as mentioned above. As far as I know this was the first time the UN General Assembly ever called for a "global movement". Subsequently, the annual General Assembly resolutions called for "civil society, including non-governmental organizations, to continue providing information to the Secretary General on the observance of the Decade and the activities undertaken to promote a culture of peace and non-violence".

At the midpoint of the Decade in 2005, and now again at the end of the Decade in 2010, we have submitted a "World Report on the Culture of Peace" to the UN General Assembly based on reports from civil society organisations that have contributed to the Decade. Taken together these include reports from over a thousand NGOs, associations and civil society activities for the International Day of Peace. To sum up the civil society reports in a single phrase, "the global movement for a culture of peace is advancing, but few know about it because it is not considered newsworthy by the mass media and it is not given any publicity by the United Nations system".

To give a more detailed view, the following paragraphs from the 2010 report describe the advancement of the global movement in terms of the eight programme areas of the culture of peace.

2.1 Culture of Peace through Education

This is the highest priority for the majority of civil society organisations contributing to the Decade. Although progress is difficult to measure, it may be the most important factor in the long run for the transition to a culture of peace. The educational efforts by civil society, carried out by means of campaigns, solidarity projects, conferences, museums, publications, Internet websites, etc., have

convinced millions of people throughout the world that a culture of peace is possible and desirable. They have disseminated the vision initiated by UNESCO and elaborated by the UN General Assembly in resolution A-52-13, that

"the creation of the United Nations system itself, based upon universally shared values and goals, has been a major act towards transformation from a culture of war and violence to a culture of peace and non-violence [...] which consists of values, attitudes and behaviors that reflect and inspire social interaction and sharing based on the principles of freedom, justice and democracy, all human rights, tolerance and solidarity, that reject violence and endeavor to prevent conflicts by tackling their root causes to solve problems through dialogue and negotiation and that guarantee the full exercise of all rights and the means to participate fully in the development process of their society."

2.2 Sustainable Economic and Social Development

With regard to Sustainable Economic and Social Development, despite the involvement of many civil society organisations, progress is debatable. According to the report of Worldwatch,

"The past decade has witnessed an unprecedented mobilization of efforts to combat the world's accelerating ecological crisis [...]. Despite all of this momentum, most of the world's key ecological indicators signal a continued downward spiral, and the most important environmental summit of the past decade – in Copenhagen in December 2009 – fell far short of expectations."

The apparent lack of success on the part of civil society to affect change in this area can of course also be partly explained by the fact that its power is limited to campaigning and influencing those who possess the political and economic power over pollution and exploitation of the world's resources. An exceptional advance has been achieved in the field of microcredits, as described by the Grameen Bank.

2.3 Respect for all Human Rights

Respect for all Human Rights has been promoted by civil society organisations in all respects. Important advances have been achieved in the protection of the rights of workers and the reduction of child labor as described by the International Labor Rights Forum and in the development of restorative justice as described by the European Forum for Restorative Justice.

2.4 Equality between Women and Men

The leadership for Equality between Women and Men, already demonstrated by civil society organisations at the Fourth World Conference on Women (Beijing 1995), has been expanded during the Decade. Organisations have included this as one of their priorities in every region, as exemplified by the following quotation: "We strongly believe that many of the good things that have happened at Grameen Bank are a result of its decision to focus on women and we are definite that the culture of peace and non-violence can be strengthened by focusing on women empowerment."

2.5 Democratic Participation

Although few contributing organisations have given their top priority to Democratic Participation, there has been a great increase in the involvement of local authorities, as described more fully below.

2.6 Understanding, Tolerance and Solidarity

In the domain of Understanding, Tolerance and Solidarity, civil society has taken the lead, especially for inter-religious dialogue. In the words of Soka Gakkai, "as some call it a sea change, there has been a dramatic increase of the topic of interfaith dialogue and cooperation taken up not only by NGOs but also among the Member States and in partnership among the governments, UN and NGOs".

2.7 Participatory Communication and Free Flow of Information and Knowledge

Participatory Communication and Free Flow of Information and Knowledge has been advanced largely through use of the Internet by civil society corresponding to paragraph 6 in the 1999 Programme of Action calling for the promotion of a culture of peace through sharing of information among actors in the global movement for a culture of peace.

2.8 International Peace and Security

Progress is especially evident in the domain of International Peace and Security, where civil society has taken the initiative. Important advances are described in detail by the Coalition for the Interna-

tional Criminal Court, the International Campaign to Ban Landmines (ICBL) and the Cluster Munition Coalition. On the other hand, progress continues to elude many civil society organisations working for the abolition of nuclear weapons.

Most organizations report that obstacles remain in the path of promoting the culture of peace. It is generally agreed that there is a remarkable scarcity and difficulty of access to resources for the promotion of the culture of peace, in comparison with the immense expenses for the promotion of war and violence. Many point to lack of public awareness; as stated by the International Coalition for the Decade, "As during the first half of the Decade, media attention to the Decade and support by UNESCO have been insufficient". In particular, UNESCO abandoned the communication and networking arrangements established during the International Year for the Culture of Peace that were meant to provide an instant update of developments related to the observance of the Decade.

What is the future for the culture of peace? The plans reported by contributing organisations indicate that most of them expect to continue and increase their efforts. One general trend that is already evident is the increased incorporation and mainstreaming of the culture of peace among local and national governments as well as among individuals and civil society organisations. The Decade began with the mobilisation of non-governmental organisations and individuals during the International Year for the Culture of Peace in 2000 as 75 million people signed the Manifesto 2000, promising to work for a culture of peace in their daily lives. The Decade concludes with the additional mobilisation for a culture of peace by institutions at the level of states and local communities.

The Global Alliance for Ministries and Departments of Peace has increased its campaigns and membership to 35 countries since 2005, and has contributed to the creation of two of the three existing Ministries for Peace in the world (now in Costa Rica, Nepal, and the Solomon Islands). At a more basic level, local authorities have mobilised for a culture of peace, as indicated by many reports from cities and towns in Europe, Latin America and North America. In addition, the culture of peace and its components are increasingly supported by international networks of local authorities including United Cities and Local Governments,

representing most of the cities of the world, Mayors for Peace in 3,880 cities, and ICLEI – Local Governments for Sustainability involving over 1,100 cities, towns, counties, and their associations in 70 countries.

Most participating organisations seem to agree that, while the Decade for a Culture of Peace is ending, the global movement for a culture of peace is just beginning.

3 A Perspective for the Future

To assess perspectives for the future, I can see no alternative except to take a very personal approach. After all, no one of us has a crystal ball that can enable us to see into the future better than another.

Having grown up in the United States, I have watched the rise of the American Empire. At the same time, I lived and worked for some time in the USSR during its last few decades, and I watched from inside the crash of another empire. Like all empires, they are (were) cultures of war. In fact, I have come to the conclusion (shared by many others) that the culture of war is not sustainable, and the crash of the American Empire is just a matter of time. "How much time? When will it crash?" you may ask. And my answer is very simple, "Too soon, because we are not ready to replace it with a culture of peace".

How can we prepare for the transition to a culture of peace when the empire crashes? In my opinion, this is the most important question confronting us today. I have addressed this in my new books, *World Peace through the Town Hall* and *I Have Seen the Promised Land* (a utopian novella).

In particular, I propose that we concentrate on 1) mobilisation for a culture of peace at the level of local government and its integration into global networks of cities for a culture of peace; 2) an eventual reform of the United Nations to be governed by local government rather than the current system of Member States; and 3) development of consciousness and action for a culture of peace by youth.

3.1 Local Government Mobilisation

As described above in the excerpt from the 2010 Civil Society Report, one of the major advances of the Decade has been increasing

mobilisation of local authorities for a culture of peace, as indicated by many reports from cities and towns in Europe, Latin America and North America, and the support for a culture of peace by the international networks of local authorities. This is a significant advance in democratic participation in a culture of peace, because local governments demand the participation of all citizens, unlike the situation for civil society organisations whose membership, while it may be quite extensive, is not universal. Further, as I have argued in my *History of the Culture of War*, while nation states have monopolised the culture of war over the course of history, cities and towns, previously engaged in the culture of war, have ceded this engagement to national authorities and retained an exclusive involvement with the various aspects of a culture of peace.

3.2 United Nations Reform

In the scenario of my utopian novella, following the crash of the American Empire and the global economy, the United Nations is reformed so that it is governed by regional organisations of local government rather than by nation states. I argue that such a reform would put the culture of peace at the top of the agenda, whereas the United Nations, as long as it continues to be controlled by the Member States, cannot avoid representing their interests in the culture of war. Indeed, this is utopian, but I see evidence that it is possible. First of all, as mentioned earlier, one can foresee the crash of the Empire and the global economy that it controls. Second, we already can see signs of the abandonment of the United Nations by the Member States. Confronted with the economic crisis of 2008/2009, the Member States did not immediately turn for a solution to the relevant UN institutions, the World Bank and International Monetary Fund, but instead they devised new networks of finance ministers to deal with the crisis. Recently in May 2010, there was only one head of state at the 10-year review of the Non-Proliferation Treaty, but many heads of state attended a meeting on the same subject held in the previous month in Washington outside the framework of the United Nations.

3.3 Youth Consciousness and Action

We need to orient our actions as much as possible to involve the new generation in the promotion of a culture of peace. I have re-

cently experienced a very good example of this in the preparation of the World Civil Society Report for the Culture of Peace. There was no support for this process from the traditional organisations of my generation. Instead, I was approached by three young people who offered to work on the report without any money. Over the months of work on the report, they engaged many others to the point that the final team consisted of youth from Mexico, Colombia, Sri Lanka, India, Norway and Switzerland as well as the initial three from Spain, Brazil and the Philippines. All of this without paying anyone and with far more energy and enthusiasm than one could obtain by paying people to work.

I should like to end with an idea that came from my work with Helena Lourenço who has initiated a city culture of peace program in Santos, Brazil. In this framework, she is developing a centre for volunteers to work in the community on the basis of the principles of the culture of peace. We dream of the day when young people from around the world will come to Santos with their backpacks to visit the city, meet other young people, enjoy the fabulous beach, and work in the community under the direction of the local volunteers to promote the culture of peace, in exchange for the modest food and housing similar to that of youth hostels that are so popular among today's youth. This would combine the democratic participation of local government culture of peace programs with the energy, enthusiasm and international travel of the new generation. The development of such programs could quickly spread the vision and experience of the culture of peace throughout the world, and prepare for the transition when its historical moment arrives.

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Federico Mayor Zaragoza

Transition from a Culture of War to a Culture of Peace and Non-Violence

*"We, the people [...] determined
to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war."*
Beginning of the preamble to the United Nations Charter

1 The International Decade (2001–2010)

In the resolution of the General Assembly of the United Nations on the International Decade for a Culture of Peace and Non-Violence for the Children of the World, (2001–2010), adopted in November 1998, it is stated:

"Aware that the task of the United Nations to save future generations from the scourge of war requires transformation towards a culture of peace, which consists of values, attitudes and behaviours that reflect and inspire social interaction and sharing based on the principles of freedom, justice and democracy, all human rights, tolerance and solidarity, that reject violence and endeavour to prevent conflicts by tackling their root causes to solve problems through dialogue and negotiation and that guarantee the full exercise of all rights and the means to participate fully in the development process of their society, Recognizing that children suffer enormous harm through different forms of violence at every level of society, throughout the world and that a culture of peace and non-violence promotes respect for life and dignity of every human being without prejudice or discrimination of any kind, Emphasizing that the promotion of a culture of peace and non-violence, by which they learn to live together in peace and harmony, which will contribute to the strengthening of international peace and cooperation, should emanate from adults and be instilled in children ..."

On August 20, 2009, within the General Assembly's agenda item on "Culture of Peace", the Secretary-General presented a report on the International Decade for a Culture of Peace and Non-Violence for the Children of the World, which will come to an end on December 31, 2010.

This report details the activities undertaken until 2008, in relation to the following aspects:

- Actions to foster a culture of peace through education.
- Actions to promote sustainable economic and social development.
- Actions to promote respect for all human rights.
- Actions to ensure equality between men and women.
- Actions to foster democratic participation.
- Actions to advance understanding, tolerance and solidarity.
- Actions to support participatory communication and the free flow of information and knowledge.
- Actions to promote international peace and security.

The essential role of civil society and the current mechanisms to promote mobilisation through communication networks are addressed as well.

I consider these final recommendations as particularly relevant:

- The United Nations agencies, funds and programmes are encouraged to continue focusing on the various dimensions of the culture of peace, especially on a national level.
- Member states, for their part, are encouraged to:
 - Ensure that funding quality education for all is a top priority and that the financial crisis does not serve as a justification for a reduction in the allocation of resources to education at both, national and international levels;
 - Increase investments for science and technology, especially green technologies, in order to promote a green economy;
 - Strengthen education for sustainable development, lifelong learning for all society members and equal access to learning opportunities, so as to implement the principles of inclusive education;
 - Review and revise educational and cultural policies to reflect a human rights-based approach, cultural diversity, intercultural dialogue and sustainable development;
 - Strengthen efforts to remove hate messages, distortions, prejudice and negative bias from textbooks and other educational media and to ensure basic knowledge and understanding of the world's main cultures, civilisations and religions;
 - Promote school cultures and environments, which are child-friendly, conducive to effective learning, inclusive for all

- children, healthy, protective and gender-responsive and encourage the active role and the participation of the learners themselves, their families and their communities;
- o Expand access to information and communication technologies in order to bring the benefits of all levels and means of education to girls and women, the excluded, the poor, the marginalized and those with special needs in a lifelong perspective.

2 Culture of Violence and War

"If you want peace, prepare for war" says the proverb that is as old as it is perverse. The result is obvious for everybody: war after war, confrontation after confrontation. Peace is merely the time elapsed between two wars. We do what we have been taught to do: wage war. We use force, not dialogue, the sword and not the word. We keep ourselves "combat ready" (en "pie de Guerra").

An immense war machine has gradually been set into motion with such inertia, that any attempt to restrain or redirect it, so that it can fulfil its functions without jeopardizing all others, appears futile. To do so, it is necessary to prepare for peace, to work each day for a radical change in the present tendencies, whether they are economic, social, environmental, cultural or moral. Instead of always preparing for war, we must diligently endeavour to work for peace.

Today the drums of war are heard throughout the world which, for the first time, could benefit from its globalisation, from being that "global village" that McLuhan envisioned. Only now, we are able to follow the events of the world in real time, to see what people do, how they live and behave, how nature develops, how cultural identities evolve and we are able to observe to what extent they reflect universal values and guidelines. However, our newly-achieved global perspective has not resulted in a foreseeable and desirable détente among the world's "neighbourhoods", in a greater capacity for sharing, bringing us closer together, increasing intellectual cooperation, so that we can predict and take on preventive measures, with an increased awareness of what is really needed to build a brighter future for the generations to come.

Since our sources are fewer than we expected and the information we receive is generally less independent than required to re-

flect the world around us with any clarity, we are not even able to see what is hidden, to be aware of those who are invisible, who struggle to survive and then die in obscurity behind a barrier of shallow news items and high-profile scandals, ... while those who are excluded from all of the world's stages, frustrated, radicalised and wrought with despair, attempt and on occasion even risk their lives for a few moments in the footlights. Others, more deeply wounded and less patient, seek opportunities for vengeance. And in the end, since no one hesitates at that point, all lose. With its immense loss of lives and suffering, the 20th century witnessed the failure of the culture of war and an economic and social system based on discrimination, which increases inequality rather than reducing it. The failure of this short-sighted perspective, which in an interactive world without borders leads to the artificial isolation of a minority, seeking to consolidate its position, also exploits natural resources of the countries comprising the needy majority, by using its scientific and technological advantages.

Thousands of human beings die each day from hunger and neglect, while the most prosperous countries have almost succeeded in muffling the protests of the United Nations, which officiates as the sole ethical and legal framework, capable of correcting so many mistaken decisions at the global level. Crime of silence: no matter how difficult, we have to proclaim that Article I of the Declaration of Human Rights is being violated. Additionally we need to face the fact that whether alive or dead, not all human beings are seen as equal. It all depends on where they live and where they die.

Entire peoples are devastated by all kinds of disasters and we, the privileged, believe that we can appease our conscience, our indifference and our "nothing can be done" attitude with a little charity: "What can I do? That's the way things are". If I insist on the inherent danger in these situations, it is because I had the occasion to see how these people live and die. I also heard what is said in places, where 83 % of the population lives in a world that resides beyond the fortified walls of the prosperous. And the only thing that practically all people on *both* sides of that imaginary line desire, is to fully enjoy each moment of the mystery that each life represents. When we observe the generosity, dedication, good will and good faith of so many people, we are filled with hope and convinced that another world is possible.

3 The New World, Which Was Imagined in 1945

The world that was conceived in San Francisco in 1945, was based on the following thought: "We, the Peoples" ... endowed with some points of reference – the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948 – and determined to better distribute the fruits of the earth (United Nations development programmes, 1954). At that time, a world that would build "peace in the minds of men", as it was phrased in the UNESCO Constitution, through education, science and culture, through "intellectual and moral solidarity with mankind" was seen as the new aim of mankind. Only then, through education – knowledge, values, attitudes, creativity – we can overcome today what they sought to overcome at that time: the catastrophic cultural and spiritual imbalance of the end of the century and millennium.

The great project of 1945 has not become a reality yet, mainly because of two reasons. One was the confrontation of the great superpowers. And when the Soviet Union fell in 1989 – because supposedly based on equality it had forsaken liberty – history offered a great opportunity to another superpower that was likewise in great difficulty because based on liberty it had forsaken equality. And both forgot fraternity. Instead of leading a worldwide movement towards democracy, as it was done at the end of World War II, this time it was only chosen to lead a group of the most powerful countries (G-7 or G-8). There was a simultaneous, risky and undue transfer of responsibilities to the market, while large private conglomerates emerged at the supranational level. The lack of any code of conduct lead to excesses and trafficking (in weapons, money, drugs and persons) with complete impunity. On many occasions I have underscored the damaging contradiction of the existence of democracy, which provides a solution at the national level, and oligarchy at the international level. With no opportunity to express their frustration, the majority of countries – including some previously considered "developed" – have found themselves doomed to form a part of the multicolour group of stragglers (indebted, technologically and financially dependent), their sense of hostility being heightened by so many broken promises and by ever-increasing inequalities that generate breeding grounds for resentment and aggression.

The second reason for the 1945 project to fail was the role played by Europe, as its states acted much more silent and submissive than they were expected to. When after the clear-sighted commencement and a long process the "Economic Community" decided to become a "Union", the short-term objectives have prevented Europe from exercising its influence as a great ally. Allies – befriended states – are those who give advice and say what they really think about a certain situation. To-date, secondary factors – principally of a commercial and economic nature – have prevented the emergence of a Europe able to play a relevant role at global scale. China, Japan, India, Brazil ... wield too much influence for us to think that, no matter what, all new roads will pass through our territory.

For the European Union ceasing to be a mere economic community and to complete its transformation into a true union, a few presently-closed windows and doors, some of which have become mirrors, must be opened. Bridges of solidarity must be built to forge the gaps that separate us, fulfilling the promises we have made. This is the relevant role that Europe must play: to be a guiding light, a bastion of democratic values, of the universal principles which are so vital and urgent – whether social, environmental, cultural or moral – at this sombre dawning of the 21st century.

4 Time of Action

We must internationally and intranationally reduce inequalities and disparities to weave a new social fabric from yarns of many colours and textures, so that all of us, all different but all united, may prevent the frequent and often irreparable conflicts that today have spread across our planet. Only then we will be able to heal the wounds, to prevent the great misfortune and suffering of those in neglect. To achieve these goals for everybody we must create a new yarn, all strong and resistant and capable of supporting adversity. Yarn "manufactured" in schools, in families, in the communications media, at work, through listening and awareness.

To achieve this we can rely on an extraordinary treasure that must be unveiled in each human being: experience. Experience can be seen as the balance between right and wrong choices, advances and retreat, and the wealth – so often unexploited – of those who

over many years, have accumulated so much wisdom and skill. Together we can. Alone we cannot. Everything is connected by delicate and invisible threads, and no one can attribute to himself/herself strengths, that precisely require the union of many strengths and much work guided by great principles, which are most necessary when the circumstances are most adverse and the crisis is most profound.

There is an aspect that I wish to underscore: we cannot transform reality if we ignore it. Thus we must collect a great deal of knowledge and project our current reality and tendencies accurately in future scenarios to be able to determine the best options, the most appropriate paths to follow for a less turbulent tomorrow.

We cannot work *for* (our young people, for example), but rather *with* them. No matter how noble our intentions, the result will always be incomplete and only partially pertinent. Thus, we must combine global vision, efficient action and adopt an attitude of awareness, so that our aid and company are worthy of this voluntary dedication. Discretely, without calling attention to ourselves, the most vulnerable sectors of society should receive the immense benefit of our desire to share, to coexist and to empathise, to refuse to surrender, to once again lovingly plant seeds of hope in the minds of those who are already so tired of waiting.

Justice is the key word to learn about the meaning of solidarity each day, to prevent chronic situations and heroic actions, to persistently work toward a society of solidarity.

Yes: most of the diagnoses have been made. It's now time to take action.

5 Peace Ready

Let us all prepare for peace by:

- Preventing violence in our homes, our cities, our communities, countries, and in the whole world.
- Retaking control of government at the global level and subjecting the market to universal ethical principles.
- Achieving, in a great worldwide movement, the eradication of hunger in the world, taking specific actions in favour of those who today, are dying of hunger and neglect.

- Efficiently coordinating actions that will prevent children and adolescents from being subjected to illness, oppression, ignorance, and diseases which today can be easily prevented and cured.
- Promoting scientific research, especially to combat the diseases that still actually decimate a large part of humanity living in deplorable unsanitary conditions, improving access to preventive, curative and palliative health systems.
- Protecting the environment and observing the Earth Charter daily commitments in the lives of all of the world's citizens, municipal authorities, parliamentarians and government leaders, ensuring the availability of appropriate means and mechanisms for coordination, to enable us to react appropriately to natural or man-made catastrophes.
- Rapidly strengthening the United Nations, providing it with the human and financial resources needed to establish the required worldwide codes of conduct, through (environmental, cultural, economical and ethical) Security Councils and to ensure compliance with them on behalf of all nations.
- Incorporating into domestic law the most relevant Declarations and Recommendations of the "Summits", which during the 1990s addressed different dimensions of education, science, social development, the participation of women, tolerance and the respect for and conservation of nature, etc.
- Implementing the International Criminal Court (also applicable to environment's crimes), with all the necessary guarantees that its actions will be effective and with all the mechanisms required to ensure its democratic operation.

Being "peace-ready" means supporting:

- Security forces equipped with the human resources and technological means to ensure compliance with the laws emanating from democratic states and to use those means to reduce the sources of violence and terrorism.
- The endogenous development on a worldwide scale, with investments and technology transfers that would eliminate the present inequalities.
- The establishment of prospective institutions by the collaboration of universities and research institutes, which at the natio-

nal and international level would enable us to anticipate phenomena and potentially-irreversible processes.

- Means of expression through which citizens from all over the world can overcome the formidable barriers of the present communications media, to enable their voices, proposals and protests to be heard by government leaders and parliamentarians.

To become "peace-ready", does not only mean to accelerate the popular non-violence movement, so that intellectual, academic and humanitarian organisations and communities of all persuasions do not remain silent, but rather that their voices may be capable of prompting the changes required to brighten the dark horizons that we presently have to leave for our children.

We know the price of war and it is much higher than the price of peace. Let's prepare for peace as we have prepared for war in the past. We have lived, combat-ready, within a culture based on force. Let's change the old saying to "if you want peace, prepare for it with your actions each day". Let us work toward a culture of peace, dialogue and understanding and become "peace-ready".

6 Today the Mobilisation of Civil Society is Possible

Today mobilisation is possible because, as indicated in the recommendations of the Decade, the modern communication technology enables a large number of the earth's inhabitants to express themselves without any kind of restrictions. Within very few years, "virtual force" will bring about changes which, as soon as leaders realise that these changes are inevitable at this point, could take the appropriate corrective measures forthwith. They would abandon the plutocratic groups founded to replace the United Nations, recognising that the ethical and legal framework constituted by the UN is absolutely indispensable for national and international justice. Furthermore they would learn that *the best way to guarantee collective security is to share*, so that responsible citizens, who have been subjected to the designs of those in power for so long, can take the reins of destiny into their own hands.

We must act tirelessly in order to quickly raise the percentage of those living in the prosperous areas of the global village. Today

we have not even reached 20 %. All other human beings on a different gradient, live in conditions which are humanly unacceptable. It is necessary to *move from an economy of speculation and war to an economy of global sustainable development* which would increase the number of "clients". This would be beneficial for a large number of people, who should no longer be part of flows of despairing migrants, or suffer from bad living conditions, witnessing the repeating renege on the promises of relief and therefore tempted to resort to violence. There is no justification for violence but we have to try to explain it in order to make amends to rectify the current trends, which have led (on committing the gravest error of substituting democratic principles, ethical values, with market laws) to a situation of great confusion, making the problems of living on this planet, e. g. access to water, to health services, to education, etc., more acute.

Comparison is necessary to appreciate the goods we have and to act more efficiently in favour of the poorest.

7 From the Force to the Word: Culture of Peace and Non-Violence

Within very few years, the great transition from force to the word will be achieved; the security of peace will be guaranteed and never again will the peace of security be tolerated because it is the peace of silence, of the total lack of freedom, the peace of mistrust and suspicion. In spite of today's dark horizons, enormous changes will take place to make the equal dignity of all human beings a reality soon, so that everyone without exception can put into practice this distinguishing faculty of the human race such as, the enormous creativity, the ability to invent and to decide by one's self and to act in accordance with one's own thoughts.

The change in this direction is unavoidable and it is best to ensure that it takes place without ruptures, without restlessness. Those who are against moving with the times and therefore against the invention of new procedures, believe that by preserving the inertia of a situation, which has been so beneficial for them, the problems of today and tomorrow will be solved by yesterday's formulae. Unfortunately this is a wrong belief: for the good of everyone they must evolve quickly, to conserve what must be conserved and transform and change what must be changed.

Within very few years, the concept of the culture of peace has been growing and establishing itself, making it possible to become *a reference point for a great social movement on a worldwide scale* over the next ten to fifteen years. For the first time aware of the quality of life of "the Others" in all corners of the earth, we can no longer look the other way. We must face our responsibilities and stop threatening in order to distribute and share appropriately, to replace force with the word, to fulfil the first article of the Universal Declaration, which states that we should live "in a spirit of fraternity".

The Declaration and Programme of Action on a Culture of Peace, the most important declaration established by the General Assembly of the United Nations, at this respect, indicates the actions to be taken for the great turning point in history from the age-old "preparation of war" to the "building of peace with our daily behaviour":

Article 1

A culture of peace is a set of values, attitudes, traditions and modes of behaviour and ways of life based on:

- Respect for life, ending of violence and promotion and practice of non-violence through education, dialogue and cooperation ...
- Full respect for and promotion of all human rights and fundamental freedoms ...
- Efforts to meet the developmental and environmental needs of present and future generations ...
- Respect for and promotion of the right to development ...
- Respect for and promotion of equal rights of and opportunities for women and men ...
- Respect for and promotion of the rights of everyone to freedom of expression, opinion and information ...

Article 2

Progress in the fuller development of a culture of peace comes about through values, attitudes, modes of behaviour and ways of life conducive to the promotion of peace among individuals, groups and nations.

Article 8

A key role in the promotion of a culture of peace belongs to parents, teachers, politicians, journalists, religious bodies and groups, intellectuals, those engaged in scientific, philosophical and creative and artistic activities, health and humanitarian workers, social workers, managers at various levels as well as to non-governmental organisations.

The actions for effective implementation are:

- Actions fostering a culture of peace through education.
- Actions to promote sustainable economic and social development.
- Actions to promote respect for all human rights.
- Actions to ensure equality between women and men.
- Actions to foster democratic participation.
- Actions to advance understanding, tolerance and solidarity.
- Actions to support participatory communication and the free flow of information and knowledge.
- Actions to promote international peace and security.

In 1999, along with the establishment of the *Millennium Goals*, the *Manifesto 2000* summarises very briefly the most outstanding points of the new culture of peace:

- *Respect all life.* Respect the life and dignity of each human being without discrimination and prejudice.
- *Reject violence.* Practice active non-violence, rejecting violence in all its forms: physical, sexual, psychological, economical and social, in particular towards the most deprived and vulnerable such as children and adolescents.
- *Share with others.* Share my time and material resources in a spirit of generosity to put an end to exclusion, injustice and political and economic oppression.
- *Listen to understand.* Defend freedom of expression and cultural diversity, giving preference always to dialogue and listening without engaging in fanaticism, defamation and the rejection of others.
- *Preserve the planet.* Promote consumer behaviour that is responsible and development practices that respect all forms of life and preserve the balance of nature on the planet.

- *Rediscover solidarity.* Contribute to the development of my community, with the full participation of women and respect for democratic principles, in order to create together new forms of solidarity.

It was signed by more than 100 million people of all over the world, as it was considered to be logical to begin the new century and millennium with the essential transition from force to the word, from imposition to dialogue.

Yes, peace is in our hands. Especially as the influence of every single person has never been as strong and important as it is today. To overcome the multiple crises that confront us, we must transform the present culture of force into a culture of the word, changing our culture of discretion and domination into a culture of peace and non-violence for *all* humankind. This can be achieved by great courage and with a massive mobilisation of civil society.

The Decade has contributed a lot to this path toward peace: we now have fruits to be harvested but, above all, there are seeds that were planted with great effort in difficult terrain. They will sprout – especially if *continuity is given to the Decade goals* – and the word will prevail. This word will bring the smile of peace to earth and to all of its inhabitants, particularly to the children.

Werner Wintersteiner

Renewing Peace Research with *Culture of Peace*. A Proposal

Culture of Peace is nowadays a widely used term in the peace movement and, to a lower degree, in peace research. But what does it exactly mean? What is the "added value" of this expression? This article proposes to consider *Culture of Peace* as a scientific term to analyse the deeper layers of social conflicts, rather than as a simple political slogan. The argument is that *Culture of Peace* is the most needed missing link between a merely political or International Relations (IR) approach to peace issues and a personal, psychological approach to peace. It helps to theorise the relationship between the personal and the political and to develop an integrative and complex concept of peace (research). According to Federico Mayor, the concept of the *Culture of Peace* can become now, over the next ten to fifteen years, a reference point for a great social movement on a worldwide scale (see his article in this book). I would like to add that it should also become a main reference point for peace research.

The article is divided into three parts. In a first step, I shall retrace the origins and the use of the term *Culture of Peace*, where it originally came up, i.e. in the UNESCO and UN context. Secondly, I am widening the perspective on culture in peace research. Finally, I argue that culture is a main pillar for what I would like to call – following Wilfried Graf – a peace research generation 5 paradigm.

At the beginning however, it is necessary to differentiate the use of this term. Just because *Culture of Peace* is now used in so many contexts, it risks to be misinterpreted or lose its specific meaning. It seems that there are three cases, in which the usage of this term should be avoided. Especially if it is supposed to serve as a criticism of the war system:

- *Culture of Peace* is used with no specific meaning, just as peace, or even worse, as a way to avoid a clear political notion of peace. Instead of demanding concrete political steps towards peace in a conflict situation, some people talk more vaguely about a culture of peace. This misuse discredits the term and is grist to the

mill of critics who suspect that Culture of Peace is only a vague notion without much concrete meaning.

- *Culture of Peace* serves to describe the own culture as peaceful, at the opposition to the violent culture of the other/the enemy, functionalising the term for no peaceful aims. This *culturalisation* of societies comes close to the clash of civilisation thesis that will be discussed a little later in this article.
- A third problematic use is the construction of a dichotomic opposition between a culture of war and a culture of peace – as if peace is an acquired property, which does not require to also be reconstructed newly. This dichotomy, not far from eschatological temptations, hinders to conceive the great number of precise steps needed to overcome the culture of violence and war.

1 *Culture of Peace* – the Result of a Long Struggle for Peace

The concept of a *Culture of Peace* was developed in the UNESCO context in the 1980s, but its real origins derive from the political struggles in Latin America, where peace researchers, namely from the Peruvian Peace Institute (Asociación Peruana de Estudios para la Paz – APEP), led by Felipe MacGregor (see Giesecke 1999), were looking for new ways out of the dead end street of ongoing violence and terror in their country. They were especially inspired by the experience of the self-governing community of Villa El Salvador. Culture of peace, to them, was a formula to involve people in a democratic way into the peace process. Thus it was Father Felipe MacGregor, a university professor from Lima and author of the probably first handbook on a Culture of Peace, who strongly advocated for including Culture of Peace into the resolution of the UNESCO Yamoussoukro Conference in 1989, the first UNESCO document referring explicitly to *Culture of Peace* (see the chapter of David Adams in this book). The Yamoussoukro declaration invites all actors, including states, NGOs and scientific, cultural and educational communities, to "help construct a new vision of peace by developing a peace culture based on the universal values of respect for life, liberty, justice, solidarity, tolerance, human rights and equality between women and men".¹

1 <http://www.unesco.org/cpp/uk/declarations/yamouss.pdf>

The "Programme for Peace" of the declaration asks for the "compilation of texts from all cultures, highlighting the common lessons they yield on the themes of peace, tolerance and fraternity" (Köhler 1998, p. 97). This shows a cosmopolitan approach to a *Culture of Peace*, stating that its elements are to find in every civilisation and that the creation of a culture of peace is a transcultural and global project of combining the best experiences from each culture.

The first concrete application of this new concept was in El Salvador, a country in reconstruction and promoting national reconciliation through concrete actions, so that peace will not be perceived as the mere absence of conflicts, but rather as a permanent endeavour encouraged by all sectors of society, focussing on culture and education. It was also in El Salvador, where the First International Forum on the Culture of Peace was held in 1993. The general conclusions from this conference read:

1. the objective of a culture of peace is to ensure that the conflicts inherent in human relationships are resolved non-violently;
2. peace and human rights are indivisible and concern everyone;
3. the construction of a culture of peace is a multidimensional task, requiring the participation of people at all levels;
4. a culture of peace should contribute to the strengthening of democratic processes;
5. the implementation of a culture of peace project requires a thorough mobilisation of all means of education, both formal and non-formal, and of communication;
6. a culture of peace requires the learning and use of new techniques for a peaceful management and resolution of conflicts;
7. a culture of peace should be elaborated within the process of sustainable, endogenous, equitable human development; it cannot be imposed from the outside.²

Already in this document, one can distinguish some main elements of the *Culture of Peace* in the UN/UNESCO definition:

- peace as a process of permanent non-violent conflict resolution (1 and 2 and 7)

2 <http://www.unesco.org/cpp/uk/projects/firstforum.htm>

- democratisation of the peace process, involving all people, not just politicians (3 and 4 and again 7)
- it highlights communication and education as the main tools to achieve a *Culture of Peace* (5 and partially 6)

However, the specific role of culture in the peace process and what exactly is meant by the term *Culture of Peace* is not discussed in this document. This comes later, namely in the documents preparing the International Year 2000 and the Decade of a Culture of Peace. In the most elaborated version, the UN definition of the *Culture of Peace* reads:

"The Culture of Peace is a set of values, attitudes, modes of behaviour and ways of life that reject violence and prevent conflicts by tackling their root causes to solve problems through dialogue and negotiation among individuals, groups and nations" (UN Resolutions A/RES/52/13: Culture of Peace and A/53/243: Declaration and Programme of Action on a Culture of Peace).³

UN and UNESCO use a concept of culture, which does not refer in first line to "Culture with a big C", but which is very close to Raymond Williams' famous definition of culture as a "way of life" (Williams 1976). It is to say that sustainable peace can only be achieved when we change our way of life and overcome the culture of war that we are practising every day. The basic idea of *Culture of Peace* is, as David Adams explains, already to find in the UNESCO Constitution:

"the idea that war as an institution is based upon a culture of war that is broader and deeper than the wars themselves. It's like an iceberg: war is the tip which may or may not be visible at any given moment, whereas the culture of war exists continually; supporting particular wars from below and being continually reinforced by the wars that have already occurred. [...] For this reason, a culture of peace needs more than the absence of war. It requires a profound cultural transformation" (Adams 2003, p. 1).

2 *Culture of Peace* in the Peace Research Community

Meanwhile, within the peace research community, a discussion on culture and peace has started. In 1982, Swiss philosopher Hans Saner has published an article "Personal, Structural, and Symbolic

3 <http://www.peace.ca/unesco.htm#Bibliography>

Violence" (Saner 1982). Drawing from Johan Galtung's distinction between direct and structural violence, he raised a plea for a third element, *symbolic violence*, which both, backs structural violence and is itself a factor of violence. Galtung himself, in an article published in the *Journal of Peace Research*, in 1990, refined his theory of violence, including cultural violence as a third component to his classical opposition of direct and structural violence. According to him, cultural violence is a violence "used to justify or legitimize direct and structural violence" (Galtung 1996, p. 196).

Similarly to the UNESCO approach, Galtung uses a wide concept of culture as "the symbolic sphere of our existence – exemplified by religion and ideology, language and art, empirical science and formal science (logic, mathematics)" (Galtung 1996, p. 196). He states that "this inclusion of culture" broadens "the agenda for peace studies considerably" (ibid., p. 208). Furthermore he insists that "culture is relevant to violence and peace" and gives many concrete examples for each of the enumerated fields. Galtung even believes that this endeavour is not only a contribution to peace research, but also to the field of (cultural) sciences as such:

"In doing so, maybe peace research could even make some contribution to founding a major scientific enterprise still conspicuously absent from the pantheon of academic pursuits, the science of human culture, 'culturology'. Today the field is divided between 'humanities' for 'higher' civilisations and cultural anthropology for 'lower' ones; with philosophy, history of ideas, and theology filling in some pieces" (Galtung 1996, p. 208).

Even though Galtung does not use the term *Culture of Peace* in this article, he develops a concept which comes very close to it, speaking about the "vicious circle" of the "direct-structural-culture violence triangle" that has to be counterbalanced by "a triangular syndrome of peace in which cultural peace engenders structural peace, with symbiotic, equitable relations among diverse partners, and direct peace with acts of cooperation, friendliness, and love", a kind of "virtuous rather than a vicious triangle, also self-reinforcing" (Galtung 1996, p. 208).

The above mentioned Felipe McGregor slightly modified Galtung's concept of cultural violence together with Marcial C. Rubio, insisting on the strong links between cultural and structural violence, because "many of the rules of structural violence actu-

ally belong to the realm of culture and ideology" and adding "that culture in itself is very often structural violence" (MacGregor/Rubio 1994, p. 54).

Galtung's concept was widely discussed in the international peace research community, as an interesting theoretical aspect, but his ambition was much higher: At the end of his article, he states that due to this new concept, "the field [of peace research, W.W.] opens for new areas of competence, such as the humanities, history of ideas, philosophy, theology" (ibid., p. 208). At the first sight, this is a surprising statement, since it ignores that the whole history (and pre-history) of peace research reveals a long tradition of a cultural peace discourse, from early criticism on colonial wars, e. g. Francisco de Vitoria (1492–1546), from the School of Salamanca, who protested against the Spanish invasion of America as an "injust war", challenging both the emperor and the pope; via Jan Ámos Komenský (Comenius, 1592–1670), who systematically developed a concept of peace education, to modern philosophers like Hermann Broch (1886–1951) with his programme of an interdisciplinary peace university. However, this was more dealing with a concrete cultural topic in a given situation, than theorising the relationship between culture and peace. And when modern peace research was established in the 1950s, this was basically in the field of politics and social sciences, and little attention was paid to cultural approaches. In this sense Galtung is right, as for some modern peace researchers the focus on cultural matters is widening the field. (I will discuss some probable reasons for this fact at the end of chapter 3 of this article.)

This might be the reason why, despite all these achievements, *Culture of Peace* is more accepted by the peace movement than by the peace research community. While NGOs, and especially peace educators, welcomed the new concept, it is hard to find any theoretical discussion about it among peace researchers, neither in any academic reference book (except in books dealing with peace education, see Reardon 2000 or Wintersteiner et al. 2003). In a German standard reference, *Friedens- und Konfliktforschung* (Imbusch/Zoll 2005), some cultural approaches like Galtung's notion of cultural violence are mentioned, but not highlighted. In the widely diffused handbook *Peace and Conflict Studies* (Barash/Webel 2009), the cultural dimensions of peace (research) have very little space –

like "national and cultural intolerance" as a "reason for war". However, notions like cultural violence or culture of peace are not mentioned. Culture *and* peace, after all, is accepted as a field of study, *Culture of Peace*, as a concept, is still unknown or ignored. (To be correct, this mostly refers to English and German speaking countries, while in Spain and Latin America, *Culture of Peace* is a widely discussed topic.)

Even if some cultural fields of research are recognised in peace research, they are not integrated and used to create a new and more complex concept of peace research as (not only) Galtung has intended. An example: 4 out of 23 commissions of IPRA, the International Peace Research Association, deal with explicitly cultural aspects:⁴ *Art and Peace*, *Peace Culture and Communications*, *Peace Education*, *Religion and Peace*. At a first glance, this is very positive. However, is this really a sign of a paradigmatic change? I do not think so. It is not enough to talk about culture as a *field of study*. We have to study culture as a *dimension* of each topic and field. So far, there was no discussion about the integration of the cultural dimension in each and every commission of IPRA, including the *Global Political Economy Commission*, the *Peace Theories Commission* or the *Development and Peace Commission*. Cultural topics are still considered as very special issues, as separated approaches to peace, not linked to (and thus not really relevant for?) the "harder" sciences, like sociology, international relations, or economy ... Still, too many scholars do not see "the need to move beyond institutional thinking about politics, power, sovereignty and representation and to engage with emotive, aesthetic, linguistic and cultural representations" (Richmond 2008, p. 147).

As mentioned above, peace in the humanities and in Cultural Studies is definitely not a new issue, the problem is rather the separation of the different approaches, all with a very limited scope: psychologists try to show which psychological factors contribute to war or peace, linguists are dealing with language and peace, literary critics study violence, war and peace as topics in literature, theologians discuss the peaceful or violent role of religions in history etc. But their findings, isolated, have too less explanatory value for political and historical events. Of course, there are impor-

4 See: http://www.iprassociation.org/?page_id=58 (accessed: July 2010)

tant exceptions, like the psychologists Stavros Mentzos and Vamik Volkan (see below) or the historian Enzo Traverso, whose work on the civil war in Europe between 1914 and 1945 (Traverso 2007, no English version so far) is a very good example for the integration of all approaches in a comprehensive explanation. However, these few examples do not suffice to reframe the very concept of peace research, which is still dominated by some (evenly narrow) theories of international relations.

However, things are changing, also in peace research. There are, as far as I see, three developments, all interconnected one to another, which eventually may lead to a new and more complex theory of war and peace. These three developments are:

- The new and unequalled role of culture in social relations, which is mirrored in the cultural turn of the social sciences.
- The growing importance of culture as a part of conflict and, sometimes, also as one of the reasons for conflicts, as well as the "culturalisation" of conflicts, which describes a wrong attribution of conflicts as ethnic or religious ones, when the real driving forces are economy or politics.
- A movement of convergence, including conflict studies, social sciences, cultural studies, and philosophy towards a more comprehensive and complex study of violence and peaceful alternatives, which highlights the cultural dimension.

In the next chapter, before retracing these three developments, I shall discuss the notion of culture a bit more carefully.

3 Culture and Peace: Towards a Paradigmatic Shift

"Culture is", according to Raymond Williams (Williams 1983, p. 87), "one of the two or three most complicated words in the English language". Thus we need to clarify what we understand by culture in our context. Usually, this term varies its meaning when used in the singular or in the plural. By culture (singular) we mean – following the tradition of Cultural Studies – "a particular way of life, whether of a people, a period, a group, or humanity in general" (Williams 1983, p. 88), or more precisely: "The total, generally organized way of life, including values, norms, institutions, and artefacts, that is passed on from generation to generation by learning

alone" (Dictionary of Modern Sociology). In a deeper understanding, culture is the *process of giving meaning* to our activities of our daily life as well as the conventional sets of meaning, the *symbolic system* represented in ideologies, religions and beliefs and their *artefacts* such as myths and rituals, books, tools, buildings etc. (*material culture*). People act according to (distinct) patterns or structures and these patterns correspond to their culture or better, are generated by their culture, are part of their culture. In this sense, culture contrasts the combined concept of *nature*, and its focus therefore lies on the communalities of humankind.

This concept stands in sharp contrast to the current common sense of the human being as *homo economicus* – a rational being who always acts according to his/her material interest. In fact, people are driven by their hopes and desires, by their whole imagination, by their culturally formed self-image and the sense they give to their life. Even their basic needs appear in a specific cultural form. Thus a "material interest" is a cultural product itself. Likewise, the *homo economicus* exists, but as a cultural concept rather than as an anthropological fact.

These symbolic codes are passed via teaching from one generation to another, which is both, a factor of stabilisation and conservation of the code, as well as a means of adaptation and transformation. In other words: People act according to the patterns they are socialised with, but these patterns are not a cage from which one cannot escape. For instance, it is possible to change from violent to peaceful practices, thinking, symbols, and theories.

Set in the plural, *culture* takes a slightly different meaning, signifying most often different *civilisations*. The focus is more on the differences between the cultures, neglecting sometimes the inner diversity and non-coherence of each single culture. For instance, Huntington's famous concept of the *Clash of Civilisations* is based on a simplified version of *cultures*. He even adds the (not evidence based) idea that cultural entities are necessarily hostile to each other and confrontation is almost inevitable (this becomes even clearer in the German translation: *Kampf der Kulturen* = battle of cultures). In any case, culture in the plural form tends to be used to construct hierarchies between different societies. The term Culture helps to classify some countries as more civilised than others, and some people as more cultured than others.

Nevertheless, in reality, the contact between two (or more) cultures is not necessarily a violent one or characterised by domination. Under peaceful conditions, contact between two cultures can inspire people to learn from one another, by integrating social practices, theories, artefacts into the own culture. Thus a transcultural practice may emerge, especially in contact zones on the borders. Nowadays, in times of generalised intensive exchange, called globalisation, these "contact zones" are expanding more and more and the whole society becomes the place of transcultural exchanges.

This is definitely an ambiguous process: It helps enlarge the horizon of everybody, leads to new hybrid cultural forms and practices and can be seen as a wonderful chance to create cosmopolitan citizens. Under conditions of violence or political inequality, however, people of one society or the dominant group of a society can impose a certain behaviour, language, way of thinking to other people resp. another group while appropriating at the same time achievements of the dominated culture.

In any case, this development is another more factor that explains why culture in social relations plays such an important role, especially today, the first of the three developments mentioned above.

3.1 Culture in Social Relations, Culture in Social Sciences

Today, culture has even become a new paradigm in social sciences, which also helps valuing the contribution of the humanities to explain the complex functioning of societies and thus, to gain a better understanding of the role of a cultural peace research.

"For a long time, we have described and analysed the social reality in political terms: disorder and order, peace and war, power and state, the King and the nation, the republic, the people and the revolution. Afterwards, industrial revolution and capitalism have emancipated from the political power and are appeared as the 'basis' of social organisation. Thus we have replaced the political paradigm by an economic and social paradigm: social classes and wealth, bourgeoisie and proletariat, trade unions and strikes, stratification and social mobility, inequality and redistribution have become our most used categories of analysis. Today, two centuries after the triumph of economy over politics, these 'social' categories have become vague and leave a huge part of our lived experience in the shadow. Therefore we need a new paradigm, as we cannot come back to the political paradigm, particularly because the cultural problems have taken such an important part, that all kind of social thinking has to be organised around them" (Touraine 2005, p. 9, my translation).

With this strong statement, French sociologist Alain Touraine describes a paradigmatic shift in social sciences towards culture as the key concept for understanding social relationships. His argument is that sociology has to mirror the change in social relations, the way people organise their life, by a new concept of sociological theory.

Likewise, in the Anglo-Saxon world, sociologists like Jeffrey Alexander have developed a social theory including culture very prominently – “as inherently contentious narrative discourses, or cultural codes, which frame understanding and which are reproduced through social practice” (Eyerman 2004, p. 26). According to sociologist Ron Eyerman, contemporary social theory has undergone a *cultural turn*: “Thus any sociology worthy of this name will be a cultural sociology, capable of explaining social behaviour through the analysis of the cultural codes, within it is embedded, while at the same time revealing how these codes themselves are not only reproduced but also altered in the process” (Eyerman 2004, p. 26).

3.2 Culture in Social Conflicts – Between Neglecting and Overestimation

One consequence of the growing role of culture in social relations discussed above, is the fact that culture is very often an element of (violent) conflicts. This does not mean that wars are always cultural wars, as for instance Samuel Huntington has suggested. Quite often it turns out that conflicts are culturally “disguised” or “masked”. Categories like language, ethnicity and religion are used to aggravate conflicts, which actually emerge from other sources. In such cases, categories like the ones mentioned above, just officiate as post festum explanations, without any relation to the real root of the conflict. For instance, Serbs and Croats in former Yugoslavia had almost the same language, they had traditions of resistance or collaboration during the German occupation, shared the communist ideology and a kind of Yugoslav identity. When the ruling groups in both countries convinced their peoples that there should be a separation, they emphasised the differences (like the script, the religion, some marginal linguistic differences) and downplayed the communalities. Consequently, during the civil war, churches, mosques and other religious institutions became preferred targets from all sides. This does not mean that we can call this war an “eth-

nic conflict". Likewise, people in failing states where democratic institutions are non-existent or broke down, are forced to look for other, more ancient forms of social cohesion like clans, tribes etc., which does not mean that these forms of connection are the origin of the conflict.

As Chris Hedges correctly writes,

"the ethnic conflicts and insurgencies of our time, whether between Serbs and Muslims, or Hutus and Tutsis, are not religious wars. They are not clashes between cultures or civilizations, nor are they the result of ancient ethnic hatreds. They are manufactured wars, born out of the collapse of civil societies, perpetuated by fear, greed, and paranoia, and they are run by gangsters, who rise up from the bottom of their own societies and terrorize all, including they purport to protect" (Hedges 2002, p. 20).

Nevertheless, this does not mean that aspects of cultural identity like religion or ethnicity do not play any role in wars, but one has to be always careful when analysing their concrete function in a given situation.

3.3 How Social Sciences and Peace Research Deal with Cultural Approaches to Peace

In practice, *cultural aspects* have their (limited) place in war and peace studies. This is not only true for peace research, but also for military research. For instance, a traditional military university in the US, the Naval Postgraduate School (NPS), runs a Programme for Culture & Conflict Studies. This programme "is premised on the belief that the United States must understand the cultures and societies of the world to effectively interact with local people. It is dedicated to the study of anthropological, ethnographic, social, political, and economic data to inform US policies at both the strategic and operational levels."⁵

However what is missing, is the *cultural dimension* as a main pillar of peace studies. Why is it so hard to establish *Culture of Peace* inside of disciplines, like international relations (IR), and develop an integrative peace research? This is – according to Oliver Richmond – not so much a question of academic disciplines (e. g. international politics vs. Cultural Studies) but rather a question of

5 See <http://www.nps.edu/programs/ccs/>

the very concept of peace which is used. Richmond (2008) distinguishes roughly four paradigms how peace is conceived in IR: realism, idealism, liberal peace, and finally critical theory and post-structural approaches (which he puts together).⁶ To him, the latter approach, and especially post-structuralists strongly criticise the dominant *liberal peace* paradigm which conceives peace as Western democracy, including a place for civil society, the rule of law, and a free market system. This concept does not provide a place for "slow" and "soft" cultural factors. And, even more important, this concept does not accept the fact that Western societies create and perpetuate a culture of war.

Gender debates, as well as post-colonial thinkers like Homi Bhabha, have criticised this peace concept as a disguised form of power politics and, in fact, as anti-peace. "From this perspective [...], even liberal or idealist accounts effectively favour a discursive and hegemonic framework derived from Western/developed ontologies and interests" (Richmond 2008, p. 40). However, this criticism did not automatically lead to a new peace paradigm. "Gender debates do not offer direct insights into a particular concept of peace associated with gender, but as with post-structural debates they have uncovered the systems, structures and frameworks inherent in IR that bias praxis against women and propagate the assumption that patriarchy is normal" (Richmond 2008, pp. 143–144). In other words, post-structuralism, post-colonialism and feminism tend more to focus on a powerful critique of ruling peace concepts, than on developing a new alternative. This is exactly the job to do for an up-to-date comprehensive peace research, which has to go beyond existing concepts, borders of disciplines and has to include other actors. I propose to put this research paradigm and programme under the title *Culture of Peace*. In the words of Oliver Richmond: "This ontology of peace is dispersed, multi-centred, indicative of agency, and anti-hegemonic, and requires a complex interrogation of sites of power, resistance and marginalisation, in order to achieve its ontological ambitions" (Richmond 2008, p. 147).

6 Oliver Richmond, in his analysis, refers to the English speaking world. There is no such a study for German peace research. However, a comparable endeavour was done for peace in sociology, by Joas/Knöbl (2008).

It is to say that different peace paradigms do not only depend on different academic disciplines, but rather on different "schools" and their respective ideologies, as well as on different (social) actors in different countries. A peace paradigm oriented on *Culture of Peace* can be developed by linking peace research with peace movements, rather than by official state politics. However, the task remains to exert influence on state and international actors of peace keeping and peace building. Wilfried Graf calls this concept the "fifth generation of peace research", which criticises the existing approaches, but also draws on the strengths of each of them (see Graf 2009 and Graf/Kramer/Nicolescou in this volume).

4 Outlook – An Integrative Research Programme for a Culture of Peace

To sum up: In order to develop a peace research fuelled by cultural aspects, we can make use of the rich experiences of disciplines and current researches which, over the last years, have contributed a lot to increasing our knowledge about violence, war and peaceful alternatives – like Cultural Studies, Post-Colonial Studies, Feminist Studies or Global Ethics ... We have to think together the criticisms of cultural violence (Galtung), symbolic violence (Saner), ethnic violence (Butler), linguistic violence (Skutnabb-Kangas), holy violence (Benjamin) or epistemic violence (Foucault). I only want to mention three concrete examples:

- For instance, we are now enabled to understand much better how important the struggle for identity can become under certain circumstances, and how easily the need of identity can be exploited by political forces. We have insight into the patterns of identity politics, long before they become openly violent. War necessitates narrow identity politics, as well as it reinforces them. "One way of posing the question who 'we' are in these times of war is by asking whose lives are considered valuable, whose lives are mourned and whose lives are considered ungrievable. We might think of war as dividing populations into those who are grievable and those who are not" (Butler 2005, p. 38).
- We can learn from authors like Stavros Mentzos (Mentzos 1993) that war is not simply the result of economic or political calculations, but – more often – the outcome of the search of identity,

sense, and satisfaction: "War as a force that gives us meaning", as the title of another publication puts it (Hedges 2002).

- Finally, we have the very rich example of Vamik Volkan's studies, who analyses *The Psychodynamics of International Relationships* (as the title of one of his books puts it, Volkan et al. 1991). In his attempt to better understand the root causes of international violence and conflict, Volkan uses the approaches of psychoanalysis, psychiatry, psychology, political science, public policy, diplomacy, international relations, and anthropology. He overcomes the realist power politics paradigm of international relations and takes an authentic interdisciplinary approach, very close to the Culture of War/Culture of Peace view.

For an agenda of *Culture of Peace* research, I propose an approach that proceeds simultaneously on four levels of concreteness/abstractness:

- Case studies of conflicts, in which cultural factors play an evident role, in order to discover what exactly their function is in the given conflict and how they are linked to political and economic factors. This may lead to very careful attempts to find general patterns and conclusions.
- Research and research-based actions in peace building in post-war states and, more generally, in any social conflict, including *Culture of Peace* efforts, which means that these efforts have to be operationalised in order to be evaluated. Comparisons with other conflict solution models and practices where the role of culture was omitted.
- On a more general level: *Culture of Peace* as a measure and criterion for the analysis and the improvement of groups and societies as a whole, the way that the Global Peace Index (GPI)⁷ is showing, but on a more concrete and regional level.
- On a meta-theoretical level: Combining these various approaches to a new concept of peace research, including culture not only as a field of study, but as a category for analysis

Culture of Peace is sometimes criticised as dogmatic, as utopian, and even as a-political. Furthermore, some people argue that it is a term from the realm of international politics and thus it is not applica-

7 <http://www.visionofhumanity.org/>

ble for scientific purposes. Others again think that the notion is simply too wide and unclear, and that it is therefore only a political slogan for mobilisation.

Even if we concede that some uses of the term may justify this criticism, it would be a mistake to underestimate the explanatory value of this approach (because it is an approach, rather than a single term). My argument is that *Culture of Peace* is the most needed missing link between a merely political approach to peace issues and a personal, psychological approach. As Jeffrey Alexander puts it: "We cannot understand culture without reference to subjective meaning, and we cannot understand it without reference to social structural constraints. We cannot interpret social behaviour without acknowledging that it follows codes that it does not invent; at the same time, human invention creates a changing environment for every cultural code" (Alexander, quoted after Eyerman 2004, p. 26). Applied to *Culture of Peace* this means that a peace culture can even be developed in a society which is politically dominated by a war system. When this culture of peace becomes strong enough, it may lead to a change of the political system, which helps to promote a culture of peace and so on. Hence, *Culture of Peace* is a term that allows the development of perspectives and it opens doors for action never seen before. So it was consequent that the Campaign for a Culture of Peace of UNESCO in 2000 started with a personal pledge – the *Manifesto of a Culture of Peace*.

Thus *Culture of Peace* is or can be much more than a metaphor. Even if it is a very wide and comprehensive notion, it is not too abstract for scientific use. It provides a new framework of thinking in different respects, only to mention the most important ones:

- It serves as the normative description of a positive aim – peaceful social relationships, as it is much more precise and powerful than a definition of negative peace (absence of war).
- It is a tool for a strong criticism of violent social relationships, stating that we are pervaded by a culture of war, a tool for "violence literacy" so to speak, to learn to "read" violence and to denounce it in order to overcome it.
- It is a concept that necessitates and stimulates the inclusion of as many people as possible to create sustainable peace, and thus a formula for democratising war and peace affairs; as the mis-

sing link between the personal and the political it opens up new spaces for political action.

- Because it helps to develop a comprehensive and integrative vision of peace research, it also aids to reevaluate and integrate important fields of research that are, so far, not properly linked to overall analyses of wars, violence and peace. This is especially true for the sometimes overestimated, sometimes neglected role of the media, as well as for peace education, which has to be reconstructed as a *political concept* within the framework of peace research.

I would like to conclude with a longer quotation from Judith Butler, in which she explains, as I think, why a cultural approach to war and peace issues is so essential to understand political and military decisions and processes. She refers to the concept of "otherness" as developed by various authors like Emmanuel Levinas, Zygmunt Bauman, Julia Kristeva, Edgar Morin, Amin Maalouf, Christoph Wulf or Massimo Cacciari. A new and open way to encounter the Other, to develop one's own identity in a "friendly confrontation with the Other" knowing that one's own existence depends from the Other – this is the maybe most general, most comprehensive, and most beautiful definition of the *Culture of Peace*:

"If, as the philosopher Emmanuel Levinas claims, it is the face of the other that demands from us an ethical response, then it would seem that the norms that allocate who is human and who is not arrive in visual form. These norms work to give face and efface. Accordingly, our capacity to respond with outrage, with opposition, and with critique will depend in part on how the differential norm of the human is communicated through visual and discursive frames. There are ways of framing that will bring the human in its frailty and precariousness into view, allow us to stand for the value and dignity of human life, to react with outrage when lives are degraded or eviscerated without regard for their value as lives. And then there are frames that foreclose responsiveness, to be understood as the negative action of existing frames, so that no alternative frames can exist" (Butler 2007, p. 955).

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Complexity Thinking as a Meta-Framework for Conflict Transformation. In Search of a Paradigm and a Methodology for a Transformative Culture of Peace

1 Introduction

This article is an attempt to lay out a meta-framework for "complex conflict transformation" – based on the search of a paradigm and a methodology for a transformative culture of peace. A culture of peace does not mean that there are no conflicts in society. Rather, it means that a society has developed a capacity for dealing with conflicts non-violently, with creativity and empathy. Far from being passive, it is a very active culture, seeking to proactively transform violence in all its forms. A transformative culture of peace, however, must go beyond good intentions. Too often good intentions have only aggravated conflicts and led to worse violence and greater suffering. Therefore, a culture of peace must not only have the adequate cultural values and goals, but also the cultural means for understanding, engaging with, and transforming conflicts.

The need for more complex approaches to address protracted violent conflicts is evident from the limited number of successful cases, in which a sustainable solution has been found and effectively implemented. The numerous protracted, intractable conflicts world-wide, endure with varying levels of violence. These violent conflicts have proven to be highly resistant to interventions, traditional mediation and negotiation approaches. They are defined by their very persistence, by numerous cycles of violence over time, and the increasing complexity of the conflict and its resistance to a sustainable resolution, caused by each added cycle of violence.

Scholars and practitioners have devoted significant thoughts and efforts to the finding of approaches of conflict resolution/transformation, which would be able to bring traction to intractable conflicts. Over the past decades, since the emergence of the field of peace and conflict theory, as well as practice of peace building, there have been different generations of thought on the subject. The varying schools of thought, each contribute their own

specific understandings and prescriptions for dealing with these conflicts. Efforts to advance the culture of peace benefit greatly from understanding the strengths and shortcomings of such past and current attempts.

Oliver Richmond described four generations of theory, related to peace and conflict studies. The first generation is characterised by a realistic view of peace, which favours a conflict management approach with the aim to end open violence and to (re)-construct the state-order. As a hybrid of liberal-realist assumptions, the second generation emphasises civil society as an active part in conflict resolution and is aimed at the removal of structural violence, seen as the root cause of conflict. Richmond describes this approach as a combination of idealism, structuralism and liberalism, which does not question the role of the liberal state in its concept. The third generation advocates for a liberal peace agenda, achieved by multi-dimensional and multilevel peace-building missions, such as third party interventions. Beyond targeting the end of open violence, structural issues are supposed to be addressed through reforms. Although the third generation proclaims its emancipation from conflict, it is criticised by the fourth generation of research, which is a structural, critical approach, resting on a sensual, legitimate and discursive emancipation from conflict (Richmond 2008).

The third and the fourth generations were also influenced by the contributions of German peace researchers of the second generation "critical peace research". Some representatives of this generation are Dieter Senghaas' theory of the Civilisational Hexagon of Peacebuilding (1995); Johan Galtung's critical-therapeutic theory of the Social Cosmology of cultural and structural violence and peace (Galtung 1981); Ekkehard Krippendorff's post-marxist, post-structuralist critical theory of the relationship between the state and war (1999).

At the same time, a generational shift took place, and especially in Germany, the progeny of the earlier "critical peace researchers" nowadays represent the third and fourth generation, often with a hybrid of social constructivism, systems theory and post-structuralism theory. While recognising the contributions of each of these generations of peace theorists, the need for a fifth generation is currently apparent, one which draws on the strengths of each of the existing approaches.

Therefore, there is a need to bring forth a fifth generation of Peace Research, which should bring together critical, post-structural cultural hermeneutics with empiric, realist systems theory, and pragmatic, constructivist interactions, connected through a paradigm of generalised complexity.

It is necessary to go beyond the post-modern cultural turn and the post-structuralist thinking towards a "soft" universalism, one which is informed by post-modernism (Morin 2004). The conflict transformation approach, introduced in this article, tries to live up to this challenge by combining the epistemological and methodological approaches mentioned, with the concept of basic human needs, which can serve as the "soft universalism" of a "politics of civilisation" called for by Morin. This new "soft" universalism is proposed as one of the foundation stones for a culture of peace.

2 Critical Complexity Thinking as a Transdisciplinary Meta-Framework for Conflict Transformation

Peter Coleman described five major frames or paradigms, which have been developed in order to address protracted and intractable conflicts: realism, human relations, pathology, postmodernism, and systems, and the different approaches within these paradigms (Coleman 2004). The five paradigms which Coleman identified and his perspectives on various approaches rooted in those frames, are insightful. He described the realist understanding of conflict as "a dangerous political game over power and control. Aggression, anarchy, and domination rule. The Human Relations approach sees conflict in terms of "destructive relationships locked in an escalatory spiral. Social conditions and connections are the key". The Medical Model considers conflicts to be "pathological diseases" afflicting the system, requiring diagnosis, containment, and treatment. "The post-modernist paradigm considers conflicts as socially constructed stories that are biased and polarising. Consciousness and complexity of thought are required. The paradigm of Systems looks to the "emergent, deeply ingrained patterns of destruction. The whole is greater than the sum of its parts" (Coleman 2004, p. 227).

He concluded his analysis of these approaches and the frames in which they are rooted with the suggestion, that the first four

frames can best be understood and implemented within a systemic approach, in order that "through the weaving and sequencing of such complementary approaches, it may be possible to trigger shifts in the deep structure of [conflict] systems [...] in a manner that might produce a sustained pattern of transformational change" (2004, p. 228).

In effect, Coleman argued in favor of a meta-theory, that should unite these various frames, and that should be based on systems theory. He described the methodological approach of a meta-framework as a way to guide the application of the various frames and to better understand their perspectives. A key point are the additional insights, which are gained by linking the various approaches (Coleman 2006). The meta-framework, he suggested for the analysis and the transformation of protracted and intractable conflicts, is that of "Dynamic Systems Theory" (DST).

Addressing deficits of civil conflict transformation approaches, the Berghof Foundation has also chosen a systemic approach, developing "Systemic Conflict Transformation" (SCT). The guiding principles of the SCT approach in general, such as multi-partiality and inclusivity, which operate on the basis of a systemic understanding of conflicts (Ungar/Wils 2007), have much to offer. SCT allows to "initiate and institutionalize resource networks for all key stakeholder groups, processes of multi-stakeholder dialogue, and/or other peace support structures" (Unger/Wils 2007, p. 3).

John-Paul Lederach, however, has argued that a systemic-based approach may not be enough. Inspired by the work of Paolo Freire, Lederach wrote that "transformative peacemaking upholds and pursues both, personal and systemic change" (Lederach 1995, p. 20). Systemic approaches are truly needed in order to address some of the "peacebuilding gaps", which Lederach has identified (Lederach 1999). They are clearly necessary in order to address the "interdependence gap", but may fail when it comes to addressing the "justice gap", the "process-structure-gap" (Lederach 1999), or the "authenticity gap" (Lederach 2005).

In itself however, this shortcoming does not constitute an argument against Coleman's call for systems theory as a meta-framework. Indeed, he has clearly recognised the contribution of the other paradigmatic frames and the benefits of approaching conflicts with the various tools and perspectives of non-systemic ap-

proaches. It is rather the proposition that DST is the frame best suited to act as a meta-framework for connecting those various frames which is challenged here. A structural approach does not recognise that the cultural dimension of conflict transformation and peace building is essential.

The work of the French philosopher and sociologist Edgar Morin is central to understand why DST/SCT may not be the most suitable meta-framework for conflict transformation. There are, in particular, two elements of the systemic approach which are based on Morin's works. First is the predominance given to the notion that "a system is more than the sum of its parts", and second is the need for simplifying the complexity of violent conflict in order to "enable the identification of do-able intervention" (Unger/Wils 2007, p. 3). At its core, the argument is that simplification runs the risk of making global comprehension impossible and thereby impedes the potential for change and innovation. It is necessary to understand the complexity of reality (Clusella et al. 2005). Complexity, according to Morin, differs from reduction by requiring a comprehension of the relationship between the parts and the whole. Knowledge of the part without the whole is inadequate, yet knowledge of the whole without understanding its parts is also insufficient. So, if the whole is greater than the sum of its parts, according to Morin, it is equally true that the whole is also less than the sum of its parts.

"Why? Because a certain number of qualities and properties presented in the parts can be inhibited by the organisation of the whole. [...] In the human relation of individual – society, the possibilities of liberties (delinquent or criminal in the extreme) inherent to each individual, will be inhibited by the organisation of the police, the laws, and the social order. [...] Thus, the notion of organisation becomes capital, since it is through organising the parts in a whole, that emergent qualities appear and inhibited qualities disappear" (Morin 2006, pp. 6–8).

By pointing out that the whole is greater than the sum of its parts, and yet at the same time that it is also less than the sum of its parts, Morin refers to the holographic principle of complexity, which means that the whole is reflected in every single part, and thus also the "greater-ness" can be found in every part. This holographic principle is one of three, which Morin explicitly mentions when delineating the paradigm of complexity. In Morin's understanding,

complexity is also dialogic and recursive. Tony Kashani describes Morin's three paradigms in the following way:

"Dialogic refers to the tensions between two logics that work in varying combination together, sometimes opposite (as in the Hegelian dialectic) and sometimes complementary to one another. Recursivity is when an organism produces elements to regenerate the process that produced the organism in the first place. Things will recur and recur. Holographic of course is the principle of one for all and all for one. In other words, the whole represents the part, while the part is always included in the whole. It is to say, that in a paradigm of complexity there is a recursive dialogic relationship between the part and the whole" (Kashani 2007).

Although some scholars of systemic thinking, such as Fritjof Capra, have defined systemic thinking as holistic, this does not fit into Morin's understanding of complexity. He argued that systemic thinking is contextual, but not holistic. And Morin was also convinced that complexity thinking may not be reduced to systems, which he calls "restricted complexity", but that complexity thinking needs to go beyond, which he refers to as "generalised complexity":

"The [...] idea of 'sciences of complexity' was introduced, encompassing the fractalist conception and the chaos theory. Only that this complexity is restricted to systems, which can be considered complex, because empirically, they are presented in a multiplicity of interrelated processes, interdependently and retroactively associated. In fact, complexity is never questioned, nor thought epistemologically. Here, the epistemological cut between restricted and generalised complexities appears, because I think that any system, whatever it might be, is complex by its own nature. [...] But then, what is 'generalised' complexity? It requires, as mentioned before, an epistemological rethinking, that is to say, bearing on the organisation of knowledge itself" (Morin 2006, p. 10).

Morin went on to combine this generalised complexity, and its epistemological rethinking, with a "politics of civilisation" and an "ethic of homeland earth", which address the urgency of fulfilling basic human needs, basic social interests and basic global values (Morin 1999). Nevertheless, Morin's complexity theory can be furthermore defined as also being constructive and critical. It therefore fits well into the differentiation made by Steve Best and Douglas Kellner, about how complexity theory can be used (or abused).

"Like any scientific theory, [...] complexity theory can be deployed for different political purposes. We would distinguish between a conservative and ideological complexity theory, that uses new scientific and technological insights in order to legitimate the [dominant system], and a critical complexity theory

that interprets 'bottom-up' power and intelligence in terms of direct democracy, and not a swarm-like hive. [This] would emphasize the need for sustainability and the construction of an ecologically viable economy and just society, while criticising destructive aspects of the new technology and society" (Best/Kellner 1999, p. 154).

Morin transcends the different mainstream concepts of complexity and chaos theory, such as those of the Santa Fe school or the Prigogine school, which are more concerned with mathematical modeling and conceptual analogies to natural sciences. Diane Hendrick, in her comprehensive work to apply complexity theory to conflict transformation, referred to the importance of the complexity approach to the development of transdisciplinarity, writing that "a further advantage of a complexity analysis [...] is the potential to overcome polarities in theoretical approaches, e. g. the tension between a focus on structure or on agency" (Hendrick 2009, p. 39).

Hendrick, however, focused more on mathematical and scientific principles, without reference to the philosophical approach of Morin's "ontological complexity". For Morin, these approaches remain restricted because "complex systems theory" uses complexity to denote a "multiplicity of interrelated processes, interdependent and retroactively associated" (Morin 2006, p. 10). It is still reductionist in nature, as there is no attempt to address the epistemological, cognitive, pragmatic challenges posed by complexity.

Instead of DST or SCT, the suggestion here is that more can be gained from Morin's paradigm of complexity. In doing so, cultural hermeneutical approaches are placed on equal footing with the systemic approaches. Morin did not offer a new systemic "grand theory", but rather a paradigm and a method for an epistemological reform of thought and sciences based on general complexity. This paradigm enables the development of a methodological framework for pluralist transdisciplinary peace research, complex conflict analysis and conflict transformation, which opens systems theory up for critical theory, critical-realist social research and cultural hermeneutical understanding.

A number of avenues of exploration unbolt by using this meta-theory for a transdisciplinary framework. It enables the integration of systemic thinking, narrative understanding and interactive constructivist intervention, through the application of the philosophy and sociology of Edgar Morin, as a critical-constructivist meta-theo-

ry, for complex conflict analysis and dialogical conflict intervention. Morin's paradigm of epistemological and ontological complexity thinking goes beyond systemic-functionalist, structuralist, poststructuralist, modernist, or postmodernist approaches, and transcends different classical reductionisms in science and philosophy, such as biologism, anthropologism – sociologism, individualism – holism – systemism, and (especially) realism – idealism – constructivism.

Each of these fields is relatively autonomous, but they overlap and influence each other on this transdisciplinary basis. Still, the relative autonomy of the individual research perspectives is respected, but nevertheless they retain a certain level of flexibility in their association and a complexity-theoretical analysis and transformation of complex conflicts can be found. Building on this epistemological and methodological footing, a reflection on peace and conflict research is possible, which enables new complex multi-level research strategies.

This paradigm also allows a transdisciplinary meta-framework for complex social theory, epistemological and methodological pluralism, and participatory action research. It connects systemic analysis, cultural hermeneutic understanding, and interactional constructivism – combining systems (structures and organisations), culture (meanings), action (interaction and social change), and the psychological and inter-subjective (the cultural inner lives and worlds of the actors).

Using the language of state politics, the relationship can be described as a "confederal" arrangement between these epistemological approaches. The parts remain "sovereign", but can cooperate by the virtue of being connected by generalised complexity theory. Generalised complexity is what enables these various parts to function together, while remaining distinct. It is therefore different to use one particular frame or approach to mediate the others – a structure which in this analogy would be more "federal".

3 Connecting Systemic Thinking, Hermeneutic Understanding and Interactional Constructivism for Complex Conflict Transformation

When elaborating a complex conflict transformation meta-framework, the various epistemological approaches to conflict transformation are categorised according to three poles, which are (inter)

action-oriented, structure-oriented, and, crucially, culture-oriented. These three elements, taken together, are fundamental to define conflicts, especially at a societal level, and there are parallels to the conflict triangle elaborated by Galtung.

The poles can be seen as the points of a triangle. At the first point one can place structures, which exist within and between societies, enabling actors to operate, but also tend to influence the behavior of those actors; therefore, this is the realm of the "outside" world. At the second point, one can place cultural understanding, the inside world of individuals, groups and societies and their patterns of thoughts and meanings, the psychology of the individual and of groups; this is the "inner" world. The third point is (inter)action, dealing primarily with the actors, individuals and groups, which act out conflicts in the physical world, endowed by a level of agency, and therefore also their behavior; here the inner and the outer world meet, shaping and influencing the behavior of the actors, whether of individuals or groups. Any approach to conflict deals with at least one or two of these poles, but not all three comprehensively, simply because of the level of complexity this would entail. No single theory can capture this fully.

Between these three perspectives, one can place the five frames Coleman identified (or indeed any other paradigmatic frame related to conflicts and society): Realism, for example, focuses on actors, their behavior, and their ability and propensity to dominate. It assumes that the decisions, taken by actors, are rational attempts to maximise their interests. This is most noticeable in classic realist thought and in the application of Game Theory to conflicts. Realism also can recognise the importance of structures – especially in the case of structural realism with its focus on the international system. Therefore, one can see realism as an existing point along a spectrum between the poles of (inter)action and structure, with a noticeable absence of the impact of culture, psychology and the inner world of actors.

Each of these perspectives has its own insights, its own logic and capacity to enable conflict transformation. It is therefore not practical to attempt an integration of these different understandings into a single "grand approach". However, they can be connected, and by this maintain their individual strengths, while contributing to a greater understanding of conflicts and how conflicts

can be addressed. They are the parts of a complex whole, which is Complex Conflict Transformation (CCT). In this way, a cultural approach can be bridged with a systemic approach.

CCT is grounded in the works and insights of the authors referred to in this article, especially Morin, Richmond, Galtung, and Coleman. On this basis, a complex meta-framework for a transdisciplinary peace research, conflict analysis and multi-level research strategies is laid out. It connects the three key perspectives of empirical realist systems theory, critical cultural hermeneutics, and pragmatic, interactional constructivism. The first, realist-systemic thought, is an empirical, neo-functionalist structural theory and a structural analysis with the goal of transforming structural patterns of behavior. The second, post-structural cultural hermeneutic understanding, is a critical inter-subjective cultural theory, a cultural analysis aiming to transform cultural patterns of meaning. The third, interactional-constructivism and interventionism, is a neo-pragmatic, socio-therapeutic theory of action and interaction analysis with the goal of transforming the behavior, strategies, and the means, used by the actors. The connecting of these approaches is oriented by constructing creative, empathic, and non-violent solutions for the transformation of conflicts.

The insight of complex conflict transformation is the recognition, that the unique perspectives of each of the frames, which can be applied to conflicts, are equally important. There should not be one particular frame, which is used to mediate the others. To do so, would take the strengths and weaknesses of that frame and impose those on the other frames. Yet, a super-ordinate frame is necessary to mediate between the different frames and to gain further insights of the whole and its complexity.

Generalised complexity achieves this task not by imposing a dominant perspective, but by acting as the connecting element between the frames. It functions as the necessary linkage of the space between the frames. Every part can remain distinct, and contribute to the transformation of conflict to its full potential, but at the same time, it is possible to understand the complex inter-relation of the parts, while also gaining an equally important understanding of how they work as a whole.

3.1 Realist Systems Theory and The Basic Human Needs Approach:

The Functional-Structural and Empirical Dimension

The first central component is a (critical-realist, functionalist) systemic analysis of conflict analysis and conflict transformation. Realist functionalist systems theory exists in contrast to radical constructivism and sociological system theory such as in the work of Niklas Luhmann. The latter sees systems as being socially constructed through communication, and therefore being "devoid of any factual reference" (Hollstein-Brinkmann 2006, p. 2). As in the tradition of Werner Obrecht and Mario Bunge, systems are seen here as something that exists in reality.

Going further with Obrecht, it is particularly important in this approach to acknowledge its linkage to human needs and the drive experienced by all human beings to fulfill those needs. These needs are seen as an "internal condition that differs from the state of well being of an organism. This deviation is recognised from the central nervous system and motivates the organism to act with the aim of compensating the deviation" (Borrmann 2006, p. 185). Therefore, these basic human needs cannot be deconstructed or be explained through a constructivist approach. They are universal to all human beings, even if the resulting wants and goals, formulated to satisfy those needs, differ from person to person, and society to society.

With a similar approach, the CCT approach draws on a realist system understanding of a tri-dimensional theory of conflict, violence and peace: direct, structural and cultural violence and conflict transformation. The CCT approach places the human being at the center of historical anthropology, social development and conflict transformation. Human beings have inherent basic needs, which are universal, regardless of one's culture or societal structures. Based on this view, universal basic human needs are one of the defining characteristics of what makes us human.

Galtung's Basic Human Needs Concept assumes that there is no hierarchy between the different categories of basic human needs. He distinguished between four categories of basic human needs: survival, as opposed to death, and including biological needs of physical integrity and autopoiesis; wellbeing, which refers to what we need to live and to maintain essential body functions, such as food, clothes, shelter, which go beyond the most basic necessities for survival, as well as access to a healthcare system, an edu-

cational system, employment, etc.; identity, which is a meaning in life, something not only to live from, but to live for; and freedom, meaning having a choice in how to fulfill one's needs (Galtung 1996). Using Ken Wilber's terminology, one could also refer to them as physiological, social, spiritual and psychological needs (Wilber 1995).

The needs are not the frame of reference, but officiate as a dialogical tool for mediating between the different frames of reference of conflict parties – oscillating between human rights, international law, constitutions, social norms, religious visions, and local methods of conflict resolution. These frames of reference for justice are constructed, while BHN are not – they are universal.

In that regard, the view of basic human needs as being purely functionalist or evolutionist "systemic" must be transcended. They are relevant beyond a simply systemic understanding. As Castoriadis wrote, "a society can exist only if a series of functions are constantly performed [...], but it is not reduced to this, nor are its ways of dealing with its problems dictated to it once and for all by its 'nature'. It invents and defines for itself new ways of responding to its needs as well as it comes up with new needs" (1987, pp. 116–117). These new needs can only be identified and understood dialogically.

3.2 Hermeneutic Understanding, Cultural Trauma, and

The Social Unconscious: The Socio-Cultural and Historic Dimension
Castoriadis leads into the second pole of the CCT Meta-framework, the inner world of the conflict actors, which is an understanding of the deeper civilisational dimension of conflict, based on his philosophy of History. The author contributes that there is not only a structural and functional element to social structures or institutions, but also a social imaginary, which is "interwoven with the symbolic", and there is therefore not only a functional component, but an imaginary component as well. Without it, the functionality cannot be understood, and it even subordinates functionality (Fotopoulos 2000, p. 435).

In a similar way, but with specific reference to "cultural trauma", Jeffrey Alexander developed a cultural sociology and narrative theory (Eyerman 2004). For Alexander, culture has a "structure" based on narratives, and these narratives are the basis for the

identity of individuals and groups. The narrative provides a sense of meaning and identity for those who share it. It narrates the story of where one comes from, what one is doing in the present, and where one is going. Traumata, which are experienced by a whole community damage this narrative. Therefore it has to be repaired – there is a need to rectify the injustice committed in the past. The narrative is maintained by various actors, like through the media or with the help of other collective agents, which take the narrative and modify it through a "spiral of signification" (Eyerman 2004).

Referring to Bernhard Geisen, Ron Eyerman described the need for a field of "cultural pragmatics", in order to mediate between meta-theory and case study, and to help understand how the narrative regulates action. Furthermore, it implements the idea, that actions are not simply rational exercises of economic choice. There is a social drama with actors and an audience, and the performance is "rooted in ritual and mimesis", rather than in rational calculation. Through narrative, human action is both, "rule governed yet also rule-making, practical, yet also creative" (Giesen in Eyerman 2004, p. 29).

Therefore, basic human needs are not only autopoietic needs (Fotopoulos 2000). This would cover only one level of being, which Castoriadis identified, additionally to it are the human psyche, the social individual, the social-historical, as well as the 'emergent capacity' of the autonomous subject and the autonomous society (Adams 2008, p. 394). An autopoietic understanding of basic human needs would also fail to take into account the importance of narratives and cultural hermeneutic understanding. From this perspective, the Basic Human Needs Concept shifts not only from a functionalist understanding to a more subjective one, informed by culture, but also becomes a value. More exactly speaking, the concept of Basic Human Needs is not a value itself, but rather the value is that all human beings should have their basic human needs fulfilled. It is then the fulfillment of Basic Human Needs for all human beings which becomes the desired outcome for CCT, an outcome which is only fully realisable in a highly developed culture of peace.

Although there is no objective hierarchy of needs, human beings and societies tend to broadly prioritise the basic human needs, and often try to base collective values or political ideologies on

this prioritisation. Marxism focuses on putting the basic human needs of (material) wellbeing at the centre of its ideology, liberalism centres around the need for (political and economic) freedom, nationalism sets its priority on the need for (national) identity, while militarism stresses the need for the survival (of the state). In deep-rooted conflicts, one can often observe a pathological fixation on one of the categories of basic needs – usually the type of need, which is missing. People are known to sacrifice their lives for their religious and cultural identity (such as the right to use their own language), but may also sacrifice their lives for wellbeing, or their identity for their survival.

The CCT approach aims to deconstruct and reframe these ideologies or pathological fixations. It assumes that all basic human needs are equally important and that, if there is to be a sustainable solution to a conflict, all of these needs must be fulfilled. There are no basic needs for systems, states, institutions, organisations or political parties. The latter represent cultural values and social interests, and these values and interests should be translated and reframed according to the Basic Human Needs Concept. This allows a critical differentiation between basic interests/values and specific group-centered or ego-centered interests/values.

As a concrete example for a complex mediation of an individual and collective unconscious, one can look to Lederach's scheme for the exploration of conflict histories or conflict escalation and polarisation dynamics, which lead to the past. He suggests beginning with a first circle encompassing the present violent events. "The circle of recent events lifts out the most visible expressions of the political, military, social, or economic conflicts" (Lederach 2005, p. 141). The circle of present events then slowly leads to a further sphere of "lived history". A third, broader circle of time is the context of memory, or the "remembered history". At this point, Vamik Volkan comes into play. Volkan conceives this circle of time from the perspective of a psychoanalytically informed large-group psychology, as remembered events, which generate "chosen traumas" (Volkan 1999). And finally, there is the deep history, the "understanding of how people come to see their place on this earth, in a figurative sense and their place as tied to a specific geography, in a literal sense" (Lederach 2005, p. 143). This is largely analogous with Galtung's social cosmology and deep culture.

Deep culture consists of the underlying and shared world views of a society, which are its operating paradigms. It is the sum of unconscious (usually forgotten or unspoken) practices, codes, discourses, directives, rules, stereotypes and prejudices about the self and the other. More specifically, deep culture is composed of the "social cosmology" of a society. It is "a web of notions about what is true, good, right, beautiful and sacred" (Galtung 2000, p. 33).

In conflicts, and in particular in protracted and intractable conflicts, these deep attitudes and assumptions of the deep culture often work to impede a peaceful transformation of the conflict. Furthermore, they are the raw materials for the dynamics of escalation and polarisation, which are in turn exacerbated by populist and fundamentalist policies. Throughout culture (in religion and ideology, language and art, empirical and formal science), these deep-cultural meanings can be used to legitimise direct or structural force, and are passed on from one generation to the next by means of national myths, symbols and even street names.

3.3 Interactive Construction of New Realities:

The Pragmatic and Socio-Therapeutic Dimension

The third pole of the CCT-Meta-framework is the pragmatic, socio-therapeutic dimension of conflict transformation based on (inter) action. It draws on both, modern and postmodern theories. It is post-structuralist to the extent that "discourses are characterised by 'overdetermination'", and therefore there are "multilayered formations of meaning, that allow diverse and even antagonistic articulations" (Neubert 2008, p. 5).

Basic human needs, from this perspective, shift again from a value of fulfillment to the basis for the construction of legitimate and sustainable solutions to a conflict. Legitimacy for a goal or strategy, which is linked to behavior and therefore (inter)actions, is determined by whether or not those goals and strategies respect the needs of all – including one's own basic human needs, some of which may be marginalised due to an extreme fixation on a different category of needs. Basic human needs are non-negotiable, even for one's own self, group, or society.

"Interactive Constructivism" refers to human action, and in the CCT approach it refers in particular to the facilitation and counseling of self-reflexive dialogue processes, starting within each con-

flict worker, conflict client or conflict party separately. This is done in order to counsel, train or "educate" each conflict party in different forms of complex conflict transformation, from prevention to negotiation/mediation to (re)conciliation, through a process of self-reflection and exploration of the deeper, social unconscious dimensions of the conflict formation, similar to the process of conscientização in Freire's educational work.

"Only in a dialectical understanding [...] is it possible to comprehend the phenomenon of the introjection of the oppressor by the oppressed, the latter's 'adherence' to the former, the difficulty that the oppressed have, by localising the oppressor outside of themselves. [Erich Fromm once said] 'An educational practice, like that, is a kind of historico-sociocultural and political psychoanalysis.' This is what dogmatic, authoritarian, sectarian mechanists fail to perceive, and nearly always reject as 'idealism'" (Freire 1992, pp. 89–90).

In the psychodrama, sociodrama and sociometry of J. L. Moreno, one can find an interesting praxeology for Morin's meta-theory (Graf 2007). Moreno's work is about the coordination of actions for the coexistence of individual people, for the coordination of subjectively interpreted interactions. This kind of psycho- and socio-dramatic systems theory does not represent a cognitive-subjective radical constructivism, but rather a social constructivism, which is determined by actions. The reality is accessible, but only through perception, experience and reflection.

The conflict transformation process follows the medical or psychoanalytical model of diagnosis-prognosis-therapy (as a metaphor of course, or alternatively, the systemic model of observation and solution-orientation). The aim of conflict counseling and peace dialogue is to empower participants to escape vicious cycles of violence by fostering a more complex understanding of conflict dynamics, the "conscientisation" of the deeper contexts, and the reframing of goals. This should take them from operating on the basis of positions, to that of interests, then values, and finally to engage the other on the basis of basic human needs as the common human ground for all conflict parties, working on overcoming the incompatibility of goals.

In the CCT approach, the way out of violence is through self-reflexivity, creativity, and empathy. Creativity, in all its various forms, is what distinguishes human kind from other living beings. It is the mental capacity to see something, which actually does not

exist, and to then achieve it. Starting from a structural and cultural condition of violence, where the basic needs of many stay unfulfilled, trying to imagine and fulfil the achievement of the basic needs for all, within a system of cultural and structural peace, requires individuals to use their full creative potential.

When working directly with conflict parties (within the framework of conflict counselling, facilitation or mediation), CCT stresses the importance of intra-group work, as have others (Rothman, 1997). This does not only involve working with the conflict parties separately, but facilitating a mid- and long-term process of critical self-reflection. Self-reflection enables the conflict parties to gain a better understanding of themselves, of the other party and of the conflict. By doing so, conflict parties find it easier to formulate and/or reformulate their goals, and to come up with better, non-violent strategies in order to achieve their goals.

The CCT praxeology integrates actor-oriented approaches (transforming strategies, actions, behavioural patterns), structure-oriented approaches (transforming goals and contradictions) and culture-oriented approaches (transforming values, attitudes, assumptions). Although the CCT approach is also favouring integration, consensus, cooperation, mutual learning and creative collaboration, its aims are equity, equality, and symmetric power structures. Therefore, it may often be necessary to choose disintegrative, non-cooperative, "dissociative peace strategies", as a way to empower the exploited or oppressed conflict party, but always using non-violent methods of struggle and resistance, and with the deeper goal of (re) creating the conditions for "associative peace strategies".

The praxeology also includes a multiple-orientation approach. Attitudes, behaviours and contradictions must be worked on simultaneously. On the attitude/process level (narrative understanding), the stress is on developing empathy for the other parties. The level of behaviour ([inter]action) focuses on non-violence. Furthermore, the level of the contradiction (the system or structures) centres a solution, which is elaborated based on the principle of creative civil conflict transformation and the attainment of Basic Human Needs for all. A further characteristic of the CCT praxeology is that the conflict worker may put forth their own ideas and proposals for possible solutions, especially when there is an impasse on an issue. This must be done carefully, and with the clear message that this is a proposal for

consideration, not an imposition. It should always remain up to the conflict party to decide whether to follow a proposal or reject it.

In the CCT approach, there also is the basis for a new legitimacy for the intervention of the conflict worker, beyond classic neutrality or all-partiality. Especially in the case of individuals or NGOs from the Western world working in other parts of the world, critical self-reflection on their own values and interests (and their basic needs hierarchies, too) is needed. In this approach, legitimacy for any kind of intervention is based on the fulfilment of all basic human needs of all conflict parties, including any new needs, which may arise and are identified throughout the process.

4 Reflexive Deep Dialogue: Three Phases and Nine Perspectives for Complex Conflict Transformation

In order to establish a culture of peace, tools are needed to understand, address and transform conflicts. This requires a behavioural change of all actors involved in a conflict, but also an adjustment of the structures and the cultures within society. The approach of Complex Conflict Transformation outlined here, is proposed as a practical mean of identifying and making those changes necessary for transforming the conflict at hand.

A deep dialogue initiative for Complex Conflict Transformation is organised along three phases. The first phase is to understand the actors (including hidden actors), their goals, and the general conflict constellation of the conflict parties. There is a general focus on the present, on understanding the current reality. The second phase focuses on developing an understanding of the deeper dimensions of the conflict, looking at underlying patterns of behaviour, the social structures of the societies, and the unconscious deep culture and worldview, which influence the conflict parties' interpretation of the conflict. This is done in order to be able to reframe illegitimate goals into legitimate goals, with the criteria of the fulfilment of the basic human needs of all conflict parties. In this phase, the broad focus is on the past, which has shaped the worldviews, the social structures, and general pattern of attitude. The third phase consists of elaborating an overarching formula for a sustainable solution, on the basis of the creative integration of the conflict parties' legitimate goals. Here, the broad focus is on the future, on the vision of the conflict parties

of a transformed society, which is able to ensure the greatest level possible of basic human needs fulfilment for all those affected.

This three-phased process can work with a focus on the present (peace mediation/conflict resolution), on the past (re/conciliation) or on the challenges of the future (peace building). Linked to these three phases are nine perspectives, each of them addressing a particular conflict transformation concern, attached to the three dimensions of complex conflict transformation mentioned above. There is a trialectic between the three epistemological-methodological approaches, and through the nine perspectives, the conflict worker and conflict parties, cycle between the different understandings, gained through those approaches, in order to achieve a complex understanding of the conflict and of the changes necessary to transform the conflict. These perspectives are proposed as a mean of guiding a dialogical process with (and eventually between) the conflict parties, which ensures that all the relevant (complex) elements of protracted conflicts are addressed.

The first perspective deals with the understanding of what the conflict is actually about, if it only operates on a superficial level. This marks the starting point of the dialogical process. The leading question simply is, "What is the conflict about?" This leads to the identification of the actors involved, including those who may be hidden or forgotten, as well as their goals and the strategies they use to achieve them. It is about actors and their behavior on a surface level, and therefore it requires an (inter)actional understanding.

The second perspective moves towards getting to know the surface structure, especially the underlying contradiction of the conflict. It may be a relatively clear contradiction, such as in the case of a group attempting to achieve independence, facing those who are trying to maintain the territorial and sovereign integrity of the state. But it may also be more difficult to grasp, especially in protracted conflicts with multiple conflict parties, trying to achieve very different goals. This underlying contradiction can best be reached by trying to find a pattern in the various goals of the conflict parties. In order to do this more easily, it is important not to reduce the conflict to an either/or proposition, but to add the possibilities of "neither/nor", compromise, and "both-and (something more/else entirely)". This provides much more space to map out the goals of the various conflict parties. The contradiction itself is

rooted in the structure, and therefore is based on a systemic theoretical understanding.

The third perspective is supposed to examine which assumptions lie behind the goals of the conflict parties. Dealing with these assumptions, as well as with the attitudes of the conflict parties, this process requires the insights of the narrative approach. It is about better understanding the goals of all conflict parties, from the "why" to the "what", they are trying to achieve. This is largely based on the past experience of conflict parties. When looking for the meaning behind the goals, the narrative approach guides the process.

There is a natural break between the first phase and the second – the conflict party in question must be ready and willing to go deeper into the conflict and continue the process of conflict transformation. If this is not the case, and efforts to delve deeper into the conflict are resisted, it is a sign that more time needs to be spent with the conflict party on examining the first three perspectives. When the conflict parties are ready to move on to the next phase and to a deeper understanding of the conflict, then the trialectic process begins again – but with a different focus, and on a different level.

Phase two is focused on the past, in order to better understand the origins of the conflict, how it has developed over time, and how the root causes relate to the deep patterns of behaviour, the deep structure, and deep culture of the conflict parties. In doing so, the greater understanding should enable an evaluation of the goals, according to the principle of basic human need fulfilment for all – and on that basis determine the legitimacy of the goals.

The fourth perspective returns to an (inter)actional approach in order to understand the underlying patterns of behaviour, which are being used to fulfil basic human needs. What are the basic human needs behind the goals, which have been formulated? To help bring this out from the conflict parties, a possible question is: "What will happen if things continue as they are today?"

The fifth perspective delves deeper into systems theory, examining the structures of the society and how those structures have an impact on the surface contradiction. It is a question of identifying where power is concentrated within the society, helping to develop a greater understanding of how the society is structured. For example, if men dominate leadership positions, in business, edu-

cation, and other positions of influence, it is a sign that there are patriarchal structures in that society. Even though these structures are largely invisible, the result is measurable. And there is an orientation towards the present situation – how is the structure now?

The sixth perspective continues this process by examining the deep culture, the inner world of the society. In this, a narrative theory is crucial to understand the meanings and patterns of thinking, which are shared by the society at large. These, too, have a very intense affect on the conflict and how it is manifested, as they shape the attitudes, assumptions and expectations of the conflict parties. In order to get to know this deep narrative, an examination of the past is clearly required.

The trialectic cycle in the second phase is designed to develop a better, deeper and more complex understanding of the conflict by the conflict parties, and of themselves and the "others". This understanding is also important in order to foster a sense of empathy for the other conflict parties – not sympathy or agreement, but understanding the position, attitudes and assumptions of the other, and thereby shifting from an "adversarial frame" to a "reflexive frame" (Rothman 1997).

If there is a recognition of the legitimacy of the basic human needs (or a suitable frame of reference for justice, which is acceptable to the conflict parties, and itself does not violate Basic Human Needs) of all the conflict parties, and there is a willingness to explore the possibilities for ensuring that these needs can be fulfilled, then a movement to the third phase is possible.

Phase three is future oriented – it seeks to develop a new (authentic, legitimate) reality, which can be implemented by the conflict parties, based on the recognition of the needs of all conflict parties. This is elaborated on the basis of the transformed goals and strategies of the conflict parties. Although, the transformed goals may still be in contradiction, there is a far greater possibility of finding adequate creative solutions.

The seventh perspective, like the sixth, is focused on a narrative approach, operating at the level of deep culture and national narratives. But in this case it is about identifying the legitimate or illegitimate goals of both sides. With the understanding that there are legitimate needs driving the illegitimate goals or strategies, one can begin to find alternative goals and strategies which are legiti-

mate and yet do not compromise on one's Basic Human Needs. Within the deep culture, constructive cognitive and emotional elements can be found and brought to the surface (through dialogue), in order to ensure the authenticity of the process and potential solutions. A solution with authentic roots in the host society's deep culture will flourish far more easily than one, which is largely foreign or imported.

The eighth perspective takes a systemic approach to determining which structures need to be changed and created, on the basis of solutions to the legitimate goals of the conflict parties. There are still multiplicities of goals, which need to be connected. Mapping out those goals enables one to again find a pattern, but this time aiming for an overarching formula, which is capable of satisfying the legitimate goals of the conflict parties.

The ninth perspective returns to action and interaction. With a vision of how to address the conflict in a legitimate way, there is a need to find concrete steps to implement that vision, the overarching formula for the transformation of the conflict and also necessarily, the society. What does that action plan look like? There are no perfect action plans or solutions, so particular attention must be given to sustainability and reversibility. There should be enough flexibility in the agreement for a solution that allows for the inevitable problems, which will emerge when the solution begins to be implemented.

This is not a final phase in the process of complex conflict transformation – there remains the need for long-term reconciliation between the conflict parties. Nevertheless, there is a solid base for addressing and transforming present and future conflicts between the groups and societies at hand. Even more, the process should continue to the level that this process of complex conflict transformation extends beyond the confines of the main conflict, and to the level of human kind in general.

It is a non-linear, complex process to go from the actors, their contradictions, their assumptions and attitudes to the understanding of the structural and cultural deeper dimensions, which propagate the violent conflict constellation, and further to find creative solutions. But we have to bear in mind, that it is a necessary process for creative conflict transformation as a paradigm and methodology for an authentic culture of peace.

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Claudia Brunner

Knowing Culture, Knowing Peace? Epistemological and/as Political Aspects of the 'Culture of Peace'-Initiative, Concept and Programme

1 Introduction¹

Within the 20 years from the first draft to the end of the UN-decade today, the concept of a 'culture of peace' has achieved widespread currency within the system of international and non-governmental organisations. Yet, it provoked only little resonance in the academic field.² This article is particularly interested in the epistemo-

- 1 I want to thank Werner Wintersteiner for commenting on an earlier draft of this article, and Helmut Krieger for many hours of discussing my argument and its limitations.
- 2 A keyword research in the *ISI Web of Knowledge* database (accessed July 23, 2010) provides 1.264 entries for the terms 'culture' and 'war', but only 102 for the combination of 'culture' and 'peace'. Among these, only a few articles deal with the UNESCO concept. If they do so, they are quantitative empirical studies trying to verify or falsify the concept (Basabe et al. 2007; De Rivera 2004; De Rivera et al. 2007a; De Rivera et al. 2007b) that do not elaborate on the concept as such. Others use the term in a different context without further references to the concept (Wolfrum 2000; López et al. 2007), and some articles use the terminology without discussing it in more depth (e. g. Seifert 2007). The only works (written in English) uniquely focusing on the UNESCO concept were written by David Adams (e. g. 1997; 2000), who coordinated and led the research unit and embodies the concept and program like no other scholar does. This is not to say that no scholarly work on the concept and program exists. It is obvious though, that this work does not exist in the normalised and internationally acknowledged form of peer reviewed scholarly articles that feed such databases and give way to further research. Scholarly work that has not been published or at least key-worded and abstracted for international databases is very unlikely to enter the academic debates on a global level and remains inside smaller and less accessible discursive communities (e. g. articles not in English [e. g. Drouhaud 1997] and/or in anthologies [e. g. Giesecke 1999], articles in small journals that are not indexed, conference papers, unpublished dissertations, working papers etc.). Similar results can be found in the German speaking world: *Wissenschaft & Frieden*, a journal for peace research, does not offer 'culture' among its key categories. A keyword search offers

logical dimensions of the concept, in its explicit terminology and in its implicit theoretical background. It embeds these reflections into the ongoing transformation of an international (geo)political-order which is anything but peaceful. By discussing some of the concept's and programme's ambivalences, I reflect upon links to the global political context of their beginnings, deployments and prospects. Moreover, I point out some of the inconsistencies and limits of the 'culture of peace'-initiative and show how the explicit and implicit definitions of 'the cultural' have changed throughout the process of the institutionalisation and popularisation both of the initiative and the notion itself. Finally, the developments of the 'culture of peace'-initiative have to be contextualised towards the massive changes and the rearrangements of international politics after 1989 and since 2001. Around these two turning points in international relations, 'the cultural' has experienced an ambivalent renaissance.

The argument is organised along five questions:

- Why has 'the cultural' become so attractive within international relations/IR³ (understood as both the field of politics and the field of academia)?
- Whose culture and whose peace are we talking about?
- What happened to the concept along the process of its institutionalisation inside the UN system?
- Who is speaking for whom in the politics of a 'culture of peace'?
- Can we know 'peace' once we know 'culture'?

two short papers on the 'culture of peace'-concept (Adams 2007; De Rivera 2009), the latter being an answer to the former. An earlier special issue on the topic takes up the UNESCO-concept (Lammers et al. 1995), but is not followed by further discussions in the journal. Werner Wintersteiner has written numerous articles on the issue, but since they are published in German and in anthologies (e. g. Wintersteiner 2006), these texts do not appear in international databases. The same is true for two books titled "Kultur des Friedens" (Vogt et al. 1997; Bialas et al. 1999), as it certainly is for similar publications in languages other than English.

- 3 International Relations (IR) in capitals refers to the academic discipline. When I speak of international relations in lower case letters, I mean the practice of politics in a wide definition of the notion on an international level, including academic knowledge production which is closely linked to politics.

The perspective taken to answer them can best be described as situated against the multidisciplinary background of political science, sociology of knowledge, feminist international relations and post-colonial theory.

2 International Relations and the Cultural Turn: Why has 'the Cultural' Become so Attractive?

Even though approaches informed by Postcolonial Studies and other critical traditions have started to challenge the disciplinary fields across which Peace Studies are primarily situated, the epistemological heritage of positivist and realist mainstream International Relations in the second half of the 20th century still dominates the terrain (Richmond 2005). Nevertheless, the academic field of International Relations discovered 'culture' and/or 'civilisation' as new buzzwords, while 'culture of peace' made its way to the UN general assembly. In fact, 'the cultural' unfolded enormous success. Live-ly and controversially debating (among others) Huntington's (1993 and 1996) theses on a presumed 'clash of civilisations', mainstream discourse appropriated 'the cultural' as a variable and a category, but not in the sense of a complex theoretical debate. It succeeded in integrating it into dominant paradigms, since it appropriated the notion without closer epistemological assessment, or, to be more precise, by integrating only what was compatible with these paradigms. According to Mahmood Mamdani, it was from then on that "no longer the market (capitalism), nor the state (democracy), but culture (modernity)" (Mamdani 2005, p. 18) was said to be "the dividing line between those in favour of a peaceful, civic existence" (ibid.) and those inclined to political violence and terror. In political discourse and international diplomacy, this trend of a culturalisation of the political and of a very selective use of 'the cultural' is even more evident and at the same time more difficult to oppose. It is in this context that the ambivalences of the 'culture of peace'-initiative have to be discussed at the end of the UN decade. Today, it seems to be more appropriate to speak of 'culture/s' than of structure/s and power relations. This move is not without consequences. It flattens the analysis of politically made contradictions and their root causes, and it silences critique of dominant knowledge claims. The trend of culturalisation risks turning the political into the cultural, the cul-

tural into the natural, and the natural into what can only be overruled or at best be managed, but not any more negotiated, challenged or changed. To put it differently, talking about 'the cultural' in the field of international relations/IR does not necessarily mean to integrate cultural theories in all their profound complexity, nor does it necessarily implicate to build upon the anti-hegemonic and critical traditions among them. On the contrary, the shift towards culturalisation can also mean appropriating 'culture' as an attractive new category and thereby turning it into a label rather obfuscating than clarifying one of the central subject-matters of International Relations and Peace Studies: war, violence, and political conflict – and how to deal with it or to overcome it.

The utopia of peace and the desire for it stands at the beginning not only of the specific programme discussed in this volume, but of the UN as a whole. This particular institution of international negotiation and cooperation was established right after World War II, in order to avoid or at least manage international conflicts between nations in the future, and to consolidate the emerging new world order coming into force at that time. Yet, we must not forget that the establishment of the UN system was framed in the logic of the *inter-national*, i. e., the model of the nation state along whose logic the internationalisation of the world order was further institutionalised and legitimised. That said the idea and reality of the modern liberal and capitalist nation state, on which I will get back later, lies at the very heart of the mechanisms and organisational structures of the UN. 'Culture' did not constitute a major frame of reference of academic or political debate until the late 1970s and 1980s. It was only at the decline of this historically specific configuration that 'culture' made its way as an explanatory power across the field of the theories and politics of international relations. One could say that the invention and establishment of the 'culture of peace'-programme started off as a byproduct of the rearrangement of the international order after 1989 (the fall of the 'iron curtain'), for which it was certainly not prepared. Its further development and implementation mirrors another major caesura in the global order during the last 20 years: the era of what we know as a putatively 'global' 'war on terror' (which is in fact a universalised project of particular interests) after the terrorist attacks on US-American soil in 2001. As Gertrud Brücher states, the first

date (1989) stands for the enforcement of a 'Western/Occidental' model of civilisation, based on the major constitutional elements of parliamentary democracy and the market, which appears as an irreversible turning point of capitalist-democratic success, whereas the second date (2001) stands for nothing less than the endangerment of the first (Brücher 2002, p. 7). This is the spectrum in which I locate the 'culture of peace'-initiative, its relative discursive success and its relative political failure.

3 Discourse of Power and Practice of Governmentality: Whose Culture, Whose Peace?

The problem I want to focus on, is that even though the concept of the 'culture of peace' was initially not at all designed to legitimise preemptive wars and other military interventions in the name of democracy, stability and peace, it can be used in this sense today. This is due to a renaissance of culturalised difference in the fields of international relations and domestic policies. It is against this background that Wendy Brown's⁴ work on the notion of tolerance comes into play. According to her, as soon as culture starts to replace power relations, the hegemonic is reassured as the universal and the subordinated as the minoritised (Brown 2006, p. 186). Along with a simplified use of 'culture' comes a discourse of power and a practice of governmentality (ibid.) that is no more about rights and claims (fighting for equality), which were among the leading terminology in Peace Studies and in the peace movement in the 1960s and 1970s. From the middle of the 1990s on, a discourse of power and practice of governmentality has gradually been rearranged around 'cultural' difference and tolerance (conceding hierarchically organised coexistence). According to Brown, I therefore argue that we can distinguish between two analytical dimensions of the 'culture of peace'- initiative and its outcome. First, it can be

- 4 Wendy Brown is professor of Gender and Women's Studies and Political Science at UC Berkeley. It is her book *Regulating Aversion. Tolerance in the Age of Identity and Empire* (2006) that inspired me to reflect on the notion of 'culture' in the context the UN-decade and develop the argument presented in this article. For a podcast of the book's argument on tolerance and aversion see Brown's interview with *Philosophy Bites*, URL http://www.philosophy-bites.libsyn.com/index.php?post_id=406092 (accessed July 19, 2010).

understood as a personal and moral ethic that issues from an individual commitment and is compatible with and transferable to the agendas of NGOs and/or individual agents. In this sense, a critical and comprehensive understanding of 'the cultural' (as outlined in the early UN documents) can be translated into projects of peace education and communicated to and embraced by those who subscribe such an understanding of 'the cultural'. Even if the early drafts went beyond this individualised focus and spoke of a societal and political ethic and moral of peace, as opposed to a historically prevalent practice of war, I argue that it is the understanding outlined above that the international community of nation states was willing to agree with, since it largely delegated the responsibility of peace to the individual. The flipside of this understanding is a pedagogisation of a 'culture of peace' that can be easily separated from political power asymmetries on a global scale. Secondly, when separated from one's own responsibility and generously meant to be imposed on the other, 'culture of peace' must be read as a political discourse, regime, or governmentality that potentially involves the risk of producing a particular mode of reorganising global contradictions and of dislocating what has successfully been culturalised before. Both understandings are closely interconnected with the political as well as with the epistemological evolution of the 'culture of peace'-programme. One could argue that the UN initiative on a 'culture of peace' represents the negative to the right of resistance equally laid down in official UN documents and humanitarian law – and that the different notions of 'culture' constitute the dividing line between the hopeful accessibility of the former and the growing illegitimacy of the latter. As one small but remarkable indicator of this dynamics, I discuss how and why the major documents have changed their titles over time in the next section; what this shift stands for, and in what sense I consider it as ambivalent.

4 From Local Pedagogics to Global Politics and Back Again: What was Lost Along the Way?

It all started at the dawn of the Cold War, as a bottom-up initiative in Latin America, in the field of peace education and pedagogy. The experience of dictatorship and the rule of the military made people put their efforts in building up a civil society that

could resist political suppression in the future. Among these efforts were numerous pedagogical projects. It was activists and theorists who experienced and analysed the disastrous effects of military violence and the resistance against it and then made efforts to come up with alternatives on the micro-level of interpersonal relations and intrapersonal change of mentalities. Out of a concrete peace education programme from Peru in the 1980s grew a global political initiative inside UNESCO that finally made it to the top of the UN. Yet, it did not remain unchanged on its way through and across international politics and diplomacy. It was at the very moment of the fall of the 'iron curtain' that the notion of 'culture of peace' took shape and turned into a paradigmatic slogan. The results were the UNESCO-programme "Towards a Culture of Peace", launched in 1994, and the proclamation of an "International Year for the Culture of Peace" for the year 2000. The "International Year 2000" was explicitly named "From a Culture of War towards a Culture of Peace". A year before the attacks of '9/11' and the declaration of 'international terrorism' as the world's greatest scourge, followed by the assumedly 'global war on terror', the International Year (proclaimed in 1997) still bore the reasons for its existence in its title, namely a so-called 'culture of war'. It was exactly this element, though, which gradually vanished from the documents and titles, from the slogans and political formulas, while another rationale arose. A year later, in 1998, the "International Decade for the Promotion of a Culture of Peace and Non-Violence for the Children of the World 2001–2010" was declared by the UN General Assembly. Over the first ten years after the breakdown of the bipolar Cold War order, war and violence as structural conditions of the lack of peace were omitted from the official discourse. What came in instead were the notions 'non-violence' and 'the children of the world'. While the 'children of the world' and 'non-violence' were added to the title of the declarations, it was nothing less than the naming and the analysis of what had been coined a 'culture of war' in the first drafts submitted to the UN agencies (Adams 2000, p. 260) that were lost along the way. Within a year of transition from a UNESCO programme (the organisation that is explicitly mandated to work in the field of education) to a UN decade (which is not), the 'culture of war' was almost gone – in the official language of the programme. This assumed detail merits a closer look. How

come that the 'culture of peace' can be officially celebrated and targeted at very concrete audiences (the children of the world, the NGOs, the teachers, the media, etc.) while the 'culture of war' has no more address inside the legitimated and institutionalised system of international relations, but is delegated to non-state actors (as we know from the ongoing discourse on terrorism and security issues)? The reasons for the shift from critique to utopia, from the analysis of war and violence to the promises to the 'children of the world' must not only be searched for in the vague epistemologies of the laden notions of 'culture', 'war' and 'peace'. They also have to be located in the political system of the UN and its procedures in their historical and political context. Adams clearly names the causes for this transition that took place during almost a year of informal discussions at the UN level (*ibid.*). According to him, the 'culture of war and violence' was literally "deleted from the final version" (Adams 2007). It was the European Union and other dominant countries and regions who threatened to block the passage of the document in the UN General Assembly and finally succeeded in taking out all references to what circumscribed the dimension of a 'culture of war and violence'. They took the position that there was nothing as such, and obviously convinced all other partners and adversaries in the discussion to concentrate on the second part of the concept, the 'culture of peace'. The latter is obviously more attractive and easier to promote in a time period of a general rise of 'the cultural', when it comes to define the Self in power. The most evident proof of this irony is that it was possible to formulate the document at the very same moment as NATO's intervention in Kosovo (Adams 2000, p. 260) began, only to name one example of double moral standards when it comes to appropriating definitions. According to Adams (2009), one delegate from the USA was very clear in articulating his opposition, saying that his country was against the formulation of a 'culture of war' because it would be more difficult to start a war, should it be kept in the text. I suggest that it is this central omission, going hand in hand with the integration of the 'children of the world', that constitutes both the concept's discursive success and its factual failure.

The problem I have with 'the children of the world' (where exactly?) and 'non-violence' (of whom exactly?) might not be evident in the first place. Given the fact that the programme goes

back to peace education, it might even seem very convincing to open the horizon to a future generation and put those into the centre who might be better capable of living what past and present generations have failed to establish: a 'culture of peace'. What is at least peculiar though is the coincidence of the disappearance of the 'culture of war' on the one hand and the appearance of the emergence of the 'children of the world' on the other. This shift illustrates my argument on the necessity to differentiate between peace as a personal and moral ethic that is to be applied to any given societal system, on the one hand, and as a mode of dislocating meaning into another rationale, on the other. I assume that the explicit discursive focus on the 'children of the world' was able to negotiate upcoming differences between national representatives within the UN system, who did not agree with earlier documents including a 'culture of war'. While talking of a global 'culture of war', including nation states and their responsibility for structural and direct physical violence within the international system, the erasing of this formula and its replacement by 'non-violence' and 'the children of the world' definitely had the power to mobilise political discourse while efficiently gilding existing oppositions. It is directed towards the future, even towards prospective political agents, who might not even be born today. Such an approach of thinking and speaking positively while generously passing over existing substantial differences and conflicts may be politically successful in the first place. Yet, it is probably unable to hold in the long run, since it lacks what should come first in any successful programme of conflict resolution (which is hardly the case, though): an analysis of what exactly had led to a conflict, how power and resources are distributed, and who the major agents of potential change are. It is against this background that the slogan of a global 'culture of peace' (relieved from a 'culture of war' while decorated with 'non-violence' and 'children') must have appeared to be most attractive, since it allowed to generously go over existing contradictions on a global scale. It is in this context that peace education was taking the risk of being both overstrained and overrated. In my opinion, it is problematic to shift the responsibility of global pacification – which is not the same as peace – onto pedagogy and peace education, while at the same time continuing the daily exercise of power politics on a global scale. A blurred notion of 'culture' can indeed

sustain and foster this move. As it is mirrored in the change of wording of the 'culture of peace'-documents, much of what power politics are unable and especially unwilling to approach was rolled off to peace education and its imagined target group, the 'children of the world'. Differently spoken, what nation states – who finally are still the main addressees of UN politics – keep on failing to tackle is delegated to the so-called global civil society, to all the NGOs and individuals who will put all their efforts and energies to a most legitimate goal that necessarily remains out of reach under the existing circumstances.

The approach has indeed motivated many people to join the initiative on a grass-root level, as we know from the 75 million signatures of the 'culture of peace'-manifesto and the innumerable initiatives on all continents. Yet, it also kindled hope beyond actuality with respect to the potential effects of the honourable efforts among those who were and still are deeply committed to their 'mission' of bringing peace to the world. According to Hartmut von Hentig, the political programme of 'building peace' (which I consider as a problematic term in its own right) constitutes an excessive demand, something that people are unlikely and probably even unwilling to accomplish (von Hentig 1987, pp. 62–64). In this setting, pedagogy and peace education are ascribed to be able (and often tend to believe they could indeed achieve this goal) to re-invent humanity from scratch. They are expected to invent a new human being who is naturally peaceful, while the structures within this reinvention should happen continue to be most asymmetric and suppressive. They should, von Hentig goes on with his argument, "produce human beings who do not even want to lead war, peaceful and reasonable characters who come to terms with existing circumstances, and who are settle for sublimation, circuses or God's reward" (ibid.).⁵ I argue that this underlying idea about the potential and the tasks of peace education is part of the illusion and limits of a too consensual concept of a 'culture of peace' that has substituted the former key terms of equality and justice with more consensual terms like participation and education, the right to fight for one's rights from a position of suppression with the obligation to negotiate them without the proper resources to do so.

5 All translations from German to English were done by the author.

Instead of understanding the world as a complex web of asymmetrically "entangled histories" (Randeria 2002), a view that would clearly point to the dominant nations' responsibilities for violence and interests in keeping up violent power relations, a well known and established logic is still at work. As the former director of the unit for the international year for the culture of peace at the UN headquarter in New York himself puts it at the dusk of the UN-decade in a very critical tone, "the opposition to the concept of a culture of war reflects a refusal to admit that powerful states today – just as they have been from the beginning of recorded history – depend on the culture of war to retain their power" (Adams 2000, p. 260). It seems to me that this problematic is the key to an understanding of why the initiative and all its declarations and documents seem to represent a parallel cosmos in their own right, existing along all the legitimised wars and conflicts the world has experienced since the decade has been taking shape some twenty years ago. The promoters of the programme certainly cannot and must not be held responsible for each and every evil in the world. But the fact that some of the most powerful nations of the UN system, those who tend to loudly and proudly praise the white pigeon's flight when it comes to legitimating military intervention in quasi-naturally 'unpeaceful' areas of the world, deny war and violence on their own sides while confidently continuing to apply violence both, in domestic and in international politics, is more than just a detail. It is a constitutive element of the epistemologies of politics and of the politics of epistemology, and it has been so for the last 500 years, since the beginnings of the expansion of European colonial and imperial power across the globe.

5 Political and Epistemological Eurocentrism: Who is Speaking for Whom?

What Mahmood Mamdani critically terms "culture talk" (2004, p. 17) is nothing less than an explanatory framework that allows to think of modernity and political violence in a specifically eurocentric relation to each other. It says that we have to remember that the pioneer 'culture of peace'-programmes on a national level took place in countries not located in EuroAmerica, but where conflict and strife are 'normally' located or even expected from a eurocentric perspective. El Salvador, Mozambique, Burundi, Nicaragua and

Somalia were the first countries that engaged in concretely implementing the programme. It is certainly comprehensible, legitimate and necessary to start intensive and comprehensive programmes where armed conflict and/or postwar instability are acute and affect people's lives in most immediate ways. Still, such an approach underlines the fact that zones like Europe, Northern America or other members of the 'global West/North' hardly ever are thought of when it comes to defining where peace is not and where it has to be brought to. While it is imagined that "the core increasingly organized itself as a transnational open access order ('the zone of peace')"

(Buzan 2010, p. 17), the 'peripheries' are thought of as having "remained in natural state form, unable to avoid deep structural tensions with the open access order" (ibid). It is actually rarely named in which ways the former is accountable for the latter. In such an approach, EuroAmerica still holds the position of the entity being capable, willing and even obliged to 'bring peace', while the politically and epistemologically framed zones of instability, failed or rogue states, etc. are thought of as remaining in what is still understood as some sort of 'natural state' of an 'underdeveloped' society and (non-)order. To illustrate this argument, let me invite you to take a look at the map of the world as it is colourfully presented in the Global Peace Index (2010) by the Institute of Economics and Peace. According to specific indicators that can be traced in the detailed reports on its website, the Australian think tank shows the most 'peaceable' nations of the world in green, the less peaceable ones in red, and others in shades of yellow and orange. At first sight, the map is convincing and most of all reassuring for Europeans. But as with the example of the first nations to implement programmes within the 'culture of peace'-initiative, it is striking that regions like Northern America and Europe are again presented explicitly as those where the privilege of peace is not only 'naturally' located, but implicitly where it is supposed to come from both historically and in the future, as the institute's explicit intention is to provide information on the factors for successful business making around the globe. Yet, the map would look fairly different if the variables for empirical research were different ones. If they were elaborated on the basis of a 'positive' peace (including the elimination of structural violence etc.) and not a 'negative' one (based exclusively on the absence of what is defined as war

etc.), other factors would have come to the forefront and change the self-assuring image of where peace is located. If the production and sale of military weapons, the consumption of energy and the ecological footprint, or the economic profit of crude exploitation of natural and human resources would figure as indicators for (non-)peacefulness, the reds and greens on the map would indeed be organized differently – and the colourful picture would be much more inconvenient for those in charge of global political and epistemological power. The existing map however shows that like tolerance, peace is “generally conferred by those who do not require it on those who do” (Brown 2006, p. 13).

This attitude of how and where to locate peacefulness is deeply rooted in examples of eurocentric and universalist morality and polity claims that have a long tradition of legitimising exploitation on a global scale. These also translate into parts of the ‘culture of peace’-initiative, as is illustrated by the conclusion of the final report to the first international forum on the ‘culture of peace’. In this document, it is said that “[w]inning peace means a successful commitment to build, on the foundations of democracy, a new culture of tolerance and generosity which is, in a word, a task of love” (Final Report 1994, p. 19). What could be more illustrative of Brown’s critique than such a statement, issued by a high-ranking UN official? Who is it on whose shoulders not only the blessings, but also the burdens of such a tolerance, a generosity, and finally, still reverberating the sound of Christian colonialism, of such a love are being put? Do those who suffer from violence and war want to be tolerated, loved and treated with generosity in the first place? Is it not intelligible anymore to speak of recognition, justice and equality after 1989? Or even worse, are generosity, tolerance and love primarily directed to the perpetrators, since they have to be included in such an appeal? And isn’t it cynical to state in the same breath that “no human group has ever won a war” (ibid.), knowing quite well which groups of which societies gain enormous material and immaterial profits from warfare and structural violence and all other forms of “organized peacelessness” (Bialas 1999, p. 239)?

During my research, I came across another peculiarity feminist and/or postcolonial perspectives are familiar with. Why are most of the routes of research leading back to only a few authors who seem to embody and personify the entire project? Even though

the most profound critiques and complex ideas can be attributed to the name of David Adams, and even though he has indeed to be both admired and thanked for having put years of his life into this project, one has to be clear in naming the position from where the 'culture of peace' has been spread into global politics. Positions like his are certainly positions of critique and intervention, but they still are positions of privilege, located within the political, economic, and epistemological centres of the world. The concept was in all probability developed by many people who contributed in manifold ways to all the drafts, documents, manifestos, reports, etc. In the end though, for the interested researcher looking for material on the subject, only very few names appear on publications on the matter. We must understand these dynamics not on the level of the personal, the individual, but as the manifestation of a hegemonic organisation of knowledge and power as an indicator of eurocentric epistemologies and politics that have managed to universalise their particularities (Said 1994). Meanwhile, innumerable calls for a culture of peace in various contexts, albeit not necessarily under this label and, more importantly, not articulated from positions of epistemological power, have remained unheard or forgotten throughout history (Boulding 2000).

6 Discipline, Power and the Nation State:

Can we Know 'Peace' once we Know 'Culture'?

As Werner Wintersteiner puts it, 'culture' and 'peace' are morally supercharged and supposedly self-explanatory terms. Their very combination is not only fascinating, but also intimidating (2001, p. 15). Moreover, it is often the most simple terms that turn out to be the most difficult to define. Definition, though, constitutes the basis for what can (and what can't) be achieved with a given concept. While the slogan has made its way across and through institutionalised international politics, a substantial academic assessment of the concept remains a desideratum. Why is this the case? What is wrong with an idea that can be appropriated and used by very different political agents in the international community without major obstacles, and at the same time remain so poorly theorised (*ibid.*, p. 13)? And would it finally make a difference if academics spent more time doing so?

As Johan Galtung has shown in his own efforts of turning 'the cultural' into a relevant paradigm for peace studies, it is often applied in a dichotomous way inside the academic field itself. Corresponding with the disciplinary structures of bodies of knowledge, a powerful dichotomy is arranged around the alterity issue on a global epistemological scale that translates into political practices. The result is a binary understanding of 'the cultural' in different contexts. 'Culture' inside the field of the humanities (dealing with fine arts and cultural production) bears a thoroughly distinct notion than 'culture' does in the field of cultural anthropology, where it is coined to describe the distant Other (see Galtung 1996, p. 208). According to Wendy Brown, this comprises two particular purports: first, "the autonomy of the subject from culture – the idea that the subject is prior to culture and free to choose culture" and second, "the idea that politics is above culture and free of culture" (Brown 2006, p. 167). In this understanding, which is only applicable to certain subjects and not at all thought as universal, culture is thought of as something extrinsic, individually achievable for the superior (the enlightened autonomous subject of the modern nation state, claiming deliberative Kantian rationality as a basis for 'eternal peace'). At the same time, a second notion of culture is retained as something intrinsic, collectively natural (ascribing essentialist features to those who are said to be incapable of escaping their violent character/nature). One has to keep in mind that the very term 'culture' only emerged in the 18th century, not coming into use until the middle of the 19th century (Williams 1983, pp. 87, 88). As today, it has been used synonymously with 'civilisation' (ibid.) in the 18th century, and it was conceived in order to make a distinction from a theocentrist world view, promoting the shift from feudal collectivism to liberal autonomy of the individual. From today's perspective, this is particularly interesting, since today the term is often equated with or substituted for religion – explicitly so when it comes to defining the Other, implicitly when it is about ascertaining the Self in power (Brunner 2010, pp. 326 ff.). Moreover, 'culture' has never been thought of as equally accessible for or attributable to everybody. "Rather, 'we' have culture while culture has 'them', or we have culture while they are a culture. Or, we are a democracy, while they are a culture. This asymmetry turns on an imagined opposition between culture and individual moral

autonomy, in which the former vanquishes the latter unless culture is itself subordinated by liberalism" (Brown 2006, p. 151).

Finally, it has to be kept in mind that the rise of the notion of culture took place when the modern nation state assumed shape, during the 18th and 19th centuries, along with the further specification of academic disciplines. It was in this period of ongoing colonial expansion and competition between the rising European powers that both the humanities (to establish bodies of knowledge about the metropolises of the world market) and anthropology (to define bodies of knowledge about the peripheries that were to serve the centres in manifold ways) came into existence. These are the disciplinary fields where 'the cultural' has been located academically for about 200 years, and this is where culture and imperialism have been going hand in hand ever since (Said 1994). As we can see in Galtung's writings mentioned above, this early split of academic disciplines and their relatedness to domestic and international politics is co-constitutive of the different notions of 'culture' that we still have to cope with today. And, to be clear, it is the modern liberal capitalist nation state following the eurocentric model of enlightenment, democracy and progress, at whose service both political and epistemological efforts have been efficiently directed ever since. This nation state is a very specific construction and arrangement of violence and power (Albrecht-Heide 2000). As the basis of international relations and its institutions (among which we also have to count the UN system), this nation state is not only grounded in violence and war, but has also come to hold the ultimate monopoly of the latter. It is the basis of legitimating all the bloody confrontations inside a given territory as well as between nationally defined entities, and in that sense it is a major obstacle for peace, too. The historical entanglements of knowledge and power along the establishment of the nation state and democracy give way to take a closer look on how violence is embedded in the first (nation state), while being camouflaged by the second (democracy). Even though I can't discuss the differences between 'nation' and 'state' here, it is still true and applicable to my argument what Charles Tilly articulated in the 1970s: "War made the state, and the state made war" (1975, p. 42). This is even more appropriate when we translate it onto a contemporary global scale: Legitimised war led by nation states or by international alliances and supranational bodies does make and remake the international or-

der, and the international order makes and remakes the legitimacy of certain forms of war and violence. Those forms which are legitimised by the nation state or its extension into the international are then attributed the potential or even the obligation of exporting 'cultural' achievements and 'civilizational' achievements like democracy, freedom, etc., whereas other forms (illegitimised, because emanating from a substate level) increasingly tend to be defined as bound to 'cultural' habits and 'civilisational' backwardness. What therefore disappears from view is how the former and the latter are historically, politically, and economically linked to each other, and how deeply asymmetric these links are organised on a global scale.

7 Conclusion

Ever since the 'culture of peace'-initiative has come into being and has changed into a UN programme two major turning points have reshaped the world order. As I argue, the politics and epistemologies of the concept are not untouched by the events of 1989 and 2001, between and around which the 'cultural turn' in international relations/IR has to be situated. It is against this background that the potential vigour and the actual ambivalences of the concept and its institutionalisation have to be assessed at the end of the UN decade. Among these ambivalences I pointed at the culturalisation of the political, the pedagogisation of peace-building, the fading of what was initially named the 'culture of war', and a euro-centrism which is embedded into the epistemologies as well as into the politics of the 'culture of peace'-initiative. This has to do with the selective way 'the cultural' is negotiated in different contexts in international relations. These practices of knowledge formation are deeply enmeshed in global politics and its transformations within a still imperial and capitalist frame. This frame systemically necessitates violence and war to sustain itself, and at the same time it claims to provide the only guarantee for democracy, freedom, and peace. This is what we have to remember when speaking of a 'culture of peace' and/or a 'culture of war' on a global scale.

I want to conclude my considerations by mentioning the notion of "epistemic violence" as understood by Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (1994). Following scholars of Postcolonial and/or Feminist Studies, she locates the power of academic knowledge production

in the heart of asymmetric global power relations and vice versa. That said, reflection on the epistemologies and/as the politics of Peace Studies and on its translations into the political system of international relations is at the same time reflection about the historical and political context of both. In that sense, a critical assessment of the 'culture of peace'-initiative, documents and programmes can provide us with insights about the cultural turn arriving in international politics, its potentials and limitations. In addition to that, we will be able to name the specific historical and political circumstances under which certain paradigms achieve prominence while others are on decline. Finally, we will have to critically assess whether the official 'culture of peace' in its existing form is still what it was meant to be at the outset. If this is not the case, we have to be clear in naming reasons for that change on the political as well as on the epistemological level. Additionally, we should also ask ourselves whether the "culture talk" (Mamdani 2004, p. 17) on war and peace not only fails to fully analyse and overcome existing traditions of inter- and intrastate violence, but if it even has its potential share in the epistemic violence rooted in eurocentric and universalist traditions of domination that contribute to other forms of violence – politically and epistemologically.

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ACHIEVEMENTS AND EXPECTATIONS: INTERNATIONAL AND NATIONAL PERSPECTIVES

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Women, Peace and Security: Resolution 1325 on its tenth Anniversary

The inclusion of the gender dimension in the international agenda for peace and security has been a long process, which now has a history of over four decades. The United Nations, the European Union and other international bodies have gradually been introducing different laws, resolutions and directives, which form an extensive regulatory framework in relation to women, conflict and peacebuilding.

The first efforts to address the situation of women in armed conflict were made by the Commission on the Status of Women in 1969, suggesting the need to pay special attention to women and children in emergency situations and during war times. Four United Nations Conferences on Women have been held since, establishing links between gender equality, development and peace. These took place in Mexico (1975), Copenhagen (1980), Nairobi (1985) and Beijing (1995). Over the course of these years, a large number of issues have been addressed, which comprise and define the role of women in peacebuilding on an international and local level.

This article discusses the key initiatives undertaken in the area of women, peace and security. It analyses the impact, specifically of the Resolution 1325, on the role of women in peacebuilding and presents the proposals put forward on the occasion of its tenth anniversary, in an attempt to put an end to violence against women and to ensure greater participation on the part of women in peace processes and post-war rehabilitation.

- 1 Women, Peace and Security on the International Agenda:
the Role of the United Nations

The first initiatives emerged in the 1970s, on the occasion of the First World Conference on Women (1975), which resulted in the United Nations Decade for Women (1975–1985). In 1982, the Resolution 3763 of the UN General Assembly on the Participation of Women in Promoting International Peace and Cooperation was

adopted. A large number of documents, declarations and proposals have been drafted since and have been crucial in creating a regulatory framework on women, peace and security. I shall mention some of these in this article, with a particular focus on Resolution 1325, which constituted a major turning point in the recognition of the role of women in peacebuilding.

1.1 The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW)

The adoption of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) in 1979 was the culmination of the efforts invested in the fight for equality and in promoting women's rights. The activism on the part of many women all over the world, organised into groups and movements working for the recognition of their rights, was very important in the creation and implementation of this Convention. The Convention does not only establish an international declaration of women's rights, but also a programme of action to ensure that the states guarantee the enjoyment of these rights. The countries that recognise the Convention are legally obliged and committed to putting these provisions into practice, encouraging changes in their national legislation and establishing mechanisms to ensure that women are effectively protected against discrimination. They also undertake to submit national reports (at least once every four years), explaining the measures they have adopted in order to fulfil the obligations stipulated in the agreement. The Convention has so far been recognised by 188 countries. The text of the Convention does not contain an article referring specifically to violence against women, but this issue has been high on the agenda since 1992, when the Committee adopted the Resolution on Violence against Women. This established the inclusion of information on the status of women in the annual reports, as well as the measures taken by the States to prevent and protect them from violence.

1.2 The Fourth World Conference on Women, held in Beijing (1995)

However, it would not be until the Fourth World Conference on Women, held in Beijing in 1995, that a line of work on women and armed conflict was initiated, linking numerous women's organisations with development organisations and other actors. It was es-

established that the effects of armed conflicts on women constituted an area of particular concern, requiring the attention of governments and the international community. Furthermore, the need to promote women's participation in conflict resolution on a decision-making level was highlighted. A platform for action was created, proposing a series of strategic objectives in order to prevent violence against women and an international call was made to reinforce these rules in international law. In 1998, during its 42nd session, the United Nation Commission on the Legal and Social Status of Women examined the issue of women and armed conflicts, proposing that governments and the international community should adopt new measures in order to accelerate the achievement of the strategic objectives of the Platform in this area, including the incorporation of the gender perspective in all relevant policies and programmes.

During the 1990s, the conflicts in former Yugoslavia, Rwanda and Sierra Leone led to the creation of *ad hoc* tribunals, which included provisions to reflect the gender implications in armed conflict and the importance of devising processes of repair for women and girls based on International Criminal Law. Subsequently, the Statutes of the International Criminal Court (2002) have covered the same line of work.

In 1994, the Commission on Human Rights appointed a Special Representative on violence against women, who gathered information on the sexual abuse and violence suffered by women in armed conflict. This information contributed to a greater understanding of the issue and proved the need to intervene. The special representatives for former Yugoslavia, Rwanda and the Democratic Republic of Congo have provided information on the sexual violence which emerges as a customary pattern of behaviour in armed actors (gender-based violence against women). They have also been gradually including the gender focus in other areas, such as the humanitarian side or the area relating to displaced persons and refugees.

Other meetings and declarations followed those of the Beijing Conference, such as the European Parliament Resolution on Participation of Women in Peaceful Conflict Resolution (2000) or the Windhoek Declaration and Namibia Plan of Action on Mainstreaming a Gender Perspective in Multidimensional Peace Support Operations (2000), until in 2000, Resolution 1325 on the role of women in peacebuilding was adopted.

1.3 Resolution 1325 on the Role of Women in Peacebuilding

Resolution 1325 has constituted a major step forward, as it jointly addresses the impact of armed conflicts on women and the role they play within the peace process and in post-war rehabilitation. This Resolution was the result of the work of many organisations, which had been working very hard for years to ensure that the issues of women, peace and security featured on the international agenda. Specifically, the Resolution:

- Urges the Secretary-General of the UN and Member States to ensure increased representation of women in all areas of peacebuilding, including in the prevention, management and resolution of conflict, in the role of special envoys, or in missions of good offices.
- Expresses the will of the Security Council to incorporate a gender perspective into peacekeeping operations.
- Requests that Member States are provided with training materials on the protection of women and that the provision of resources for this training be increased.
- Calls on all actors involved to adopt a gender perspective, when negotiating peace agreements.
- Calls upon all parties involved in armed conflict to adhere to international law, to put an end to impunity and to adopt measures to protect women.
- Emphasises the civilian character of refugee camps.
- Encourages all those involved in the planning for disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration to consider the needs of women and their dependants.
- Expresses its willingness to ensure that the UN Security Council missions take into account gender considerations, including through consultation with local and international women's groups.
- Invites the Secretary-General to carry out a study and report on the impact of armed conflict on women and the role of women in peacebuilding.

In 2002, the Secretary-General commissioned a study on "Women, Peace and Security", which documented the experience of the United Nations and analysed the impact of armed conflicts on women, within the international legal framework. It also examined the

gender perspective in peace processes, in peace missions and in humanitarian, reconstruction and rehabilitation operations. The results of the report, which was supported by UNIFEM, enabled a greater insight to be gained into the inequality of the impact of conflict on men and women and provided numerous examples of how women in conflict zones were making a fundamental contribution to the security and wellbeing of their communities.

Since 2004, the Secretary-General of the UN publishes an annual report to monitor the implementation of Resolution 1325, with particular emphasis on the area of the United Nations. These reports provide an analysis of the status of the issue, and sometimes put forward proposals and recommendations for member states. For example, the Secretary-General's report, presented in April 2010, recommends a set of indicators in relation to the implementation of this Resolution, which we shall discuss in detail later.

Furthermore, in 2008, the UN Security Council adopted Resolution 1820 on sexual violence as a war tactic, and in 2009, two more resolutions were adopted: Resolution 1888 stipulating the commitments undertaken through Resolution 1820, and Resolution 1889 fulfilling the same purpose with Resolution 1325. In other words, whilst Resolution 1325 provided the general framework of action and constituted the first approach to the issue of women, peace and security, Resolution 1820 refers to one particular issue of those addressed in Resolution 1325 – sexual violence as a tactic of warfare. Resolutions 1888 and 1889 specify possible steps and measures to ensure the fulfilment of the previous resolutions. As a result of these four complementary resolutions, sexual violence as a tactic of warfare has gained increasing importance in public debates.

1.4 The Beijing Declaration +15

In March 2010 there was a 15-year review of the Beijing Declaration on the 15th anniversary of its adoption. At this meeting there was recognition of the progress made in the creation of institutional mechanisms for gender equality and in the increase of laws to protect women against violence. However, the failure to implement these laws means that violence against women continues to occur, without any significant changes being introduced to the everyday lives of most of women affected by it. Violence against

women is classed as a "global pandemic" and a major obstacle to progress in general.

The empowerment of women requires a sectoral focus, which is still very far from being achieved (E/CN.6/2010/L1). The main obstacles to the implementation of laws and policies include the lack of resources and insufficient data on violence against women, as well as the failure to monitor and evaluate many of the programmes (E/CN.6/2010/CRP.10).

Numerous initiatives have been launched during 2010. The United Nations has launched the UNiTE to End Violence against Women Campaign¹ and this issue will also be addressed at September 2010 General Assembly on the Millennium Development Goals, since these goals are inextricably linked to the measures recommended in the Beijing Platform for Action.

In October 2010, the tenth anniversary of the adoption of Resolution 1325 will be celebrated. The United Nations Civil Society Advisory Group (CSAG) on Women, Peace and Security has proposed a series of activities in commemoration of this anniversary. This group is coordinated by Mary Robinson and is constituted by a panel of experts from different countries, including: Bineta Diop (Senegal), Salim Ahmed Salim (Tanzania), Elisabeth Rehn (Finland), Swanee Hunt (United States), Sanam Anderlini (Iran/UK), Susana Villarán (Peru), among others.

In celebration of the anniversary, a Ministerial Meeting is proposed under the Arria Formula, offering member states, which do not form part of the Security Council or the civil society organisations, the opportunity to put forward to the Council their points of view on the matters of women, peace and security. The so-called "Arria Formula" allows representatives or figures from countries which do not form part of the Security Council to access it without breaching the provisions of the regulation, which establishes that only permanent members may take part in the body's private sessions. Informal meetings of this nature have enabled members of the Council to hold dialogues with representatives from organisations or key figures and to obtain direct information from government and non-governmental leaders on matters being considered by the Council. In this specific case, it would

1 See: <http://www.un.org/en/women/endviolence/>

provide an opportunity for civil society organisations, particularly from those zones affected by conflict or requiring urgent attention, to put forward their proposals and requests. As an outcome of this meeting, it is hoped that a final document will be prepared to reflect the commitments undertaken for the future. It would be very important on this occasion to achieve consistent inclusion of the gender perspective within the framework of nations, harmonising the focus and eliminating fragmentation which prevents resources from being maximised (Mayanja 2009). The ideas addressed include the proposal that the Committee on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) should be responsible for monitoring the implementation of resolution 1325 in its reports.

2 Women, Peace and Security within the Framework of the European Union

The European Union passed a proposal entitled "Comprehensive Approach to EU implementation of UN Security Council Resolutions 1325 and 1820 on women, peace and security", which was adopted by the Council on December 8, 2008. It proposes a global focus, aiming to guide the actions on gender and peacebuilding in three dimensions: political dialogue, crisis management and the definition of specific strategies to protect and empower women.

This proposal offers a series of definitions and concepts and provides an updated view of current EU policies and activities in the area of women, peace and security. It also includes a series of specific measures for progressing in the area of the EU as a whole and others from certain particular actors such as the Commission. It attempts to increase consistency between and within the different EU instruments, particularly in terms of the Common Security Policy and the Security and Defence Policy. Some measures include:

- Political support for Resolution 1325 and Resolution 1820: "The EU will promote the implementation of Resolutions 1325 and 1820 through its political and human rights dialogues with partner countries".
- Trainings on issues relating to women, peace and security (for example, the Commission will organise regular training in this area).

- Exchange of information and good practice. For instance, an institutional working group on women, peace and security is being set up and a call is being made for an annual exchange between Member States in the implementation of Declaration 1325.
- Actions on a national and regional level, such as the inclusion of the gender dimension in the major EU financial instruments and support for the development of action plans with partner countries.
- The incorporation of the gender and peace dimension within the Security Sector Reform and in the Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration (DDR) processes.
- The introduction of indicator into Country Strategy Papers to enable the implementation of Resolution 1325 to be monitored.

This document is complemented by a more operational document adopted by the Council for the implementation of Resolution 1325 in the common Security and Defence Policy: Implementation of UNSCR 1325 as reinforced by UNSCR 1820 in the context of ESDP (2008). This includes recommendations for introducing the gender perspective into all phases of peace missions, from the planning of the operation to its implementation and evaluation. In addition, in 2009, an inter-institutional working group on women, peace and security was formed and this group is drafting a series of indicators to measure the implementation of the Comprehensive Approach.

Other documents, which, within the European context, establish guidelines for promoting gender equality and the rights of women in its foreign policy are: Commission Communication "Roadmap on Gender Equality" (2006), EU Concept for support to DDR (2006).

However, in order to move forward in putting these proposals and initiatives into practice, a greater definition of the European Foreign Policy is required, which is currently very incipient. Some of these measures lack any kind of articulation on how they could be carried out within the framework of the European Union. Also, the set of actions proposed in the Comprehensive Approach have no timetable or specific budget and there are no monitoring mechanisms or accounting procedures. At the same time, it can be seen

that there is still only a small number of women in European institutions. In addition, the number of staff members responsible for gender issues in foreign affairs within European institutions is very low and certain posts, such as the EU Special Representatives, are mostly occupied by men. Many issues still remain pending within the European framework and a greater political commitment is needed, beyond the declarations and proposals.

3 Resolution 1325 and Action Plans

Resolution 1325 has been accompanied by the drafting of Action Plans of certain countries, in an attempt to make this Resolution operational and put it into practice.² Up to this date, 19 countries have adopted National Plans and more than 11 countries are currently in the process of drafting them.³ This is the case in Argentina (which has an Action Plan for the defence sector), in Australia and Burundi. Other countries, such as Denmark, Sweden and the United Kingdom are undergoing renewal processes with regard to their original plans (or have renewed them recently). The latest country to adopt an Action Plan was the Philippines (March 26, 2010).

The process of drafting Action Plans and defining their content has varied greatly from one country to another. In general, a large number of issues are addressed, ranging from the number of women recruited for peacekeeping operations to participation in decision-making processes on a national level or the care or legal services for the victims of sexual violence. The plans in the donor countries differ significantly in their strategy and focus from the plans in the countries in a post-war situation.

An important role has also been played by the United Nations peacekeeping missions, which have actively supported the implementation of the National Action Plans and have made significant efforts to incorporate gender issues within their own peace and se-

2 19 countries currently have an Action Plan: Austria, Belgium, Chile, Ivory Coast, Denmark, Spain, Finland, Philippines, Holland, Iceland, Liberia, Norway, Portugal, United Kingdom, Democratic Republic of Congo, Sweden, Switzerland and Uganda.

3 Argentina (has a plan of action for the defence sector), Australia, Burundi, El Salvador, France, Ireland, Nepal, New Zealand, Pakistan, Sierra Leone, South Africa, and East Timor.

curity programmes. For example, there have been an increasing number of female participants in the missions and gender training was incorporated for troops. This has also been the case with the Mission in Liberia (UNMIL). Within the framework of NATO, for example in Afghanistan, the gender perspective has been included in military missions through various programmes. In the same way, the Action Plan of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) for Gender Equity (2004), stipulates that OSCE structures must promote Resolution 1325 (Beetham/Popovic 2009).

Regional efforts have also been made to explore the possibility of having a more extensive Action Plan, involving various countries. For example, in August 2009, the organisation Femmes Africa Solidarité (FAS), the Secretariat of the Great Lakes Conference and the Government of Finland called a Great Lakes Regional Meeting on Resolution 1325. The delegations from Rwanda, Burundi and the Democratic Republic of Congo introduced their National Action Plans and explored the possibility of developing a Regional Action Plan in the Great Lakes.

Furthermore, major initiatives have been undertaken in the area of civil society. The European Peacebuilding Liaison Office (EPLO) and the Organisation of International Alert, under the Initiative for Peacebuilding (IfP), brought together representatives of civil society organisations from 18 countries throughout Europe at a conference, in order to share their experiences of how they have advocated Resolution 1325 on a national level.

As things stand, hardly any Action Plans contain indicators, which can be used to measure the progress of the implementation of the Resolution. Consequently, it is not known which responses to address violence in its different dimensions and to put an end to impunity for sexual crimes are working. The establishment of certain standardised indicators for monitoring the implementation of the Action Plans between the different countries, as well as gathering examples of good practice, is a fundamental step in making progress in the implementation of Resolutions 1325 and 1820.⁴

This concern has been shared by different organisations and institutions, which over the last few years have been carrying out

4 EPLO has performed a comparative analysis of the Action Plans of European countries. See: www.eplo.org

important work in relation to the implementation of Resolution 1325. With regard to the definition of indicators, the Norwegian organisation FOKUS,⁵ together with INSTRAW, held a seminar in November 2009 that was attended by over 100 women from organisations all over the world, and which addressed this issue in depth. The seminar resulted in the document: *Putting Policy into Practice: Monitoring the implementation of UN Security Council Resolutions on Women, Peace and Security* (2009), which offers numerous proposals and recommendations. This meeting established the importance of coordination in the process of drafting, implementing and evaluating Action Plans. The coordination must be participatory and inclusive and helps to prevent duplication, assisting the implementation of the National Plan to be comprehensive.

The indicators and measuring tools currently included in the Action Plans differ greatly from country to country, but they can be grouped into three wide categories (Gwendolyn/Popovic 2009):

- Participation of women in the peace process.
- Prevention, protection and prosecution of gender and sexual violence.
- Promotion of women's rights.

The development of indicators requires exclusive funds for this purpose and this is one of the problems presented by National Action Plans. Most of these lack adequate allocation of resources in order for them to be implemented effectively. Furthermore, there are no mechanisms to show how the funds are spent within the Action Plans and this implies a lack of transparency and control over what is being done.

Certain mechanisms should be used to enable the monitoring of the actions being carried out, including clear and reliable indicators with a gender perspective to identify the main problems, so that they can be addressed. Local, national, regional and international cooperation is also essential, strengthening the existing networks in order to succeed in monitoring and evaluating the effective implementation of the goals set by the resolution.

For its part, the United Nations has been working extremely hard in order to define indicators, with the participation of 14 UN

5 See: <http://www.fokuskvinner.no>

bodies under the leadership of the Office of the Special Advisor on Gender Issues and the technical role of UNIFEM. In addition, the indicators were designed in close consultation with the member states and civil women's groups from all over the world, which promote the participation of women in conflict resolution and peace-building. During the drafting process, the indicators existing in the national plans were taken into account, as well as other national and international initiatives concerning women, peace and security.

This work culminated in the Report of the Secretary-General (S/2010/173) presented on April 27 2010. It recommends a set of global indicators on the implementation of Resolution 1325 in four areas:

- the participation of women in all aspects of conflict prevention and resolution;
- the prevention of violence against women;
- the protection of women's rights during and after conflicts;
- the need for women to participate in relief and recovery processes.

This follows up the request of the Security Council expressed in Resolution 1889 of October 2009, concerning "a set of indicators for use at the global level to track implementation of its Resolution 1325" (2000). Inés Alberdi, the Executive Director of UNIFEM, declared:

*"The Security Council's commitment to take action on these indicators represents one of the most significant moves by the international security system in recent years to accelerate implementation of Resolution 1325. The indicators will reveal where women are experiencing exclusion and threats to their security and help identify good practices. They will be much more than numbers on a paper. They will provide a sensitive barometer of the current situation and help identify future priorities."*⁶

The use of indicators will represent a clear step towards improving the accounting and implementation of the historic Resolution of the Security Council.

6 See: <http://www.saynotoviolence.org/es/di-no-en-el-mundo/noticias/beneplacito-de-unifem-por-apoyo-del-consejo-de-seguridad-de-la-onu-la-lis>

4 Approaches, Debates and Stances

Today, violence against women is perhaps the most extensive violation of human rights, devastating lives, breaking up communities and halting development. It adopts numerous forms and occurs in many places: domestic violence, sexual abuse of girls at school, sexual harassment at work, rape by spouses or strangers, in refugee camps or as a tactic of warfare.⁷ Rape as a war tactic is a customary practice in armed conflicts. Between 250,000 and 500,000 women and girls were raped during the genocide in Rwanda in 1994. In the east of the Democratic Republic of Congo, starting in 1996, at least 200,000 cases of sexual violence have been reported, mostly committed against women and girls, although the actual figure is thought to be much higher.⁸

Armed conflicts have a specific impact on women, known as "differential impact", due to the particular risks and to the extraordinary burdens imposed on women, purely because they are women. Furthermore, the acts of violence mix, which means that the exclusion and discrimination typical for traditional societies end up feeding into each other with the forms of violence specific to armed conflict.

At the same time, there is a lack of specific conceptual instruments to enable the status of violence committed against women to be evaluated accurately and therefore be prevented accordingly. Consequently, the invisibility and absence of recognition of acts of violence suffered by women in armed conflict means that there is no specific public policy aiming to address their needs. As put forward from the feminist perspective, a change in paradigm is needed to discredit the inequalities found at the heart of current armed conflicts along with a change in the system of values and beliefs. The role of women in peacebuilding extends beyond the struggle against war and incorporates the dismantling of structural forms of violence that exist in everyday society. It entails overcoming the argument that advocates the use of violence as something that is inevitable, which is based on values, traditionally associated with masculinity, which sees aggression as a way of conquering the enemy and the use of women's bodies as a tactic of warfare and as a

7 See: www.dinoalaviolencia.org/factsheet

8 See: www.dinoalaviolencia.org

way of humiliating the other side. Armed conflicts can also be an opportunity for redefining social relationships, given that in war-time the roles and needs linked to gender are modified. This needs to be taken into account when devising post-war rehabilitation policies and programmes.

Furthermore, as shown by various experiences and analyses, women have a great ability to act in relation to key issues concerning survival (Magallón 2006; 2009). Women's organisations are known for their high level of resilience, commitment, creativity and resistance. In this context, the term resistance is not meant in the sense of a theoretical concept, but seen as an attitude, which enables a collective thought to be formed on the basis of action. As Keli Diaz Peña suggests (Atelier 2010, p. 27), resistance can be understood as a lifestyle, which is built up continuously, permanently and systematically. Women share common values and experiences with other women and this gives them a greater ability to build bridges over social and political divisions and to create networks based on sharing and reciprocity. This represents a valuable contribution to peace as it transforms structures, competences, attitudes and practices and lays the foundations for local and global work required for peacebuilding.

Women's organisations, which work for peace, have to develop their own agendas based on their needs. The main obstacles faced by women in their work for peace are associated with poverty, exclusion, and with a lack of confidence and skills in certain areas. It is therefore necessary to work towards an improvement of women's human rights, paying attention to a social, cultural and economic rights perspective. This argument must be reflected in the proposals and initiatives of women, who are working for peace and conflict resolution through dialogue, both within the context of peace and war.

Furthermore, a real, tangible and visible commitment is needed, with the inclusion of women in decision-making processes. The absence of women in this area is due to many factors, one of the most important being the lack of the political will to promote them. Without women, gender agendas or political decisions with a gender perspective are non-existent (Villellas 2010). This means lengthening the lists of female candidates for political posts, appointing women to political posts, removing the gender barriers that discourage women from applying for these positions.

5 The Achievements

Whilst the challenges continue to be enormous, the global action of women has reaped some rewards, which are well worth mentioning. Among these is the increase of the number of women's organisations. Their ability to act is a sign of change, which empowers women and encourages their participation in the political arena. Furthermore, the forging of alliances between the different groups has enabled them to work on a wider range of issues and to broaden the impact of their actions. An improvement in the status of women can also be seen in certain post-war countries. This has been the case in Sierra Leone, where major changes have been made in relation to the status and representation of women in the political environment, with 16 % of the parliament members being female.⁹ Many women in Liberia state that Resolution 1325 has been very important for them: "because it can be used to make our government listen to us".

There have also been small advancements in the dialogue and peace negotiation processes, where the participation of women has been achieved, as in the case of Somaliland or Nepal, albeit on a secondary or unofficial basis. Lastly, the presence of women in peace missions has been strengthened. Over the last five years the number has doubled, representing around 6 %. Nigeria and India are the countries which are contributing most female associates to peace missions. At the mission in Liberia 14 % were women and the head of the mission was also a woman, Margrethe Loj. This unit worked with the local police in collecting reports on sexual abuse and was responsible for promoting the recruitment of women in Liberia for the police force. Currently, of the total number of police officers (2.019), 15 % are women. In order to connect with the Liberian people, the unit organised an Indian festival: Bollywood dance sessions and the adoption of a school and an orphanage, as a way of building the people's trust. "We need to know what impact these kind of activities have" says Carole Ducen, the gender advisor at the United Nations Mission in Liberia. Nevertheless, it is, without doubt, one way of contributing to another form of action on the part of the blue berets.

In addition, as stated by Villellas (2010), the United Nations and the cooperation agencies need to make more effort to establish

9 www.dinoalaviolencia.org/factsheet

links with a wider spectrum of local actors working on the gender dimension, and to adapt to the organisational reality and the living conditions of women within this context. "Support for women is a clear commitment for gaining more extensive and inclusive knowledge of what is actually happening in conflict zones, and of the actual needs of the people who are victims of violence. Furthermore, this would have a real impact in terms of strengthening the social fabric, maintained on numerous occasions, even in its most precarious forms, by local women" (Vilellas 2010).

During 2010, the year of the tenth anniversary of the adoption of Resolution 1325, various initiatives have come together, with a view to thrusting the Resolution forward, in order to progress in certain areas. The role of the Secretary-General of the United Nations could be essential this year, it could help to create a "momentum", which, together with the synergies created among the various local, national and international actors, can succeed in making significant progress in the implementation of Resolution 1325.

6 The Proposals

Over the last two years, there have been a large number of seminars and meetings on different levels, which in addition to evaluating the status of the issue, have generated a significant number of proposals for progressing in the implementation of Resolution 1325 and other complementary resolutions. All of these have shown a substantial development of the regulatory and institutional framework, demonstrating the need to protect women in conflict situations, and the importance of greater participation in peacebuilding. However, in spite of the numerous documents and resolutions existing on the role of women in peacebuilding, there has been very little improvement in the everyday lives of women living in situations of armed conflict, and their needs are still not being met.

This slow process, with very few results, has led to criticism from many sectors, which believe that there is truly no political will to address this situation in order to put an end to violence against women and to encourage their greater participation. For the human rights organisations, immediate solutions are required. The process is proving to be too longwinded and they claim that this lack of action is hiding behind the mask of a complex framework

of resolutions, declarations and documents boasting good intentions without constituting any real change in the lives of women. "Despite four resolutions, despite the fact that 1325, 1820, 1888, 1889 and related resolutions, such as those on the protection of civilians, this is still not taken seriously as a security issue",¹⁰ said Sarah Taylor, the coordinator of the Working Group on Women, Peace and Security (IPS 11 May 2010). For example, some wonder why the countries, in which women are raped as a tactic of warfare, are not taken to the Security Council, when these attacks are considered as crimes against humanity. As Giulia Tamayo suggests (Atelier 2010, p. 22), it is a case of trying to achieve a higher level of effectiveness in the defence of women's human rights, going beyond the achievements in the area of legislation and international instruments, to integrate them at macroeconomic levels, which have systematically and gradually undermined these rights. Actions taken have to create a dual process in relation to the status of women in conflict. On the one hand, it is necessary to ensure greater protection for women facing armed conflicts, on the other hand, in order to make sure that states guarantee compliance with the international parameters of Human Rights, as well as with the specific conventions on the protection of women, the local and the global level have to be combined by forging national and international alliances.

Some suggest a "list of shame" of countries and non-governmental actors, where gender-biased violence occurs in order to pressure them to adopt measures in relation to this situation. Equally, we should study the possibility of applying sanctions on those governments and non-governmental actors that fail to apply international standards of protection in armed conflict.

Other organisations suggest that it is not enough to put a lot of emphasis on quantitative measures, such as increasing the number of women involved in peace missions, or in the United Nations bodies. Increasing the numbers may be the first step, but the inclusion of the gender perspective must also involve qualitative measures to truly change the power relationships existing in political, social and military structures and to put an end to the inequality and violence suffered by women in conflict situations.

10 http://ipsnews.net/news.asp?idnews_51174

It is also suggested that when addressing the agenda of peace and security with a gender perspective, through certain sectors, this is done by focusing the attention on sexual violence as a tactic of warfare, leaving in the background a more global view which also values the important role played by women in peacebuilding processes. As Villellas (2010) states: "The efforts focused exclusively on the fight against sexual violence can end up leaving aside other issues, such as the presence of women in peace negotiations, drafting gender agendas for these negotiations or designing post-war peacebuilding processes with the gender perspective."

In spite of the criticisms and difficulties faced when implementing Resolution 1325, it has become an extremely powerful tool for women's organisations, which have succeeded in defining a local agenda with an international perspective. Resolution 1325 has been very useful in order to demand a greater commitment of their governments to facilitate the participation of women in peace processes and in post-war rehabilitation, as well as in politics and decision-making.

An abbreviated version of the various proposals, put forward by different organisations and institutions is shown below. These were discussed in February 2010 at the seminar organised by CEIPAZ (Villellas 2010).¹¹

In the Spanish Governmental sphere, it is proposed to improve the dissemination of Resolution 1325 and of the government and the AECID's action plans among the major governmental and non-governmental actors. It is also proposed to:

- Promote the drafting of national action plans in priority countries for Spanish cooperation, especially those affected by armed conflict, in a stage of post-war peacebuilding or in a situation of serious socio-political crisis with the risk of escalation of violence.
- Increase demands for the inclusion of specific measures relating to the implementation of Resolution 1325, in intervention pro-

11 In February 2010, the Culture of Peace Foundation (CEIPAZ) held a seminar on Resolution 1325 in Madrid. The framework document was drafted by the researcher from the Escola de Cultura de Pau, María Villellas, and different proposals and ideas were incorporated throughout the course of the seminar. For further information, see: www.1325mujerestejiendolapaz.org.

jects in contexts of armed conflict, peacebuilding and AECID-funded humanitarian action.

- Create a steady forum for debate and exchange between institutions and civil society on Resolution 1325.
- Involve the parliamentary commissions of the Chamber of Deputies in the work of implementing and disseminating Resolution 1325.
- Promote the integration of Resolution 1325 into the development cooperation policies of the autonomous and local administrations.
- Encourage research and university education in the field of gender and peacebuilding.

In the European sphere, it is proposed to:¹²

- Draft an EU Gender Action Plan that includes the requirements and recommendations of Resolution 1325.
- Increase the availability of specific information on the impact of gender on armed conflict and the role of women in prevention and peacebuilding.
- Promote the appointing of an EU Special Representative for Women, Peace and Security.
- Encourage all EU member states to establish a national action plan on Resolution 1325.
- Include measures for the application of resolutions 1325 and 1820 in the Country Strategy Papers of countries in conflict or in a phase of post-war rehabilitation.
- Encourage the appointment of women to high-level positions.
- Guarantee that all ESPD missions have a full-time gender adviser.
- Draft a strategy and action plan in the framework of RELEX to implement Resolution 1325.
- Create a working group on women, peace and security.
- Promote greater cooperation between the European Union and United Nations.

12 Some of the recommendations have been taken from the document "Civil Society Recommendations on the Implementation of UNSCR 1325 in Europe", EPLO, Initiatives for Peacebuilding, International Alert, September 2009.

- Guarantee that the European Parliament monitors the application of Comprehensive Approach to the EU implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 and 1820 on women, peace and security.

In the sphere of the United Nations it is proposed to:

- Provide the new United Nations agency on women and gender with sufficient powers and resources to supervise the implementation of Resolution 1325 and to make recommendations for improving this implementation.
- Promote the appointment of a Special Representative for women, peace and security.
- Encourage all the countries comprising Friends of Resolution 1325 to have a national action plan to implement the resolution.¹³
- Increase the participation of the Peacebuilding Commission in the implementation of Resolutions 1325.
- Encourage the involvement of women in the processes of Disarmament, Demobilization, Repatriation, Reintegration and Resettlement (DDRRR)
- Encourage the persecution of sexual crimes under the universal jurisdiction principle.
- Promote the incorporation of the gender perspective into the different structures and levels of United Nations, as well as into all UN programmes and operations, especially peace missions and post-war rehabilitation programmes.

This year's tenth anniversary of Resolution 1325 will be a unique opportunity to ensure that all of these resolutions and initiatives on women, peace and security are put into practice in the form of measures to achieve a greater participation of women in peacebuilding and to put an end to sexual violence. As we have seen in this article, there is a regulatory and institutional framework, which acknowl-

13 The Friends of Resolution 1325 consists of Australia, Bangladesh, Cameroon, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Croatia, Finland, Germany, Guinea, Jamaica, Japan, Korea, Liechtenstein, Mexico, Namibia, Holland, New Zealand, Norway, Philippines, Singapore, South Africa, Sweden, Switzerland, Tanzania, United Kingdom and United States.

edges the role of women in peacebuilding, but the progress has been very limited. A greater political will is required on all levels, from local to global, in order for this to become effective and for us to succeed in moving forward towards a world free of violence, in which men and women participate equally in peacebuilding.

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The Child in Brazil: Advances and Challenges in the Decade for a Culture of Peace and Non-Violence

1 Introduction

Given the geographical dimensions of Brazil and the diversity of infancies which inhabit the nation, we could not have the pretension of carrying out a balance of what the "International Decade for a Culture of Peace and Non-Violence for the Children of the World" (2001–2010) represented. Besides this, the impact of the initiatives implemented during this period might only be perceived some years from now on. What we intend to do is an exercise in accompanying some of the movements of society as they relate to the comprehension of the child and the relationship established with the children. There were, as we will point out, initiatives which can be qualified as advances compared to prior decades, but there are also enormous challenges for us in order to have a country which not only includes the children, but which is transformed into a space where dignified life is fulfilled for all.

In order to deal with the proposed goal, we divided the text into four parts. The first part seeks to situate infancy within a so called culture of violence, which is expressed in daily life relations, in statistical numbers, in the police pages and in the streets. The child participates in this culture as a victim, being the most fragile link in the chain, but at the same time as an agent, being that in the "curriculum", normally occult, of the child's socialisation, the child is introduced into this culture through the hand of adults with arguments of self defence, of group solidarity or simply of personal affirmation.

The second part deals with recovering the historical legacy of the formation of this culture, with the current situation of infancy and with the efforts, which have been made to overcome the violence and to construct a more balanced and just society. The colonial wound continues to manifest itself in this land in various forms, from the unequal appropriation of the resources to the exploitation of the body. At the same time, in the last decades, movements are

taking place, which slowly begin to corrode this culture or at least present signs that it is possible to create a different panorama.

What follows is an attempt to understand the actions for peace within a context of education for a culture of human rights. In a summarised form, some basic characteristics are presented from the National Programme for Human Rights, which draws special attention to the right of quality education as one of the main ways to overcome the reality of violence. This signals the importance of understanding the quest for a culture of peace within a broader context of the conquest of human rights.

Finally, as a conclusion, some pedagogical challenges are presented. We are aware of the power of the socialising forces, such as the media and the market itself, whose power surpasses the reach of the formational agencies such as family and school, but we also believe that effective and lasting change can only happen through the course of pedagogical action. We highlight as pedagogical challenges a reading of the reality of violence, an education of hope and of rebellion, a recovery of the perspective of the child and the young person as agents and a construction of the pedagogical space as an *ethos* of humanisation.

2 Concerning the Child and Violence: Notes About the Context

At first sight, the association between the child and violence sounds out of place. After all, in daily life, we identify violence as a phenomenon, which happens in the streets, among adults or young people, mainly among men. It is men who appear on the screens of the TV fighting the *enemies*, it is men who traffic drugs and create gangs, which confront the police, who are also mostly men and more, it is men who transform the placid streets of the cities into battle fields at the end of soccer games. However, we know that this is only the more visible side of a culture of violence, which permeates society and creates its winners and losers, its heroes and its victims. Within the group of losers and victims are people and groups, which are silenced by the winners themselves. It took centuries for the whippings on the backs of the slaves to be *felt* as violence and not just as punishment for disobedience. It has not been that long since we have begun to hear the moans of the women translated as the violence of their husbands, their brothers, their bosses, their

teachers and their priests and pastors. Maybe because the child represents infancy, (*infans* = the one who does not speak) it is even more difficult to hear what the child tells about his/her world and about how he/she is treated in the world.

The simple fact the United Nations Organization proclaims a period as the Decade of a Culture of Peace and Non-Violence for the Children of the World is a symptom that the world of children is much more than the cosiness of mom or dad's lap, Easter eggs, Christmas presents, sand castles on the beach and games with friends. In every aspect of the children's world we can notice that the adult world has taken the child from its path. In Brazil, it is not necessary to be nostalgic to perceive that there is something wrong when every house is surrounded by iron fences, which may leave the thieves outside and the streets free for the cars, but at the same time, they transform the houses into prisons for children, for whom the streets have become "dangerous".

Fenced houses and "dangerous streets" are, unfortunately, not the only expressions of violence to which our society and our children are submitted. The expressions of violence are found in the precariousness of the public services, in the dubious quality of the dwellings, in urban planning, not foreseeing spaces for sociability, in the inequalities which overlap all types of privileges with the lack of social and economic rights in the same urban space. Violence has sadly become a normal part of infancy. This happened with such intensity that it can be configured as a culture of violence, which produces insecurities, fears and uncertainties that gradually influence our habits and our mentalities (Sacavino 2007) and which greatly affect infancy and youth.

Some data will help to comprehend the dimension of violence existing in our societies. According to the studies from the Inter-American Development Bank, violence in Latin American countries consumes up to 25 % of the Gross National Product (GNP), taking into consideration the prevention and treatment of direct violence. In its turn, the National Programme of Public Security with Citizenship (Programa Nacional de Segurança Pública com Cidadania) registered that 4.5 million young people in Brazil between the ages 15 and 29 live in a state of social vulnerability, which means that they either have not finished basic schooling, are out of school or are unemployed. Each year, 68,400 young peo-

ple enter the prison system, 70 % of them are returnees, which equals to 187 people per day or 7 people per hour (Comitê Paulista para a Década de cultura da Paz [São Paulo Committee for the Decade of a Culture of Peace.]).

Another statistic from the IBGE (2006) indicates that almost half (45.4 %) of the families with children in their early infancy, have a monthly family income of half of a minimum salary per capita, which places them below the poverty line. If this number is broken down into regions, the picture is even more alarming: 55.1 % and 66.9 % of children up to 6 years in the north and the north-east respectively, live in families who are considered as poor. Bearing this statistic in mind, one does not intend to reinforce the inappropriate relationship that is often made between violence and poverty, but this should show that these children are born and grow up in a context of structural violence.

Although these statistics also show a change in the age composition of Brazil, children and adolescents still represent an elevated percentage, namely 30.9 %, of the Brazilian population. This is a group that is socially vulnerable to a large variety of negations of human rights, among them the inadequate access to food, health, and education. Other problems, such as the lack of family and community interaction, work and sexual exploitation, domestic, institutional and social violence can be added to this list.

The educational system does not remain at the margin of this process. On the contrary, it is a product and producer of the society in which it is inserted. In this sense, a society submerged in a culture of violence will see the repercussions in the daily school life in different manifestations of aggressiveness, some coming in from the outside, others specific to school practices (Candau, 2003). Often the teaching system perceives itself without pedagogical, social or political alternatives to confront it.

3 Between History and Legislation – the Possible Advances

In order to be able to react to such a context of violence, society needs to encounter itself, needs to find itself with its history, rethink its institutions and review its paths to project its priorities, among them constructing social peace and its expectations for the future. The history of the Brazilian society since the colonisation, demon-

strates the vulnerability of broad social sectors, among them infancy and adolescence, confronted with violence in work and family relations (González 2000; Faria Filho 2004). Neither the independence process, nor the constitution of the republic were sufficient to alter the social practices and the culture of privileges for a few, the inexistence of citizenship and the legal vulnerability of the majority. Only lately has the Brazilian legal system confronted itself with the issue of the social and civil rights of the population.

Only due to the movements of the civil society in the last decades of the last century, a constitution was produced, which attested to human rights as guiding principles for social relations. Among them: Laws, such as the *Lei de Diretrizes e Bases da Educação Nacional* [Law of Guidelines and Foundations of National Education] (1996); plans such as the National Plan of Education in Human Rights (2006); and statutes, such as the *Estatuto da Criança e do Adolescente* [Child and Adolescent statute], ECA (1990). From then on, children and adolescents were seen by the legislation as subjects possessing rights, which represented an advance in the historical concept of "minor" with its coercive and welfare policies.

In the 2000's decade, after the creation of the *Secretaria Especial de Direitos Humanos* (SEDH) [Special Department for Human Rights], the public policies regarding infancy became the responsibility of this department and were coordinated by the *Subsecretaria de Promoção dos Direitos da Criança e do Adolescente* (SPDCA) [Sub-department for the Promotion of the Rights for Children and Adolescents]. According to SPDCA, the main problems in the field of infancy and adolescent rights are tied to family interaction, child labour, often in the condition of semi-slavery, sexual exploitation and adolescents in litigation with the law.

The re-democratisation of the state during the 1980s made it possible to recognise human rights, which were incorporated into the citizen constitution and based on this, directed towards the most vulnerable social sectors of the Brazilian society. The 4th article of the ECA, reproducing article 227 of the Constitution, determines that the rights of infancy are the duty of the family, of the community and of the public power and defines these rights as referring to "[...] the right to life, health, food, education, sports, leisure, professionalization, culture, dignity, respect, freedom, family and community communal interaction" (ECA 1990).

Even with these rights recognised in the form of law, which determines their violation as a crime being punishable, the violence against children and adolescents continues to be present in the Brazilian society, not only because of the long history of slavery and the arbitrary culture of the adults, but also through social practices such as the symbolic, psychological and physical violence. One can add to these factors institutional violence, negligence of basic care, and economic exploitation among which is included child labour and sexual exploitation of children.

Data from the Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística (IBGE 2003) [Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics] show that in the middle of the 1990s, more than 3.3 million children and adolescents (10 to 14 years of age) were occupied with daily work activities. At the beginning of the 2000s decade, this number was 1.9 million. The working conditions are normally risky, such as work done in rock quarries (use of blasting powder shells), in sugar cane fields (work with burning the fields) and in areas of garbage collection (permanent health risks). The children and adolescents have no workers' rights, among which would be assigned worker's documents. On average, the income from this work represents value of US\$ 40.00 a month.

One of the most degrading forms of exploitation of child/youth labour is work tied to the sex market, prostitution, pornography and human trafficking for commercial activities of sex exploitation, situations which reveal modern forms of slavery broadening the indexes of violence and revealing the social inequalities still present in the Brazilian society.

In order to confront this form of exploitation – although the theme has already been dealt in the Federal Constitution and in the Child and Adolescent Statute – the organised initiatives only began to be implemented at the beginning of the year 2000, when the National Plan for Confronting Sexual Violence against Infant/Youth was put forth and since 2003 has been considered as a presidential goal of the recently installed government. As of that point, an Intersectorial Commission for Confronting Sexual Abuse and Exploitation of Children and Adolescents was created to work as a forum for discussion, proposition and articulation of actions which, coordinated by the SEDH, is part of a set of initiatives of international, governmental and civil society organisations to confront this issue.

Child labour produces effects that are often un-surmountable, among them the inability of exerting their rights as children/adolescents and of having regular attendance and good development within the school system. The statistics show that the children who work are those who tend to fail or drop out of school. At the same time, they are most likely to be subjects to physical deformities, due to conditions of precocious work and to emotional distress resulting from the conditions of exploitation and maltreatment to which they are submitted from early childhood on.

To overcome these social problems, the Brazilian state, as well as the civil society, are constructing policies to address these issues, which are being transformed into joint and complementary actions involving (on the part of the civil society): a) Forums to eradicate child labour; b) Policies to combat child labour with the participation of NGOs, businesses and unions, coordinated by the Fundação Abrinq; c) Joint actions between civil society, international organisations such as UNICEF, Unesco and the International Labour Organization (ILO) with which the Brazilian government participates since 1992 in the International Programme of Eradication of Child Labour, with the participation of governmental organs, especially the Ministry of Labour, the Special Department of Human Rights and Education Ministry.

Besides these actions, the national state has sought to implement coercive policies toward child labour and incentive policies for schooling, which can be systematised on the basis of some fundamental components: a) the divulgence and implementations of the Statute of the Child and Adolescent; b) the creation of policies which guarantee their rights and protection with the creation of adequate mechanisms for their fulfillment; c) public policies on different fronts such as the Programa de Erradicação do Trabalho Infantil – PETI [Program to Eradicate Child Labor]; the Programme of Integrated and Referential Actions to Address Sexual Violence against Children/Youth. As of 2005 the PETI was incorporated into the Programa Bolsa Família (PBF) [Family Grant Programme] as a way of broadening and universalising the public access.

These policies are accompanied by specific initiatives for the area of education which include a broad effort to provide access and permanence in the school system, among others with policies of financial encouragement such as the Programa Bolsa Es-

cola [School Grant Programme], and actions in the educational field such as in school, with the help of protection programmes, destined to combat the violence inside the school, and the More Education Programme, created to confront the sociocultural frailties, which make learning and development, demanded by the school, difficult to accomplish and, at the same time, project alternatives for keeping the learners in school longer. To receive the benefits of these programmes, the families must commit to: a) taking the children out of labour activities; guarantee a minimum attendance of 85 % in the regular school activities and in the socio-educational service; c) accompany the child's growth and development, vaccination and nutrition of children younger than seven years.

The projects described above show the joint involvement of civil society and the state in the quest for a new culture in dealing with social issues as a way of overcoming violence and establishing peace. The inequality, and especially the poverty incorporated in society, have come to be considered as the negation of human rights, as permanent causes of underdevelopment and fertile terrain for the expansion of violence and of an economy based on organised crime, such as drug trafficking and the different types of child labour exploitation. To confront these issues, it has become indispensable that broad and universalised social policies have been constructed which gradually and slowly, have altered the process of income distribution in Brazil as the chart below shows:

CHART 1 – Results of the social polity: selected indicators

Areas of Work	Indicators		Results/ Values	
		1980	1995	2007
Income and inequality	PIB <i>per capita</i> (R\$ from 2008)	12,310	12,430	14,660
	Inequality of income – Gini	0.582 (1981)	0.601	0.552
	% income of the 10 % richest	44.9	48.9 (1991)	43.5
	% income of the 50 % poorest	14.5	12.1 (1991)	15
	% income of the 1 % richest	12.1	13.9 (1991)	12.3

Source – IPEA (2009).

The effect of this redistribution of income and of the adoption of investment policies in education, such as the Fundo de Desenvolvimento da Educação Básica e da Valorização do Magistério Público (FUNDEB) [Development Fund for Basic Education and the Valorisation of the Public Teachers] and the encouragement of access and permanence in the school, have increased the indexes of attendance and school performance and favoured the reduction of illiteracy as the following chart shows:

CHART 2

Work areas	Indicators		Results/ values	
		1980	1995	2007
Education	Index of school attendance – 7–14 years	75.1 %	90.2 %	97.6 %
	Index of school attendance – 15–17 years	52.4 %	66.6 %	82.1 %
	Index of illiteracy – 15 and above	25.4 %	15.6 %	10.0 %
	index of illiteracy – 15–24 years	13.1 %	7.2 %	2.2 %
	Average number of years of study – 15 or more	3.7 %	5.5 %	7.3 %

Source – IPEA (2009)

Although these advances are publicly acknowledged some issues remain urgent and are still unresolved. Even though it is impossible to not be aware of the importance of the recent economic recovery for increasing the work market and diminishing the poverty indexes, Brazilian history is marked by situations in which the economic growth was not sufficient for making social development possible.

To overcome this limitation, it will be necessary to consolidate public policies, which guarantee the social rights of the population and propitiate social inclusion, favouring the empowerment of citizenship and constructing a new cultural matrix, based on the effective participation of citizenship, so that each person can assume his/her place as agent. It will also be necessary to broaden the social policies, which deepen the different ways of redistributing income, reducing the regional and urban inequalities and those between the different social sectors.

4 Forming a Culture of Rights

Among the transformations which are taking place in Brazilian society, is the debate about human rights as a way of overcoming violence and as a possibility of social peace, especially as these rights are considered indivisible and complementary. Ever since the 1990s decade, civil society has been constructing, together with the different powers of the Union, National Programmes of Human Rights.

The third National Programme of Human Rights considers that education has a great contribution to make to the construction of a culture of rights and justice. Among its proposals it first highlights education as a right of all. In the axis named "Universalizing rights in a context of inequalities", the National Programme refers to the right of access to a quality school and the guarantee of permanence of the students in the system, so that a school culture of human rights can be formed.

Education in human rights is proposed as a transversal theme and, consequentially, as a curricular component, which should be part of the whole educational system. What is being dealt with here is a specific goal of the "Inclusion of the theme of Education and Culture in Human Rights in basic education and in educational institutions" intimately tied to the respect for citizenship and the combating of violence within the educational systems.

Specifically referring the topic of violence in schools, the document mentions the implantation of a national system and register of occurrences, which include the practices of gratuitous and repeated violence among students, adopting a unified form of register to be used by all schools. It also mentions the development of national actions to elaborate conflict mediation strategies and of restorative justice in educational institutions, including second and third level education institutions. It also proposes teacher training to identify violence and abuse against children and adolescents, the appropriate handling of it and the reconstruction of the school relations.

When it deals with the issue of the right to education, the programme "defends universal access, but recognises the difficulties of making such a proposal effective". In fact, although it is only recently a public policy, the access to day care is available to less

than 20 % of the children between 0 and 3 years. In pre-school, the access already reaches 77 % of children between the ages 4 and 6, which represents an advance but is still distant from the intended universal access. For grade school, the index of enrollment evolved from 80 % in 1986, to 94 % in 2007, coming close to the project of universalising education and diminishing the traditional regional differences of access to education (IPEA 2009).

The third National Programme deals with some specific issues tied to the Indigenous population and to children and young people in conflict with the law. For Indigenous peoples, it prescribes pedagogical actions which strengthen the school education of members of Indigenous peoples, valuing their cultures and their production of knowledge. It considers the guarantee of access to formal bilingual education with an adapted curriculum formulated with the participation of representatives of the multiple ethnic groups (indigenists) and educators specialised in indigenous culture to be fundamental. With regard to the children and adolescents, who are in conflict with the law, the programme considers educational actions as parts of the policies for confronting the issue of violence, therefore proposing that the offer of classes should be mandatory in penal establishments and that there is the possibility of remission of the penalty through studying. Besides this, it prescribes the support of the states and of the Federal District for the implementation of service programmes which guarantee schooling, health care, sports, culture and work education observing the guidelines of the national plan.

Finally, the National Programme considers to integrate the issue of human rights in the didactic books, prescribing the establishment of evaluation criteria and indicators of publications in the thematic area of human rights for didactic books. It also proposes the formulation of curricular guidelines on the subject of human rights for the different levels and modalities of education, including the bachelor and teacher training programmes. Furthermore, it proposes the creation of postgraduate courses on the issue of human rights, as a way to strengthen a culture of human rights and of peace through the educational system.

5 Some Pedagogical Challenges

Four decades ago, in his *Pedagogia do oprimido* [Pedagogy of the Oppressed], Paulo Freire (1981) put forth humanisation as the great challenge of education. Since then we have learned that humanisation is a permanent challenge and conquest, as life happens within the tension between humanisation and dehumanisation, of course with both possibilities to be carried out in history. The *being more*, which characterises humanisation, does not have previously defined forms or ends and needs to be tested in the *untested feasibility* of daily living. Peace, therefore, is not understood as the absence of conflict and tensions, or the return to the state of harmonic nature, but as the condition for the process of *being more*.

The Manifest of 2000, which instituted the Decade for the Culture of Peace and Non-Violence, also points out six guiding principles that can serve as a reference for the construction of an *ethos* of a humanising education: Respect for life, rejection of violence, the stimulus to be generous, the capacity of listening to understand, the preservation of the planet and the rediscovery of solidarity. These are all noble goals, and around them there is probably consensus, which can be shared by the teachers, who are confronted with violence in the classroom or the mother who, in desperation, keeps her son behind the bars in her house to keep him from consuming "crack", the most popular drug amongst young people in Brazil.

Nevertheless, there is also another consensus in current education, which is fully contradicting the goals mentioned above. From early on, boys and girls are trained in the game of competition, being a factor of inclusions and exclusions. The message sent from the streets and from the market is that there is no room for all and that some – the less "competent" – will be left over. This consensus is reinforced by standardised tests and by the media, which identifies the cases of "success". Therefore, it is necessary to transform the creation of a culture for peace and non-violence into a challenge of pedagogical character. Below, we present some topics which may help to develop pedagogical mediations able to shorten the distance between the ideals of peace and solidarity and the reality of violence. The reference for the reflections is the work of Paulo Freire which, among his last writings left this message: "the

struggle for peace does not mean a struggle for the abolition, nor the negation of conflicts, but for a just confrontation, that is critical of the conflicts, and the quest for correct solutions to them is an imperious demand of our times. Peace, therefore, does not precede justice. That is why the best way to speak of peace is to do justice" (Freire 2000, p. 131).

5.1 The Reading of the Reality of Violence

In a school, which could be in any Brazilian city, the school community was concerned about the violent manifestations of one of the children with regard to his classmates and also to the teachers. Almost all possibilities had been tried, when they resolved to get better acquainted with the place where the boy was living. They soon noticed that it effectively was a place of great violence, where the most important rule was to learn to defend oneself. Based on this reading of the reality, the teachers understood that what was violence and therefore condemnable to the school, was a virtue learned for his defense for this boy. The pedagogical challenge was to show that there can be a different "world".

This example shows the importance of what Paulo Freire called "reading the reality". Violence is manifested in many ways and without this comprehension, the educators risk with their actions to have the undesired effect of reinforcing the violence, which they are seeking to combat. It is part of this challenge to also comprehend what it means when, on the one hand, there is a basic and fundamental equality for all citizens, including children while on the other side, these same children have special rights due to their situation as children.

It is the education's responsibility to take care that this hope does not lose its path and ends up in despair. The same can be said with regard to "anger" or "indignation", which he sees as emotions placed the capacity for acting for change. A "universal ethics of the human being" will be constituted in the dialectic relation between the denouncement of "necrophiliac" actions and the affirmation of "biophilic" forces.

Maybe this is one of the greatest current pedagogical challenges, when a good part of the children and young people see their perspectives for the future threatened by a highly excluding social organisation and by the ever more real threat to the preserva-

tion of life itself on the planet. Is it just coincidence that there is such a high number of homicides among the young people? Or that the prisons are full of young men? In this case, where are the leftovers of hope which need to be cared for and cultivated? What are the "possible dreams", the "strategic dreams" or the "untested feasibilities" which can guide the pedagogical action? What utopia is able to feed the struggles for another world? Could it not be that the violence against the child, the violence between children and youth, the violence of the children in relation to the adult world, are signs that the hope and indignation have lost their direction and that because of this they cannot be transformed into the necessary "rebellion" for society as a creative and transforming force?

5.2 The Children as Agents in Society

As of the Statute of the Child and of the Adolescent (1988) and of the International Convention of the UN of the Rights of the Child (1989) there begins to exist a concern in the sense of seeing the child and the adolescent as not only victims (unsupported, abandoned, disinherited, etc.), but also as agents. Today in Brazil, there are various experiences of children participating in the elaboration of the budgets of their cities. The Children's Participatory Budget Planning of São Paulo in the government of Marta Suplicy (2000-2004) may be the most eloquent example of how the combination of a political vision, clear strategies and seriousness in the execution can contribute to the formation of active citizenship (Streck 2008).

For this participation to be effective, it was important to overcome some myths which surround the world of the child. One of them is the myth of infancy being the age of preparation and transition. Today we know that there is no stage in life that is not transition and preparation, knowing that the construction of existence is a permanent task. Another myth is that of the *infante*, in the original meaning of the word being the one who does not speak. It is known that children do not only talk a lot, but that their talking translates unrest, intuitions, feelings and reasons capable of deeply moving the structured world of the adult (Muñoz 2004). This is true for family life, for the school curriculum and it is also true for planning cities.

5.3 The Pedagogical Space as an "Ethos" of Humanisation

It has been seen in pedagogy that lessons about justice and peace are useless and even counter-productive when they are not accompanied by an effective practice of these principles of communal interaction. One of the current challenges consists in reconfiguring the places for this learning. What can one expect from the family, the school, the means of communication, the government leaders and other authorities who carry out a formative role in society? Laws, programmes, textbooks, teacher training, all of this serves an important role but will have little efficacy if not accompanied by the live testimony of adults, who are willing to create conditions so that today's children can begin to create another world. In Brazil, there are many practices inserted in this quest and for which the *Decade for a culture of peace and non-violence* represented the opportunity to perceive these practices integrated within a network which connects them to the children of the world.¹

1 <http://decade-culture-of-peace.org/end-of-decade-report/>

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Manuel Manonelles

Climate Change: Challenges for International Peace and Security

1 Introduction

The debate concerning the links between environmental degradation in a general sense (pollution, deforestation, desertification, etc.) and conflicts, now spans over two decades of reflection and proposals. Even earlier, and separate from its environmental dimension, this debate was addressed as an area of study of one of the traditional branches of geopolitics, which is focused on the relationship of the access to limited strategic natural resources (especially energy and water) and conflicts.

It was precisely the social, political and scientific mobilisation around the 1992 Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro¹ that prompted the universalisation and development of certain principles – such as sustainability – and contributed to raise awareness about the need to protect the environment. In parallel, several initiatives were born, in order to study the real extent of the connection between environment and conflict, as well as to find formulas to prevent or reduce the possible multiplying effect the environment could have on conflicts and vice versa. These organisations and initiatives were either intergovernmental – like those within the framework of the United Nations Environmental Programme (UNEP) – or non-governmental – like Green Cross International² – as well as from the academic and scientific milieus.

Recently, however, at the beginning of the 21st century, there has been a Copernican change in this area of study and action, having achieved even greater strength and relevance than it had twenty years ago. This has occurred simultaneously to the cumulative evidence and progressive scientific and social consensus concerning global warming and climate change, which have become increasingly evident during the last decade. Indeed, the different

1 A pioneer meeting in this area was the Global Forum for Environment and Development Survival held in Moscow in January, 1990.

2 International Green Cross: www.gci.ch

impacts climate change could have on international peace and security, are potentially of such great nature, that they have alerted a relevant part of the international community.

2 The Global Scope of the Debate and Concerns

The potential effects on international peace and security, as well as its humanitarian dimension, are problems which curiously, first awakened the attention of official institutions, especially on international scale, rather than drawing the attention of academic organisations or even alarming civil society. As it will be shown below, this issue has been the object of many studies and debates within the United Nations system, commencing with a pioneer discussion initiated at a plenary session of the Security Council in 2007. This was followed by actions of many other international institutions, particularly the European Union and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, OSCE.

2.1 Within the United Nations System

The Security Council

In April 2007, initiated by the British Presidency, the United Nations Security Council, which is the principal body of the institution and the only one with binding decision-making powers at international level, devoted an open plenary session to debate the impact of climate change on international security and peace.

The 5663rd Council session took place on April 17, 2007 and was based on a Concept Paper (United Nations 2007) prepared by the host country. It appeared to be a controversial session, in which over fifty experts and representatives of member states participated. The meeting was presided by Margaret Beckett, the United Kingdom's Foreign Secretary (and former Secretary of State for the Environment), and convicted with the participation of UN Secretary General Ban Ki-moon.

The debate was strongly influenced by the report "National Security and the Threat of Climate Change" (CNA 2007), which was released a few days earlier by the U.S. think-tank CNA Corporation, a document that had been prepared by eleven retired American admirals and generals. The report was widely published in the U.S. and by the international press and, although it strongly em-

phasised military aspects, it was not lacking global recommendations. Given the biography of its authors, it had a significant impact in the Anglo-American world, even on the most conservative circles which still are sceptical about the consequences of climate change.

The main element of controversy during the Security Council debate did not centre on the analysis, agreement or disagreement with respect to a general approach or specific proposals, it rather concerned institutional aspects. The G-77 and the Non-Aligned Movement were extremely critical about the fact that the debate took place within the Security Council – which only allows exclusive membership and is conditioned of veto rights – and not in the General Assembly, deemed to be the “natural” forum for such a debate. For its part, the British Presidency defended the possible role of the Security Council as a catalyst of the topic, referring to the precedent set by the Council debate concerning HIV-AIDS in 2000. This position was tacitly supported by the member states of the Pacific Islands Forum,³ as well as by the Secretary General. Due to these strongly divided positions, the Council ultimately failed to adopt a final declaration or resolution, but it did achieve one of its principal objectives, which was to open a debate concerning this issue, within the international community. Indeed, as it was mentioned in the International Herald Tribune,⁴ it was a ground-breaking debate.

The General Assembly

In the case of the General Assembly it was not until 2009, in the context prior to the Copenhagen Summit, that the General Assembly decided to focus on this matter. Thus, it was at the initiative of the regional group of the Pacific Small Island Developing states that in the plenary session of June 3 a resolution⁵ was debated and approved concerning “Climate Change and its Possible Security Implications”. This requested the Secretary General to prepare a

3 Pacific Islands Forum: www.forumsec.org.fj

4 UN Security Council holds ground breaking debate on Climate Change over protest from developing countries. The International Herald Tribune, April 18, 2007.

5 A/RES/63/281

report on the topic to be presented during the following session. At this time, a greater consensus has been achieved in comparison to the 2007 Security Council debates; although there also was disagreement about the role the Council should play in this matter. This issue was raised in appeal to Article VI of the United Nations Charter reference, that was done by the representative of Palau, one of the countries that would potentially be most affected by a rise in sea levels.

Thus, a few days prior to the opening of the 64th session of the General Assembly, on the symbolic date of September 11, 2009, the report of the Secretary General on "Climate Change and its Possible Security Implications" (United Nations 2009) was released. This was an excellent document coordinated by the Department of Economic and Social Affairs of the UN Secretariat. The report was the subject of the debate at the plenary session of November 16, but it did not pass a specific resolution as it referred to the imminent Copenhagen Summit.

Other United Nations Bodies

There are several other specialised entities within the United Nations system that are also working on this topic and, in fact, they have been doing so for years. However, up to now they have not taken in account the most recent perspective of the direct relationship between climate change and international security. On the contrary, as also mentioned in the introduction, they have been working with more generic theories, rooted in the late 1980s and early 1990s, which linked environmental degradation in general (pollution, deforestation, desertification, etc.) and conflicts, with a particular focus on the eventual multiplying effect on the risks of conflict, and vice versa. Nevertheless, given the close relationship between these two topics, it is important to highlight the most relevant institutions.

One of these institutions is the United Nations Peacebuilding Commission,⁶ which on May 8, 2008 devoted one of the sessions of its Working Group on Lessons Learned to the matter, entitled From Conflict to Peacebuilding: The Role of Natural Resources and Environment. This session was held in collaboration with UNEP.

6 <http://www.un.org/peace/peacebuilding/>

In the case of the UNEP, it has the ongoing UNEP Conflicts and Disasters Programme⁷, which is managed by the UNEP Post-Conflict Assessment Unit, working in the following areas: post-crisis environmental assessment and recovery, environmental disaster risk reduction, and environmental cooperation for peacebuilding. UNEP is also one of the principal members of the Environment and Security Initiative (ENVSEC),⁸ and has prepared excellent reference studies, such as the aforementioned report *From Conflict to Peacebuilding: The Role of Natural Resources and the Environment*, released in February, 2009 (UNEP 2009).

Regarding UNDP, the United Nations Development Program, its work in this field does not focus on a specific unit or section, it is rather divided in two principle areas of work, "Environment and Energy" on the one hand and "Crisis Prevention and Recovery", on the other. Moreover, one of the cross-cutting policies of the UNDP is climate change and special attention should be paid to the work done by its regional offices in those areas which may be seriously affected by Climate Change in short term, such as the in the Pacific⁹ regions. UNDP is also one of the founding partners of ENVSEC.

Although ENVSEC happens to work in areas slightly beyond the topic of this article, additional information concerning this organisation is certainly justified. Its original structure may serve as an example for possible future measures, concerning climate change and peace. ENVSEC is an infrequent case in the sense that it is an initiative in which various international – both global and regional – organisations participate. It was founded in 2003 by UNEP, UNDP and OSCE. In 2004, NATO joined ENVSEC via its Public Diplomacy Division and finally in 2006, it was further strengthened by the entry of the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe,¹⁰ the UNECE, and the Regional Environmental Centre for Central

7 <http://www.unep.org/conflictsanddisasters/>

8 <http://www.envsec.org>

9 See: www.undppc.org.fj, or more specifically: Climate Change Threatens Human Security in the Pacific Islands at <http://content.undp.org/go/newsroom/2009/august/climate-change-threatens-human-security-in-the-pacific-islands.en>

10 UNECE: www.unece.org

and Eastern Europe.¹¹ At the present, ENVSEC is involved in several projects, particularly in Eastern Europe and Central Asia, the most relevant being the environmental recovery initiative for the Aral Sea. The organisation's experience, both in inter-institutional collaboration and in direct actions to prevent environmentally-related conflicts, will certainly be of crucial importance, when facing the challenges discussed in this article.

The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC)

This overview would not be complete without a reference to the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change,¹² the central organisation within the United Nations system in the area of scientific analysis and evidence on climate change. Although its work does not directly address with the impact of climate change on peace and security, the Panel's Fourth Synthesis Report, and especially its Working Group II report on "Impacts, Adaptation and Vulnerability" are still key reference documents, despite recent criticism.

2.2 The European Union and other International Organisations

The European Union

The European Union is another international organisation that has shown intense interest in this topic. On March 14, 2008 a joint paper (European Union 2008) was presented to the European Council by the High Representative for the Common Foreign and Security Policy and the European Commission. This report generated such a great interest in the Council, that a request for deeper analysis and more specific recommendations was made, and it was determined to adequately follow up the matter. Thus on December 18 of that same year, the High Representative presented a supplementary report (European Union 2008), containing more specific recommendations, as well as announcing the decision to include the topic in the High Representative's periodic reports, concerning the implementation of the European Security Strategy. The December 2008 report has been of special interest ever since as it contains initial analyses of specific geographical areas (sub-Saharan Africa, Middle East and North Africa, and Central Asia), not only empha-

11 www.rec.org

12 IPCC: www.ipcc.ch

sising the principal implications for each region, but also offering specific recommendations for actions the EU should take with respect to each of them.

The foregoing combined with a series of activities, carried out by the Madariaga Foundation/College of Europe together with other organisations,¹³ was the basis for the decisions taken by the European Council (European Union 2009) on December 8, 2009, a few days prior to the Copenhagen Summit. In addition to emphasising the United Nations' significant leadership role in this area, these conclusions supported the recommendations of the High Representative and established the principal fields in which the EU should increase its capabilities. These were, among others, the need to strengthen its institutional capacity, within the framework of the Treaty of Lisbon, including the dimension of climate change and security within the EU's programme of cooperation for development; as well as the need to establish new early warning mechanisms and acquire the necessary crisis management skills.

Other Organisations: OSCE and IOM¹⁴

Other regional or thematic organisations, such as the OSCE, approached this subject early. Its present work in this area is directed from the Office of the Coordinator of Economic and Environmental Activities,¹⁵ which manages one of the three dimensions of the organisation, known as the Economic and Environmental dimension. The conceptual framework of its work is defined in the 2003 Maastricht Strategy (OSCE 2003), followed by the 2007 Madrid Declaration on Environment and Security (OSCE 2007) and by the recent conference on this subject, held in Bucharest in October, 2009.¹⁶ The latter focused on the ways in which the OSCE can contribute to reduce security threats arising from climate change, both within its area of action and, at a global level, jointly with the

13 The European Peacebuilding Liaison Office (EPLO) together with the Folke Bernadotte Academy, see: <http://www.madariaga.org/reports/reports-2009/97-reports-02>

14 International Organisation for Migration: www.iom.int

15 See: <http://www.osce.org/eea/>

16 Conference on the Security Implications of Climate Change in the OSCE Region, Bucharest, 5-6 October 2009, see: http://www.osce.org/conferences/eea_2009_climat.html

United Nations and other international organisations, such as the European Union.¹⁷

As expressed by OSCE Secretary General Marc Perrin de Brichambaut in his address to the Bucharest Conference: "The challenges raised by climate change are challenges also to the existing system of international security governance. This is a global phenomenon that will have consequences for the future security architecture of our planet. It is vital that all international institutions perform at their best and cooperate in addressing this crucial challenge."

As mentioned before, these activities coincide with the participation of the OSCE in the ENVSEC initiative that commenced in 2003, as well as the specific activities of its regional and national offices (OSCE 2009).

In a different thematic dimension, another intergovernmental organisation that plays a key role, is the International Organisation for Migration (IOM), especially with regard to one of the principal humanitarian impacts of forced migration, which results from climate change effects. The IOM is an unusual entity since, although it is present worldwide in over 100 countries and has 127 members, it is not formally a part of the United Nations system.

Concerning the research and analysis that have been undertaken by IOM, its documents about Migration and Climate Change (IOM 2008) and on Migration, Environment and Climate Change: Assessing the Evidence (IOM 2009) are of particular interest. With regard to the IOM's policy statements, its reference documents include the Discussion Note: Migration and the Environment (IOM 2007), released in November 2007, and the more recent Policy Note of May, 2009 on Migration, Climate Change and Environment (IOM 2009).

From an operational perspective, the IOM approaches this matter as one of its cross-cutting working axis, entitled "Migrations, Climate Change and Environmental Degradation".¹⁸ Their work

17 In fact, the OSCE has already collaborated with the United Nations and the EU as one of the principal contributors to the most significant reports that these two organisations have issued on the subject.

18 Migration, Climate Change and Environmental Degradation, see: www.iom.int/envmig

includes carrying out specific activities in dozens of their national and regional offices, especially in the area of adaptation to climate change.

2.3 Think-tanks, Academia and Civil Society

Civil society and academia, as it is mentioned at the beginning of this article, have not been the pioneers on this issue. However, certain organisations are the exception to this affirmation and indeed, many activities, reports and seminars, etc. have been devoted to the topic of climate change and peace, especially in the last few years.

The work of the International Institute for Sustainable Development (IISD) deserves special mention.¹⁹ Other institutions such as the Peace Research Institute of Oslo (PRIO)²⁰ or the Finnish Institute of International Affairs, formed working groups or established a specific line of research, as for example the United Nations University for Peace or the International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS)²¹ in London. The International Peace Institute (IPI),²² which is located in New York, has concentrated its research on the impact of migration, while the Folke Bernadotte Academy together with the European Peacebuilding Liaison Office (EPLO) and the Madariaga Foundation/College of Europe, have likewise held seminars and issued reports (Madariaga Foundation, 2008).

The work carried out by the Global Humanitarian Forum, located in Geneva, is especially relevant, due to its analyses and its advocacy, regarding the humanitarian effects of climate change (Global Humanitarian Forum 2008; 2009). Other examples are the international seminar, sponsored by the Foundation Culture of Peace in Barcelona, held in November, 2009, in the context of the last official round of negotiations, prior to the Copenhagen Summit, or the seminar on the same topic held in Copenhagen at the Summit itself.

19 International Institute for Sustainable Development, see: www.issd.org

20 Peace Research Institute of Oslo, see: www.prio.no

21 <http://www.iiss.org/programmes/transatlantic-dialogue-on-climate-change-and-security/>

22 International Peace Institute, formerly International Peace Academy: www.ipacademy.org

3 The Principal Challenges

Having made this initial analysis of the actions and recommendations of the international community in its broadest sense, a more specific presentation of the ensuing challenges, follows now.

A careful reading and comparative analysis of the majority of the mentioned documents, reveals a certain consensus or general framework of agreement concerning the main challenges that climate change will cause in the next years, for international peace and security, as well as in its humanitarian dimension.

Due to the limited amount of space available for this essay, a description will be provided in an outlined form. The first part is dedicated to the challenges of a general nature, which is followed by an initial analysis of the concrete factors, that may affect four specific regions of the world. The choice of these four regions does not reflect any will of priority, rather it is a fact that these are the four cases, which have already been analysed in depth.

3.1 General Challenges²³

Land Loss or Alteration, Border Disputes

- Melting of the polar caps, rise in sea levels, disappearance and territorial alteration of land masses, especially in coastal areas; changes in land and sea borders, etc.
- Progressive melting in alpine areas, disappearance or alteration of alpine territories, border changes in mountainous areas with the corresponding potential for destabilisation around disputed or otherwise sensitive borders.
- Partial and/or total disappearance of some of the Small Island Countries, particularly in the Pacific. Forced evacuation and resettlement of large groups of the population that may lead to possible disturbances and conflicts, resulting in regional destabilisation. International legal problems vis-à-vis future landless states.

23 This schematic description and its structure based on a comparative synthesis of the previously cited Concept Paper prepared for the United Nations Security Council Session (2007), Report of the Secretary General to the General Assembly of September 11, 2009, and documents of the European Union's High Representative for Foreign Affairs of March 14 and December, 2008.

- Tension and territorial claims, particularly with respect to the Arctic, but also in the Antarctic.

Environmentally Forced Migrations

- Territories, some densely populated and especially coastal ones, will disappear or become uninhabitable, due to increased sea levels and their consequences: salinisation and limited access to drinking water, decreased food production, etc. This may progressively result in 50 to 250 million new displaced persons, due to Climate Change (2020–2050), creating tension and worsening situations which are already instable.
- The new reality of "internal refugees" or "persons displaced by the effects of climate change", for whom there is no specific provision in the international legal framework.

Tensions involving Energy Resources and New Trade Routes

- Increase in energy demands and competition for limited resources, with the resulting geo-strategic implications.
- Opening of Northeast and Northwest passages. New maritime shipping routes, change the dynamics of present worldwide trade routes, particularly intercontinental ones, and their corresponding geo-strategic impact. Decrease in the strategic (and economic) value of the Suez and Panama Canals, among others.

Conflicts involving other Scarce Resources

- Fresh water will decrease in some cases by 20 % to 30 % in comparison to current supplies. Implications for agriculture, access to drinking water, generation of electricity, disputes concerning internationally-shared water resources, etc. Related public health problems. Particularly serious in Sub-Saharan Africa, the Indian subcontinent and the Middle East.
- Food changes in general are tending towards a decrease in the quantity and quality of arable land, especially affecting the cultivation of all types of cereal crops, resulting in limited supplies and higher prices. Serious food security problems and a worsening of the present food crisis.
- Impact on fishing resources.

Economic Damages and Risks in Coastal Cities/Areas and their Critical Infrastructures

- One-fifth of all human beings live in coastal areas, where most of the mega-cities are located, some of which have high value-added elements. Merely as an example, the mega-cities on the Indian subcontinent that would in principle be most affected include: Chennai (6.9 million inhabitants), Dhaka (12.4), Karachi (11.6), Calcutta (14.3) and Mumbai (18.2).
- A large part of critical infrastructures (ports, airports, nuclear power plants, water treatment plants, petroleum refineries) are located on the coastline and may be affected by rising sea levels.
- Several studies affirm that not confronting climate change could in the medium term incur costs equivalent to 15 % – 20 % of the worldwide GDP. Confronting it comprehensively, progressively and commencing immediately would incur a cost of around 2 % of the GDP.

Increase of Natural Disasters and their Corresponding Humanitarian Crises

- Extreme weather episodes (tornados, cyclones, "El Niño", hurricanes, floods, etc.), resulting in humanitarian crises, which, according to official statistics, have increased in the last few years.
- Changes in the international insurance system, with respect to these areas.

Situations of Fragility and Radicalisation, "Social Stress" and Pressure on International Governance

- Some countries – and not only the Small Island Countries – consider climate change as the most serious present threat to their development. In fragile states, an increase in all of these tensions may result in violent intrastate or interstate conflicts.
- In other cases, such situations are seen or are represented as another grievance in North-South relations. Quoting the Ugandan President: "Climate change is one more act of aggression of the rich against the poor".

3.2 Regional Challenges²⁴

In the following, a brief schematic description of four case studies of regional affectation is presented. As previously mentioned, the areas covered are merely representative of how changes of a global nature may have specific derivative effects on a particular region, as they would likewise have specific effects on both the national and local levels. In other respects, it is too early to consider other regions that have not yet been properly studied, although research is already underway,²⁵ to provide a well-founded schematic description similar to the following cases.

Sub-Saharan Africa

- Further desertification in the Sahel could lead to more regional instability and to increased migration within a short timescale, i.e. within the next years and decades.
- Sea level rise in the Niger Delta in Nigeria, coupled with desertification in the North of the country would greatly increase internal tensions in the area, with possible regional destabilisation, including Nigeria (an important oil and gas producer), as well as in the neighbouring countries of Sierra Leone and Guinea-Bissau.
- In West Africa, the coastal area between Accra (Ghana) and the Niger Delta (Nigeria) would likewise be significantly affected by a rise in sea levels, partially due to its increasing population density.
- The rise in sea levels, decreasing rainfall and an increase in storms in East Africa could increase pressure on Kenya, Mozambique and Madagascar. Reduced food production in Ethiopia and Somalia could likewise increase tension in the horn of Africa.

24 This reflects a comparative synthesis of the Report of the Secretary General September 11, 2009 but especially the EU High Representative for Foreign Affairs' document of December 18, 2008.

25 The EU High Representative's recommendations indicate that the regions to be studied in the next report will include Afghanistan and neighboring countries, South and East Asia, the Pacific, the Caribbean and Latin America.

Middle East, North Africa

- Tensions related to the management of scarcer water resources in the Jordan and the Tigris-Euphrates Basins. Rising temperatures will exacerbate this situation.
- Decreasing rainfall could lead to lower flow through the Nile, with possible effects on Egypt and in Sudan. This could worsen the situation in Darfur.
- Egypt could face a flooding of the heavily populated and industrialised Nile Delta, with possible destabilising effects.
- Forced migration in the Maghreb. Forecasts for the next twenty-five years predict increased population in this region, while at the same time there will be a loss of arable land, due to environmental causes, which would exacerbate present tendencies (both with respect to internal displacement as well as migration to the northern shores of the Mediterranean).

Central Asia

- The Amu Darya-Syr river basin, where water management is currently a source of tension between upstream countries (Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan) and their midstream and downstream neighbours (primarily Uzbekistan, but also Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan). Climate change will worsen the situation and could increase present tensions.
 - The progressive thawing of the Kyrgyz glaciers would cause a reduction in river levels, with serious consequences for the generation of hydroelectric power in Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan, and for cotton production in Uzbekistan.
- Critical situation of the Aral sea.

Oceania

- In Oceania over 50 % of the population lives less than 1.5 km from the coast, and practically 100 % of their infrastructure are at or close to sea level. 80 % of the territory of the Maldives is less than one meter above sea level. Partial or total disappearance of many islands and of a large part of the territory of many small island countries could be caused by climate change.

- Problems resulting from forced evacuation²⁶ and relocation of a large part of the area's population, resulting in tension and possible outbreaks of violence, leading to a potential destabilisation of the zone²⁷ and significant waves of emigration.
- Disappearance or negative effects for the zone's principal economic resources, including its tourist attractions and infrastructures, as well as the loss of their few arable areas (due to increased salinity). Problems of economic – and not only political – viability of some of the small island countries, resulting in local and regional destabilisation.

4 A Case in Point: "The Geopolitics of Ice Thaw"

Undoubtedly, one of the principal implications of climate change, with serious effects for peace, is the melting of the poles and the resulting rise of the sea levels. Moreover, successive scientific reports have confirmed, that thawing in both, the Arctic and Antarctic areas, is taking place at a much faster pace than previously predicted.

In geopolitical terms however, an equally significant thaw is underway, affecting glaciers and areas formerly covered by perpetual snows in high mountain ranges. The multiple implications and ramifications of the foregoing may perhaps be referred to as the "geopolitics of thawing ice".

4.1 Impact and Change in Alpine Border Areas

The thawing, which also affects glaciers and alpine zones (until now considered as areas of perpetual snow) will have serious effects on several mountainous border areas. A paradigmatic case is the Alpine border between Switzerland and Italy where a routine topographic survey in March 2009 detected the physical disappearance of several stretches of the border, which by a bilateral treaty in force since 1861 were drawn partially through ice sheets or per-

26 The Carteret Islands (Papua New Guinea) are the first to have their population (2,600 people) evacuated due to the partial disappearance of their territory and the extreme risks derived from this situation.

27 Australia's Security White Paper of 2009 has already included climate change as one of their new security challenges, especially with respect to the stability of neighbouring countries affected by the forecasted rise in sea levels.

petual snows. In this case, the logic of decades of peaceful bilateral relations prevailed, and the problem has been resolved by experts from both countries, although drawing the new border required constitutional changes in Italy.

However, it is important to emphasise, that the implications such cases may have on other geographical and political contexts, is of much concern. Although at the moment, the Italo-Swiss case is minor and only affects small stretches of the border, it represents a tendency that, due to its implications, also needs our attention. The potential for destabilisation, a similar situation could have on the border between India and Pakistan is enormous, particularly with respect to the Siachen glacier in Kashmir, considered the world's highest battlefield (approximately 6.400 meters high) where since 1984 over 3,000 soldiers from both countries have died. In addition, both countries possess nuclear weapons and after years of relative calm relations between them, once again tension rises, especially since the terrorist attacks of November, 2008 in Mumbai.

Unfortunately, this is not the only border that may be affected. Some of the world's most disputed borders lie high in the Himalayas and neighbouring ranges. The most notorious example is the problematic border zone between Afghanistan and Pakistan, particularly in the FATA areas,²⁸ which with the melting of the ice, will be progressively more penetrable, increasing the potential for destabilisation of two of the most unstable countries in the world. Something similar could occur, to a lesser degree, along the historically problematic borders between India and China, as well as in the area between Tibet and Nepal.

In Central Asia, there are also certain border disputes, partially in alpine areas, on the border between Tajikistan and China, as well as along the China-Kyrgyzstan border. Although, these conflicts are being addressed within the framework of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, created in 2001, they have resurfaced from 2007 onwards with increased tension between the Uigur minority in Xinjiang, the region in northeast China that precisely borders on those two countries mentioned before.

28 FATA, or Federal Administered Tribal Areas, the most unstable region in Pakistan with a large population of insurgents of Taliban origin.

4.2 Opening of the Northeast and Northwest Passages

Another significant effect of the melting of ice is the opening of the so-called Northeast and Northwest Passages, that is, the opening of new maritime routes, which were previously rendered inaccessible by the ice. These new routes could radically change the world trade, especially the intercontinental commerce.

The Northeast Passage is the maritime connection between Japan, Korea and China's east coast with the principal ports of Europe, navigating through the Bering Strait and the North of the Russian Federation, past the Norwegian coast to the North Sea. This mythical maritime route, which has been plotted since the 18th century, was impracticable up to this date, due to ice, and has not been used commercially until it was traversed experimentally in August-September, 2009.

This route is at least 4,000 km shorter than the traditional pass through the Suez Canal. In the initial experimental route between the port of Ulsan (South Korea) and Rotterdam (Netherlands), the distance through the Northeast Passage was 27 % shorter than the traditional pass through the Suez Canal, reducing the usual 20,400 km to 14,800 km, saving 5,600 km.

The other case concerns the Northwest Passage, navigating through the North of Canada, in which something similar would occur between the ports of the "world's factory" and the East coast ports of the United States, with an impact similar to the previous case, but this time to the detriment of the traditional route via the Panama Canal. The first known, although partial commercial voyage through this passage took place in September, 2008 between the port of Montreal (on Canada's Atlantic coast) and ports in the Canadian Arctic zone (Cambridge Bay, Kugluktuk, Gjoa Haven and Taloyoak, in the Nunavut region), ports which up to this date were only connected with the Pacific coast of Canada.

The opening of these routes will totally change the dynamics of international trade – which is to a large extent maritime commerce and the basis of our present economic system – and may affect key geo-strategic areas, such as the Suez and Panama Canals, even threatening significant investments planned in those two major infrastructures in the medium term.

4.3 The Race for the Arctic

In addition to the issues discussed above, there are expectations concerning the enormous raw material resources thought to be located in the Arctic, which will be progressively more accessible as ice melts, and which may lead to a race to control the area. The Russian agency TASS estimates, that there are over 10,000 million tons of oil reserves, with great potential for daily extraction. Preliminary research likewise predicts that there are several types of mineral reserves, particularly gold and uranium, in addition to other raw materials.

The new trade routes, as well as potential raw material reserves have increased the tension among several countries, creating a genuine "race for the Arctic", particularly among the Russian Federation, Norway, Denmark, the United Kingdom, Canada and the United States. This has been accompanied by an increase in the arms race in this area.

That is the case in Canada, where in 2007 an extraordinary budget item of 6.900 million Canadian dollars²⁹ has been approved over the next years, to strengthen its military presence and defend the sovereignty over its territory in the Arctic zone. The budget includes the construction of a fleet of eight military icebreakers (at a cost of 3,900 million), as well as new military bases in the area. In other respects, the Russian Federation has resumed long range strategic nuclear bomber flights in the polar zones for the first time since the end of the Cold War, which has already generated concern and protests from other countries, such as Norway and the United Kingdom.

Indeed, the grand "scientific" expedition of August, 2007, in which a navy bathyscaph planted a titanium Russian flag at a depth of over 4.000 km at the geographic point of the North Pole, was likewise carried out in context of open territorial claims although, in this case with a soft-diplomacy approach. The official goal of this expedition was to "scientifically" prove that the Lomonosov underwater mountain range is a direct connection of the Russian continental shelf and the arctic seabed, which is the basis for Arctic territorial claims under the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea.

29 Approximately 4.200 million Euros.

This explains the EU's interest and haste to promote Iceland's accession to the Union, in order to ensure that it has a stronger position in future negotiations and territorial claims of the area. This is particularly necessary in the light of the danger for the EU's access to the "arctic feast", posed by the Greenland's move for independence from Denmark.

5 Tentative Conclusions

Last year, the Global Humanitarian Forum chaired by Kofi Annan, released a report (Global Humanitarian Forum 2009) demonstrating that today's climate change causes 300,000 deaths and annually displaces 20 million people. The medium and long term prospects are much worse. Undoubtedly, this is the worst, although not the only consequence of climate change. As UN Secretary General Ban Ki-moon has indicated, "these are alarming, and not alarmist scenarios".

Given this evidence and these predictions, the fiasco at the Copenhagen Summit in December is particularly serious and distressing. In the words of the Special Envoy of the Secretary General for Climate Change, Srgjan Kerim:³⁰

"The threat of Climate Change is real, as is the possibility of reversing this trend. We have no excuse for not taking action. We know what we need to do, we know the causes of the crisis, and for that reason we must provide a solution. Therefore it is essential to reach a fair, effective and comprehensive agreement on Climate Change. It will help to stabilise our climate, protect the advances of development, assist the most vulnerable countries in adapting to Climate Change, and build a more equitable, sustainable and secure society."

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Irmgard Ehrenberger

The Implementation of the Decade for a Culture of Peace and Non-Violence in Austria

When the United Nations General Assembly proclaimed the first decade of the new millennium to be the "International Decade for a Culture of Peace and Non-Violence for the Children of the World", with its resolution A/RES/53/25, on November 19, 1998, it was both surprising and inspiring. It was the first time in history that the United Nations acknowledged the requirement to transform our culture of violence into a culture of peace,

"[consisting] of values, attitudes and behaviours that reflect and inspire social interaction and sharing, based on the principles of freedom, justice and democracy, all human rights, tolerance and solidarity, that reject violence and endeavour to prevent conflicts by tackling their root, causing to solve problems through dialogue and negotiation and that guarantee the full exercise of all rights and the means to participate fully in the development process of their society."

During the 20th century, humankind experienced two World Wars causing destruction on a scale never seen before. This era also saw the development of weapons of mass destruction, which, for the first time in history, were capable of eliminating the entire human race. Communist regimes of terror oppressed people in wide parts of Europe and Asia. The so called free world failed to bear the challenge of stopping inhuman suppression in the Soviet Union, instead its leaders were seeking to expand their influence with the help of brutal wars, mostly fought against freedom-seeking colonies. These abuses of power soon led to the establishment of military dictatorships, for example in South and Central America and the Middle East. Taking into account the distribution of resources and goods, we can point out the ongoing economic war between the rich and the poor, especially if it strains the relationship between industrialised countries and less developed countries. Also, within industrialised countries, the gap between the rich and the poor diverged to an alarming degree, since the dearly purchased victory of capitalism. Until now, "western countries" do not accept the fact, that they are discrediting their so called "western values" to the extent of hypoc-

ris. The fact that theoretically there are enough resources to feed the world's population and to provide drinking water for everyone, and yet 25.000 to 30.000 people have to die from malnutrition every day (17–21 people per minute), is outrageous.

Despite this culture of violence and war on all levels, enormous steps were taken during the 20th century towards the design of a framework that would allow peoples and individuals to live in peace and dignity. With the Charter of the United Nations, world leaders tried to set up a regime of peace, law and justice to overcome the powerful law of military violence, using the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and many follow up resolutions. Nevertheless, violence and military force were never delegitimised, but seen as the "last option" against a perpetrator of International Law. The right of a country to defend itself was misinterpreted, as a justification of an attack on a country and therefore led to strikes. The habit of twisting words changed facts and purposes of an assault by one country on another.

The use of violence and military force caused the waste of precious human and financial resources, which could have made a real difference, if used for humanitarian purposes and the establishment of all human rights.

The last century was also marked by the rediscovery of another, alternative way to deal with conflicts, injustice and oppression: nonviolence, a force that had been taught by all world religions and by outstanding humanists. Due to the efforts of Mahatma Gandhi, who combined faith, a nonviolent lifestyle and political action like no one else, people all over the world have systematic and well-tested methods of nonviolent action at their disposal.

Gandhi's methods of active nonviolence were enhanced by thousands of engaged activists all over the world, including Martin Luther King Jr. in the United States of America and Hildegard Goss-Mayr and Jean Goss in Austria. The overwhelming successes of nonviolent struggles, like the liberation of India from colonialism, the overcoming of dictatorships in the Philippines or in Madagascar and finally the overcoming of the Communist regimes in Eastern Europe, however, did neither raise public awareness and appreciation, nor amongst politicians. It must be understood that nonviolent change is not instantaneous; instead it is a result of constant and patient work on a grass-root and political level.

1 The Essence of Non-Violence

Nonviolence as we – the International Fellowship of Reconciliation and the Austrian Network for Peace and Nonviolence and countless other people and organisations – understand it, is not only a method that renounces physical violence, but also refers to all kinds of violence (personal, structural and cultural) and embraces a whole attitude towards fellow human beings and life itself. Methods of nonviolence, like communication skills, mediation, and nonviolent action (to mention a few) have to be learned and trained. Without a spiritual or humanistic base thought, nonviolence remains just a strategy that can easily be transformed into compulsion. Nonviolent struggle is carried out on the level of consciousness, on the conviction that every human being bears the possibility of change in himself/herself. Nonviolence is also defined as the force of truth, the force of the soul or of love, not trying to gain victory and imposing one's will on the opponents, but seeking for appropriate and sustainable solutions, because human life is sacred and must not be harmed or destroyed.

The United Nations General Assembly adopted the Declaration for the Decade on Peace and Non-Violence unanimously, but after the first decade of this new millennium, one can hardly believe that the heads of states have understood the meaning of it or even read it. Surely no one expected that a culture of violence could be transformed within a few years, but why cannot we even expect that developed states, which officially value democracy and human rights, alter their destructive behaviour towards other nations like Iraq, Afghanistan and Iran?

Nevertheless, this resolution is an enormous improvement of the concept of human relations within and between nations and cultures and concerning international law. By acknowledging the existing violence that destroys so many lives every day and by highlighting that evil can only be overcome with good and therefore by appropriate, nonviolent means, the international community begins to deal with the problem of violence in a new way, starting to work on its roots instead of just trying to handle the symptoms. The Declaration points out that the transformation of a culture of violence into a culture of nonviolence must be a project embraced by all levels of society. Therefore, it pays special attention to the role of the civil so-

ciety, in particular to nongovernmental organisations, religious bodies and groups, educational institutions, artists and the media.

2 How to Implement the Aims of this Decade in Austria?

Even in a small country like Austria, hundreds of private initiatives, nongovernmental organisations and state institutions have worked, in one way or another, towards the establishment of a culture of peace. So what was new? There was hope that many people on different levels would pull up their sleeves and work together in a more strategic and goal-oriented way, with the aim to usher the change of paradigms of violence, into a culture of respect for life and dignity for every human being, without exception, based on the values of truth, empathy and love.

A good opportunity for a start was offered by the UNESCO with the Manifesto 2000, which was developed on the occasion of the year 2000, which had been proclaimed as the "Year for a Culture of Peace" by the United Nation General Assembly. By signing the Manifesto, individuals pledged to participate in the transformation of the culture of violence into a culture of nonviolence. This Manifesto, pointing out the responsibility of every single human being and emphasising that no personal effort is in vain, was a sensational action. 73 million individuals from all over the world, among them the Peace Prize Laureates, a number of Heads of State and other politicians, signed the Manifesto. Also in Austria, the Manifesto was widely distributed and signed.

2.1 A Failed Attempt

A lot of preparatory documents like the Appeal "For the Children of the World", signed by all Peace Prize Laureates, who were alive at that time (1997) and sent to the Heads of State of the Member States of the United Nations, were drafted by members of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation, including the Peace Prize Laureates Mairead Corrigan Maguire and Adolfo Pérez Esquivel. Therefore, members of the Austrian branch of the fellowship felt a special responsibility to take the initiative to launch a broader movement to vitalise the spirit of the declaration. Together with some other organisations, namely the Social Catholic Academy of Austria (Katholische Sozialakademie Österreichs), the Viennese

Movement for Peace (Wiener Friedensbewegung), the Viennese office of the Austrian Study Centre for Peace and Conflict Resolution (Österreichisches Studienzentrum für Frieden und Konfliktlösung), the Forum for the Protection of Children (k.i.d.s. – Forum für Kinderschutz) and the Working Group for Parents (Elternwerkstatt), an initial meeting in Salzburg, designed to address representatives of Austrian NGOs, was organised. Due to a lack of interest of civil society organisations, the meeting had to be cancelled. The intention of the organisers to inform the public of the challenges and chances of the decade, as well as to arouse motivation for a common engagement, clearly failed. The aims of the decade seemed to be too nebulous and vague to be integrated into the daily work of the various organisations.

2.2 A Network for Peace and Nonviolence

The core group of NGOs, convinced that the decade deserved broad attention, decided to give this loose network a more structured framework and formally launched the "Austrian Network for Peace and Nonviolence" on January 18, 2000. It was decided that the Charter of the Peace Prize Laureates, elaborated in 1999 by the foundation "Appeal of the Peace Prize Laureates", with the aim to provide guidelines for all activities undertaken to promote the Decade, should serve as the basis of our common work. The Charter reflects the spirit of the "Appeal for the Children of the World", with the intention to attach all activities to the principles of non-violence and the ambition to transfer the culture of violence into a culture of nonviolence, by common efforts of adults working together with children and adolescents. More than 30 Austrian non-governmental organisations and initiatives signed the Charter and therefore became members of the Network.

In order to push the spirit of the decade into the right direction, a commemorative event was organised on November 13, 2000, at the Diplomatic Academy of Vienna. Mairead Corrigan Maguire, who was a Nobel Peace Prize Laureate in 1976 and founded the "Peace People" in Northern Ireland, addressed about 200 people, encouraging them in a very special way. Despite having suffered personal tragedies caused by violence, her positive attitude towards life, the dedication to peace and freedom and the ability to forgive, touched the audience much deeper than any well prepared scien-

tific analysis of nonviolence. An encounter with around 130 students in the University Campus in Vienna concluded this inspiring and encouraging prelude to the decade.

One of the main concerns of the Network members was how to gain public awareness for the decade as well as to provide opportunities for youths and adults to help them develop a profound knowledge of nonviolence. The Austrian Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR) produced the 16-page booklet "Acting non-violently" (Gewaltfrei Handeln) with the support of the Ministry for Education, Arts and Culture. About 12.000 copies were distributed among pupils, students, teachers and people involved in youth work. Thomas Roithner, from the Austrian Study Center for Peace and Conflict Resolution and Pete Hämmerle, from the Austrian FOR, released a book compiling articles by Nobel Peace Prize Laureates and Austrian organisations, working for peace and nonviolence (*Dem Rad in die Speichen fallen. Stimmen von FriedensnobelpreisträgerInnen und das Österreichische Netzwerk für eine Kultur des Friedens und der Gewaltfreiheit*, Vienna 2003). These publications provide a great theoretical input and help to devise ideas for projects and engagement.

As mentioned before, nonviolence is an attitude, a special approach to life, based on spirituality and a humanistic attitude. Can this attitude be "taught"? – I would say "No". In the same way as religion can be taught, but faith cannot, a basic attitude can only be passed on by setting a good example (patterns), patience and empathy. By sharing experiences, thoughts and different spiritual backgrounds, it becomes possible to strengthen each other in our beliefs and in the struggle to overcome violence within ourselves.

Many projects have been initiated by the Austrian Network or by member organisations, to help making the concept of peace and nonviolence tangible and to encourage young people and adults to rethink their behaviour and express their ideas of what peace means to them. A few are listed below:

2.3 Peace Weeks and Study Days

A few weeks in autumn were proclaimed by the Network as "Weeks for Peace". Network members, as well as other organisations, institutions and initiatives, were invited to create seminars, workshops, events, lectures, etc. throughout Austria.

Prior to 2005, 30 to 40 events took place every year. I would like to mention one outstanding project, called "Who is different?", which offered an opportunity for students to meet and interact with so called "outsiders", such as handicapped people, refugees, homeless and people from minority cultures or religions. This helped to generate an understanding and awareness and provided opportunities to overcome prejudices.

The yearly "study day", discussing different aspects of a Culture of Peace and nonviolence, was a highlight of the Peace Weeks throughout the years. The proclamation of the years 2001 – 2010 as the "Decade to Overcome Violence" by the Ecumenical Council of Churches, led to a unique and very positive cooperation of the Network and the Austrian Ecumenical Council of Churches, along with other religious institutions, like the Protestant Academy (Evangelische Akademie). The topics of the Study Days included "Overcoming violence" (2001) "Peace Education" (2002), "Using language in a responsible way" (2003), "Learning from each other as neighbours" (2004), "Lay down your arms, 100 years of Nobel Peace Prize for Bertha von Suttner" (2005), "Teachers educate for Peace" (2006), "On the way towards a gender sensitive society" (2007), "What can I do for Peace" (2008) and "Children have got rights" (2009).

During some of the study days, a main speaker addressed the audience. In 2001 for example, Fernando Enns, a Mennonite theologian, introduced the project "Peace in the City," pointing out basic necessities, like community building, opening spaces, justice, etc., to overcome violence. At the second study day, Uli Jäger, from the Institute for Peace Pedagogy in Tübingen/Germany, discussed peace education. Other study days offered an open space to organisations and initiatives to introduce their work and invited visitors to engage themselves: in 2004, peace activists from neighbouring countries, who had just become members of the European Union (Slovenia, Hungary, Slovakia and the Czech Republic) and peace activists from Austria exchanged experiences, explored commonalities and differences and discussed how to deal with obstacles in overcoming violence. In 2008, initiatives like the Austrian Peace Services or school projects like "whywar.at" (Peace Office of Salzburg/Friedensbüro Salzburg) and an interreligious project including Islam, Protestantism and Judaism, were introduced.

An outstanding study day was held in 2005, when Bertha von Suttner's work was centred. Schools had been invited to create ideas and projects on the topic "Lay down your arms" and some projects were presented with different performances at this study day. Some of the pupils wrote poems, like this one:

War and peace,
Love and hatred.
We all have it within us.
 Can therefore be real peace
 As long as we carry the feeling
 Of hatred in us?

Day and Night,
Black and White,
Water and Fire,
War and Peace,
 War and Peace is possibly
 the most daunting antagonism on Earth.
 Peace is a condition of happiness
 although it should be a matter of course.

On the occasion of the 100th anniversary of the Nobel Peace Prize awarded to Bertha von Suttner, in 2005, different projects for children and adolescents were offered:

- "Without violence, but not without power" (International Fellowship of Reconciliation Austria), highlighted women's peace work. A Power Point presentation with 22 portraits of female peacemakers in Austria and around the world was compiled and supplemented with information on Peace Building, reconciliation work in conflict areas and the roles of women and men in war and peace. 15 schools took part in this project.
- Imagine Peace, was an international network-project from 2003 to 2006, in remembrance of Bertha von Suttner. The objective of the project was to bring about new images of peace in distinction to the general negative-definition of peace as the absence of war. The results of this project and a discussion on the idea of conflicts as the potentialities for personal growth were presented in the festive hall of the Vienna Town Hall. Children and young

people from 11 European countries participated, producing creative work, like paintings, music, dances and poetry, demonstrating peace as a way of dealing with tensions and conflict experiences of all kind in an active and constructive way.

A highlight of this year was a ceremonial act, initiated by the Austrian Peace Society Bertha von Suttner, in the Austrian parliament with a speech of Hildegard Goss-Mayr, honorary president of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation.

2.4 The International Peace Day

The Austrian Network put a special focus on September 21, the International Day of Peace, officially declared by the United Nations General Assembly in 2002. This day intends to unite millions of people all over the world, and each year private and public events are organised to commemorate and celebrate this day.

In Salzburg, this day is celebrated with ceremonial acts and artistic performances in public places or schools. During the last two years, the Rudolf-Steiner-School also became member of the network. In Vienna, the Peace Day is celebrated with different creative events, for example a "Peace Mile" with information booths (2006) or a workshop held in cooperation with "The Art Miles Mural Project", where Austrian children and children with a migrant background, painted canvases with their very own ideas about peace.

The Network also supported the Peace Festival at the Attersee (a lake in the province of Upper Austria), on September 20, 2009, arranged by the organisation "New Peace". The festival's programme included workshops, readings, artistic performances, exhibitions and chains of lights.

2.5 International Cooperation

Learning from each other and exchanging ideas and experiences, is an essential part of peace work. The Austrian Network was especially interested to learn about different approaches on the field of peace education, from other European organisations. Because the European Union is offering a lifelong learning programme for European citizens, we invited European organisations, involved in peace education, to apply together for a Grundtvig Learning Part-

nership. As a result of this partnership (2007–2009), a training manual on peace education for adults, consisting of five modules on dealing with personal, structural and cultural violence, was developed. In a follow up Learning Partnership (2009–2011), these modules are implemented and tested in five meetings in different European countries with 30 to 40 participants, sent by the organisations taking part in the project (partners of the project are the Austrian Network, Sortir de la Violence/Belgium, the Bocs Foundation/Hungary, Mindfulness and Awareness/Germany, Fellowship of Reconciliation Germany, the French Coalition for the Decade, the International Coalition for the Decade, Kerk en Vrede/Netherlands). The participants learn different approaches on conflicts in diverse societies, the necessity for being patient, mindful and empathic when dealing with different cultures. Especially if the communication language (in this case English) is not one's mother tongue, this interaction can turn out to be quite challenging.

In order to contribute to the promotion of the decade worldwide and to gain some insights into the work done in other countries, the Austrian Network decided to take part in the International Coalition for the Decade, founded in 2003 and seated in Paris. A representative of the Austrian Network regularly participates in the administrative board meetings, as well as in the general assemblies.

2.6 Examples of Some Projects on Peace Education of Members of the Austrian Network

Peace Matters

This inspiring project of the organisation "Konfliktkultur", which was one of the first Network members, aims to combine different fields of peace activities on the basic consideration, that peace is not a condition of life which develops or disappears by itself, but rather the result of how we deal with each other, with ourselves, and how we realise our needs and ideas. Peace Matters aims to contrast the expected media hype in 2014, on the occasion of the commemoration of the First World War with a European Network of actions for Peace Commemorations. Peace matters includes projects like a "Viennese Peace Path", an alternative guide through the city of Vienna, from the perspective of peace, "Peace acts", aiming to establish a network promoting different theatre techniques and the development of plays about outstanding personalities engaged

in peace work, as well as a virtual peace forum and a Bertha von Suttner peace museum.

Why War

On the basis of the motto "Who wants peace should speak of war", the homepage WhyWar.at provides broad information, methods and links on the issue of war and peace and addresses pupils and teachers. The homepage also serves as a base for yearly school projects concerning war and the exchange of information.

Training Course on Nonviolence

Since the year 2000, the Austrian Fellowship of Reconciliation has conducted an annual training course on nonviolence for adults in the framework of the decade, with 10 to 20 participants every year. The course consists of five weekend-modules and one whole week in summer. It provides practical training in dealing with conflicts and violent situations and enables the participants to pass on this knowledge to others. Based on the experiences of the participants in their daily life and their social and political environment, the scope of topics includes the theoretical base of nonviolence, dealing with personal conflicts, nonviolence in social and political areas, supporting peace processes in a sustainable way, and nonviolence in economy and the working world.

Run for Peace

Another platform for the decade was initiated by a member of "Entwicklungshilfeclub", an organisation for development aid: "I run ... you donate ... we help" is the motto of an annual project, accomplished in cooperation with the Red Cross Youth Austria, "Sportunion Wien", the Catholic Youth Vienna, "Kinderfreunde" and the Scout Association Austria. The Peace Run takes place every year in spring around the City Hall of Vienna. The money donated, is dedicated to projects for children and adolescents in need.

2.7 Peace in Our Hands?

All these projects and the projects of so many other organisations, are very important pieces of a puzzle. With the support of the government and state institutions, it should be possible to assemble this puzzle into a Culture of Peace and Nonviolence. In Austria

(like in all other countries), we were and still are leagues away from this aim in many aspects of life. In 2002, the Austrian Network for Peace and Non-Violence, based on the UN-resolution and the Charter of the Peace Prize Laureates, arrived at a common agreement on several issues and demands, that we wanted to see occur during the decade:

Catalogue of CONCERNS, DEMANDS AND MEASURES

1. Peace-building and Education in Nonviolence

- Incorporating and anchoring nonviolence and conflict resolution education, in the upbringing of children through the school system by:
 - the introduction of "civic education" during all mandatory school years (secondary level until 5th year/junior high and high school to the age of 15), as an underlying principle of teaching and education and/or as a separately taught subject. "Peace upbringing", from age 6 to 11;
 - peace-building as an integral part of teacher and "multiplier" training;
 - the promotion of school projects, partnerships and activities that engender peace, respect for human rights, awareness of gender issues and racism, multi-cultural and inter-religious tolerance and understanding, global learning, etc.
- Adoption and promotion of peace-building and the upbringing of children in a culture of non-violence in the realm of broader education, such as children and youth work, adult education, universities (e. g. via the establishment of "peace studies" either as it stands or as a new discipline) etc.

2. Democracy and Human Rights

- The integration of the UN Charter for the Rights of Children in the Austrian constitution and its implementation through:
 - the establishment of at least one centre for the protection of children in every political district in Austria;
 - appropriate procedures and protection, especially for unaccompanied refugees, who are minors.
- Fair procedures and a guarantee for basic needs for those seeking asylum, reduction of deportations to a minimum;

- Implementation of the demands of the referendum for the cause of women through concrete measures;
 - No infringements of citizens' rights through controls and security measures.
3. Active Peace Politics
- The retention, i.e. reactivation of Austria's neutrality – no participation in military unions and military interventions by the European Army;
 - Gradual dismantling of the military, with the utilisation of freed resources for peace-building and the implementation of active, nonviolent, peaceful political policies, e. g., the creation of a peace foundation with a starting capital of 75 million Euros;
 - An active commitment of Austria to disarmament in general and in particular for
 - global nuclear disarmament and the elimination of all chemical and biological weapons,
 - the reduction and control of the ownership, use and trade of small arms.
 - The establishment and guaranteed financial support for peace services and peace activities as an instrument for civil conflict resolution.
 - Development and implementation of a concept for "peace zones" (local communities, institutions, etc.) in Austria.
4. Peace Economics
- A written commitment for the reduction of poverty as a basic goal of development aid and the corresponding concrete activities:
 - increasing development aid to 0.7 % of GDP as a first step.
 - The introduction of guaranteed basic subsistence for all people, living in Austria, as a further development of the social welfare state principle.
 - Measures on an international level to create a just economic world order:
 - advocacy for the introduction of the Tobin-tax on the EU level;
 - commitment for the introduction of minimum social standards in the WTO.

Following the news, everybody will realise that hardly any of these humble demands were implemented. Only recently, the integration of several rights of children in the Austrian constitution failed. The plans for a militarisation of the European Union, including Austria, are on the way, backed up by the Treaty of Lisbon and after years of lobby work, Civil Peace Services are still not part of the Austrian peace policy. Furthermore, Austria is far away from the aim of 0,7 % of GDP for development aid – in 2009, Austria reduced donations for poverty reduction by 30,2 %, spending only 0,3 % of GDP on development aid.

On the other hand, there is no doubt that Austria is committed to worldwide disarmament, especially concerning weapons of mass destruction. Austria does not pursue aggressive armament; military expenditure is kept quite low. These facts indicate that Austria is in a strong position to take a leading role in developing an active peace policy and taking coordinated strategic steps to achieve it. During the last few years, the government and military learned from experiences in conflicts in different countries, that human security, Human Rights and democracy, cannot be achieved by only using diplomatic and military measures. "Whole-of-Nation" approaches for peace building in conflict areas, or areas of war, are under way to promote active cooperation between the civil society and governmental institutions. In Austria, important steps have been taken to develop a comprehensive approach for peace building and hopefully Civil Peace Services will be established sooner than later in this process.

Acknowledging this advancement, we also have to remember that any military measure taken, will contradict the Culture of Nonviolence. When violence, civil war, massacres or even genocide happen, our first impulse might be to intervene with a strong and powerful "hand". However, these interventions always cost more lives and it is doubtful that we will ever get out of this spiral of violence. As long as we continue to use violence as our "last resort," justified with arguments, like the responsibility to protect lives or the need to protect our own security, the cycle of violence will continue and resources, which should be dedicated to civil measures, will be wasted. As long as we think we have to protect peace by preparing war, we will never live in peace – just in the times between wars. If a country like Austria, with its tradition of neutral-

ity and the heritage of outstanding people, like Bertha von Suttner or Alfred Hermann Fried, would start to think of peace with strictly peaceful means without exemption, this step would go down in history as a most courageous one.

3 Obstacles to a Culture of Peace

In the Charter of the Peace Prize Laureates for the Decade, a culture of violence is characterised by the following aspects:

- Favouritism and justification for the use of violence,
- fulfilment of the needs of a few individuals, domination and exploitation, as well as the destruction of life
- neglect of Human Rights and democracy, disproportionate distribution of goods, manipulated information and destruction of the environment
- manifold experiences of suffering by children and adolescents in family and school, by physical or psychological violence, abuse, discrimination of girls, hunger, sickness, child labour, child recruitment, illiteracy, poverty and unemployment.

The Peace Prize Laureates point out, that every child can learn that violence is not an inevitable doom and that there are chances for a Culture of Peace to emerge, by educating in the spirit and methods of nonviolence with its values of truth, justice, compassion, forgiveness and reconciliation. They point out, that children and adolescents are key actors in the creation of a Culture of Peace.

Without any doubt, there have been reams of peace projects in schools and other organisations for children, many supported by the Ministry for Education, Arts and Culture. Advanced training opportunities for teachers have also increased. Unfortunately, a comprehensive approach is still missing. Projects are mostly conducted by committed teachers, individuals or organisations. The International Coalition for the Decade, of which the Austrian Network is a member, met this concern by sending a proposal for an International Declaration on Children's Right to Violence-free Education and to Peace and Non-violence Education to the 192 permanent delegations of the member countries represented at the UNESCO.

The aim is that this text will be adopted by the next UNESCO General Conference, held in Paris in 2011.

The way in which we educate our children, reflects the state of society: will time and resources be dedicated to a process of transformation of values, attitudes and behaviours or will we continue to focus mainly on being well prepared for a life full of competition and the "survival of the fittest"? In a figurative sense, Mahatma Gandhi's statement "Education should be so revolutionised as to answer the wants of the poorest villager, instead of answering those of an imperial exploiter" is not yet outdated.

3.1 Obstacles for the Austrian Network

The Austria Network for Peace and Nonviolence hosted two study days concerning peace education, focusing on children's and youth education. There was general agreement on the fact, that nonviolence education and the peaceful settling of conflicts must play an important role in everyday school life. This pedagogical mission should be part of the study plan and teachers should be given time to do this. There have been several attempts to build a working group to promote and lobby the inclusion of peace building as a mandatory part of teacher training. A study summarising the existing offers of Austrian academies for prospective teachers was assembled in 2007 and several workshops, meetings and conferences were held on this issue. Unfortunately, all these attempts for a common approach ended in part, due to the lack of free capacities of Network members and of other interested organisations.

The lack of resources – financial and human – has been the biggest obstacle to the work of the Austrian Network. Most of the active members of the individual organisations are volunteers and their time and energy is very limited. It has not been possible to achieve a commitment to work for a certain amount of time in the Network as a whole, or a supportive atmosphere to help us all work together. Without any support from public institutions, politicians, or the media, it was hardly possible to pass on the contents of the UN resolution. It was not a surprise that the member organisations of the Network stated in the 2005 survey that the International Decade for a Culture of Peace and Nonviolence did not gain any public awareness.

4 Celebrating the End of the Decade

Nevertheless, some committed members continued to highlight the decade and the responsibilities of the civil society and the government, resulting from the UN resolution. The oncoming end of the decade is seen as a chance to build up new networks beyond the borders of Austria. For example, in November 2009, "Konfliktkultur" offered an international "Competence Network" workshop on an active citizenship for Human Rights, democracy and peace. Associates of non-governmental education organisations, mainly from eastern European countries, were invited to elaborate steps for networking and self organised learning processes. One of the results of this workshop was the establishment of a network with the intention to organise a Peace Salon, to strengthen the cooperation of peace initiatives from Eastern and Western European countries and celebrate the end of the decade. Members of the Network are part of this process. The idea of a Peace Salon was adopted from the French Coalition for the Decade, that has organised three excellent International Salons for Peace Initiatives in Paris (2004, 2006 and 2008).

Due to the long lasting cooperation of actors of the Decade to Overcome Violence and actors of the International Decade for a Culture of Peace and Nonviolence, there will be a common event in February 2011 in Vienna, called the "Danube Peace Wave", organised by the Protestant Churches in Württemberg, Bavaria, Austria, Slovakia, Hungary and Romania. The event, based on the quotation of the bible "Let justice roll on like a river" (Amos 5:24), will "flow" like a wave from Württemberg to Romania.

5 Beyond the Decade

Sceptics may ask "What did you really achieve?" A lot of projects and initiatives have been accomplished during the last ten years, but the decade was not a topic of public discussion and we were unsuccessful in shifting this culture of greed, selfishness, exploitation and destruction – summarised as a culture of violence – towards a culture of nonviolence. In Austria, and in the whole of Europe, polarisation and segregation of society, due to social inequality and the inability of people with different cultural backgrounds

to live together in mutual understanding, is continuing to become a serious problem.

A culture of Peace and Nonviolence does not mean to live in paradise, but invites the whole society to deal with problems and conflicts in a constructive way, trusting in the good that is present in every human being.

In Austria, organisations involved in the work for the decade, tried to make it clear that in our world, a Culture of Peace is not a matter of course, but rather a goal that we have to fight for. The decade offered the opportunity to promote the term "Culture of Peace and Nonviolence" and to initiate trendsetting projects to highlight what this culture could look like. This work will continue because, as M. L. King pointed out, "The choice is no longer between violence and nonviolence. It is between nonviolence and nonexistence".

FIELDS AND APPROACHES: GENDER, HISTORY, MEDIA AND EDUCATION

Ingeborg Breines

Women's Contribution to a Culture of Peace

*"I did not raise my son to be a soldier
I brought him up to be my pride and joy.
Who dares place a weapon on his shoulder,
to kill another mother's darling boy?"*

Adela Pankhurst: UNESCO publication "Women say no to War"

The International Decade for a Culture of Peace and Non-Violence for the Children of the World (2001 – 2010), "established" by the UN to inspire people and governments to build a culture of peace in the new Millennium, is coming to an end. The decade did not keep its promise, as the September 11, 2001 events and the aftermath became a serious set back to the agreed plan of action for a culture of peace. Since then, fear and the fight against terror have dominated both the international discourse and the use of resources.

A seemingly growing use and acceptance of violence worldwide, coupled with the impotence of "the international community", both to meet the needs and interest of the majority of the world's population and to tackle problems and conflicts in a non-violent manner, is alarming. The old Roman devise, "if you want peace, prepare for war", seems to continue to be (often unconsciously) echoed in international relations. The gap between the global military and social expenditure continues to widen with military budgets well beyond 1.5 trillion dollars (SIPRI year-book 2009), thereby largely exceeding even the peak Cold-War military budgets. According to UN estimates, only 10 % of this sum is needed in order to meet the eight Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), agreed upon by all the world's leaders (UN 2000) and to be achieved within 2015. Despite the internationally agreed MDGs, injustices and the gap between the rich and the poor continue to grow, both between and within countries. "The world" seems to be more willing to pay the costs of war than the costs of peace.

1 The Culture of Peace Vision

The culture of peace concept, initiative, program and movement, developed by UNESCO in the 1980s and 1990s, opened up a broad-based reflection on a possible new vision or scenario for the future, involving researchers, teachers, artists, politicians, activists, organisations and governments, who found a platform within a culture of peace allowing fruitful exchange and mutual inspiration. Highly diverse groups and initiatives dealing with issues such as environment, human rights, development, disarmament, human security, gender equality and youth are all constructively related to the culture of peace concept, which encompasses not only peace as the absence of war, but focuses on the content and the conditions of peace.

UNESCO spearheaded the culture of peace initiative in the United Nations system and was designated by the UN General Assembly, as the focal point, both for the International Year for a Culture of Peace (2000) and the following International Decade for a Culture of Peace and Non-violence for the Children of the World. In September 2009, the UN General Assembly adopted the Declaration and Program of Action on a Culture of Peace that serves as a background document for the decade. This document provides us with an agreed definition of the concept of a culture of peace. In this context, it is important to note that the document also includes "Actions to ensure equality between women and men".

The programme analysed and confronted commonly held beliefs or myths, such as

- if you want peace, prepare for war,
- nothing can change, because violence is inevitable and intrinsic to human nature, and
- violence is an efficient method for solving problems and disputes.

The scientists who developed the UNESCO Seville Statement on Violence (1989) refuted such hypothesis and advanced that: "It is scientifically incorrect to say that war or any other violent behaviour is genetically programmed into our human nature."

It was also stated loud and clear that if we want peace, we must prepare for peace. We should not only have ministries of defence or security, but ministries of peace or a culture of peace; not only prestigious military academies, but obligatory peace education at all levels of the school system; not only peace research which is preoccupied by following the developments of new weapons and armed conflicts, but peace research that truly helps us to understand and to solve conflicts creatively and in non-violent ways.

The goals, ideals, and strategies that aim to transfer the initiative and movement from a culture of war and violence into a culture of peace and non-violence are drawn from, and seek to revitalise major international normative instruments, which are basic to the United Nations' mission "saving future generations from the scourge of war".

In the vision of a culture of peace, dialogue and respect for human rights would replace violence, intercultural understanding and solidarity would aim to redeem enemy images, sharing and free flow of knowledge and information would supersede secrecy and egalitarian partnership and full empowerment of women would replace male domination. Such a vision is necessarily seen as utopist by those who align themselves with a more predictable, status-quo, "tooth-for-tooth" real-politics, in accordance with the negative connotation, that utopist or visionary thinking presently has in mainstream politics.

Individual women, women's networks and women's organisations have taken a special interest in the culture of peace from the very beginning on. The relationship with UNESCO was felt as very rewarding for both sides, especially because the very charismatic Director General of UNESCO at the time, Federico Mayor, strongly encouraged and highly valued women's contributions.

2 The Women and A Culture of Peace Programme

The UNESCO statement on Women's contribution to a Culture of Peace was developed in connection with the Beijing Conference and signed by almost all the women heads of state and government at the time, and underlined the intimate link between gender equality, development and peace: "There can be no lasting

peace without development, and no sustainable peace without full equality between women and men." This was in line with all the four world conferences on women (as of 1975), which were titled: Equality, Development and Peace, thereby insisting on a comprehensive approach. The statement, which has been translated into many languages, continues to be broadly used by NGOs and peace groups.

The UNESCO Women and a Culture of Peace Programme, which I was fortunate to head, was established after the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing 1995, with the primary objective of mainstreaming a gender perspective on the major UNESCO transdisciplinary project: Towards a Culture of Peace. But serious work had already started prior to the Beijing Conference, which *inter alia* resulted in the concept of a culture of peace being used in the Beijing Platform for Action as the first official use of the term in the UN system outside UNESCO.

The priorities of the Women and a Culture of Peace Program were:

- to support women's initiatives for peace,
- to empower women for democratic participation in political processes and to increase women's capacity and impact on economic and security issues and
- to contribute to gender sensitive socialisation and training for non-violence and egalitarian partnerships with a special focus on young men and boys.

The programme attracted a lot of attention worldwide. Due to the great number of conflicts in Africa at the time it had a special focus on that continent. It was most rewarding to be in a position to assist those strong and courageous women to meet, to network, to strategise, to learn from each other, to develop policies and didactic material that at least sometimes would help them in acute difficult situations or to tackle or transform deeply rooted conflicts.

Most studies on women and war/peace focus on women in conflict or post-conflict situations. A gender perspective on the culture of peace would seek to inspire the strengthening of policies of prevention, of non-violent conflict resolution, peacemaking and peace-building.

3 Unfinished Democracies

It is still a political fact that the great majority of the poor, the illiterate and those who suffer discrimination are women and that the great majority of the world's economic and political leaders are men.

Women make up more than half of the world's population, yet, on a global level, women's intellectual and creative potentials largely remain under-utilised, not least in relation to decision-making in foreign affairs, security and defence issues. This situation is often obscured, even down to frequently used terminology, such as "the international community", "the people," "the nation", "we", which might not be covering the situation of both women and men, but mostly only relate to "the powerful", whereas female concerns and viewpoints are not necessarily taken into consideration – nor are those of many men.

The world is actually full of alarmingly "unfinished democracies", with only 1 % of women in political and economic top positions, with some 13 % of women in governments and about 17 % female parliament members, as the global average shows (IPU 2007). Consequently, we do not have irrefutable evidence that women make/can make a difference in positions of political power. However, research from a few countries shows important gender differences when it comes to issues of foreign policy and defence, thereby questioning the legitimacy of decisions related to foreign policy, security and defence, as these tend to be almost exclusively made by men, even within quite democratic societies.

Feminist research indicates that a minimum of one-third of any minority is needed for a group to be able to influence the majority. A few separate examples of "hard-power" female leaders just remain separate examples. Sometimes, women in position of power might have "inherited" their position (mostly from a father or a husband), or they might have been (s)elected, because they were neither seen as a threat to patriarchal structures, nor were they expected to keep particular contact with women constituencies.

A study of Norwegian women parliamentarians in 1989 (H. Skeie) indicated that women have/can have both different working methods and different political agendas from those of men. According to the study, women work more easily than men across party boundaries, while values and issues traditionally linked to

women, such as social welfare, health care, education, environment and international co-operation and solidarity are higher on their political agendas.

A study on differences of Swedish women and men concerning attitudes towards foreign policy and defence issues showed considerable gender differences (SOM study, referred in "Kon och politisk vald", Bjereld 1998). Women had a more positive stance than men regarding to continuing foreign aid/development cooperation, to receiving refugees in Sweden, and to decreasing defence costs. Women felt more negatively than men about the Swedish participation in European defence co-operation and about peacekeeping operations, if they meant a risk of involvement in acts of warfare. The largest difference was found on the issue of the export of war-material, where much more women than men wanted a total ban on Swedish arms export. This result corresponds to a wider, popular perception of many women's anti-military stand.

Women have a long experience in being marginalised. They neither have a lot of stake in existing power structures or in the war economy, nor do they have major income from peace-keeping and emergency-relief operations. Nevertheless, women also have developed useful survival strategies and have learned to be solution-oriented. In general, women count less than men on their physical strength to solve conflicts.

It is absolutely necessary to gender and democratise the security discourse, which is, up to this date, the most opaque and patriarchal part of the political system. Furthermore, it is probable that overcoming the existing democratic deficit, notably in areas of foreign policy and defence issues, would have positive implications for world peace. Some international studies show, that societies with a high level of gender equality have a low level of violence (e. g. UNV-Wider report, June 2006). A few other studies confirm the general popular opinion that women have more of a "dovish" or "soft-power" approach to issues related to war and peace than the generally more "hawkish" and "hard-power" attitudes of men, notably men in decision-making positions. A key question therefore is, whether or not the world would be different – more just and peaceful – with better gender balance in governance at different levels. Would overcoming the existing democratic deficit have positive implications for world peace?

Much more research is needed within and across different disciplines, in order to try to answer such questions and to deepen our understanding of a field that traditionally has been narrowly reserved for some inner, "expert", political and patriarchal circles. These typically under-researched issues are complicated, complex and intertwined, and perhaps even afflicted with some taboos.

4 The Fourth World Conference on Women, Beijing 1995, and the Beijing +5

The Beijing Platform for Action (1995) underlines how important it is to consider women as important agents of change, not only as victims. This is particularly important as we want to know how the human potential for building a culture of peace can best be stimulated and put to use.

Following the 4th World Conference on Women in Beijing (1995), the United Nations system and its member states committed themselves to gender equality and the empowerment of women, including the mainstreaming of a gender perspective in policies and activities. Mainstreaming a gender perspective requires the compilation and analysis of statistical data, showing the life conditions of women and men, how women and men are involved in society at different levels, what they each contribute, their common and particular needs and interests, and how women and men benefit or suffer from policies and projects, including how resources and power are distributed and used. A true gender perspective would ensure that the needs and interests of girls and boys, women and men would be catered to in the same manner.

Some countries have yet to comply with the decision to provide reliable gender-disaggregated data. Data related to foreign affairs, security and defence issues are less accessible and available than other data, and less gender-disaggregated. Foreign affairs and defence issues are usually remote from democratic decision-making and popular involvement; an issue that is frequently raised by feminist peace researchers.

Equal rights and opportunities for women and men, girls and boys, are essential, and a precondition for the full realisation of the vision of a culture of peace (as defined in UNESCO and UN recommendations, strategies, plans of action and reports).

5 Alternative Approaches

Women might have different perspectives, alternative visions and methodological approaches, as well as distinct contributions to make to the traditionally male-dominated and male-defined political scene, due to factors such as: their experience gained from gender-specific roles assigned throughout different life stages; demands related to their "mothering and caring functions" (providing valuable training in empathy, patience, dialogue and cooperation); often practically oriented collective experiences from family and community work; the fact that women in general can count less on their physical strength to help them solve conflicts than men, and that women have less of a stake in existing power-structures or in the war economy and do not gain major incomes from peace-keeping or emergency-relief operations.

It might be seen as old-fashioned and even essentialist, but I would still like to make the postulation that women may have a special approach to conflict resolution and peace-building, without wanting to enter any on-going debate on "nature versus culture" or relating to new biological and socio-biological research on genes, chromosomes or hormones. Biological research has sometimes been misused to reinforce stereotyped expectations of women and men respectively, undermining the potential for each person to develop his or her personal potentials properly.

There is, however, one clear biologically given fact of interest in this context: 100 % of the world's mothers are women, as are all those who are pregnant, give birth and breastfeed. In addition, most women are menstruating some 35–40 years and are in general being mentally prepared for motherhood from early age on, whether that is to materialise or not. We do not know enough about how strongly this preparation to give birth influences women's minds, but there are many indications of its importance, also in the way modern women prepare their careers, while trying to combine it with family care and obligations.

This attentiveness to life may as well give women an asset in regard to the "supreme human right", the right to life, and it may be at the core of a humanistic approach to conflict resolution, peace-building and development. The demands traditionally related to

women's "mothering and caring functions" provide valuable training in empathy, patience, dialogue and cooperation – important factors for conflict resolution.

The impressive action of some Rwandese women trying to build a future for Rwandese children after the genocide in the early 1990s, regardless whether they were Hutu or Tutsi, can be seen as a societal broadening of their mother roles. The Pro Femmes Twese Hamwe, which organised both women whose husbands or sons may have been killed by the perpetrators of the genocide and mothers, wives or daughters of the perpetrators themselves, got UNESCO's prize for the Promotion of Tolerance and Non-violence for building houses and homes for the children, including young boys, who they even fetched from the prisons (see the UNESCO video: *The doves of Rwanda*). It is also an extraordinary example of creativity and courage.

However, as men are encouraged to take on more practical caring functions and responsibilities and as they dare to confront the traditional, hegemonic type of masculinity and its ensuing "enforcement attitude", they are also likely to strengthen their humanistic side. Simultaneously, women may lose some of their alternative visions and methodological approaches to the traditionally male dominated and male-defined political scene, as they gain access to more decision-making positions and thereby "risk" becoming part of the establishment with its rules and "self-surviving" structures. This, however, in most parts of the world, belongs to the future.

6 Women's Actions for Peace

Women's peace initiatives often stem from frustration and anger over decisions that they could not influence, while they too have had to bear the consequences. These actions for peace are manifold and often provide alternative visions and approaches. Examples include Colombian women refusing to give birth to children as long as violence is prevailing, inspiring themselves from the mythological figure from ancient Greece, Lysistrata, who according to Aristophanes, managed to stop the war between Athens and Sparta through convincing all women to refuse to make love with their husbands until they stopped fighting; Russian mothers

of soldiers refusing to send their sons to war (Chechnya) and rejecting the hero-status medal, which of course can never be a substitute for a living son; Liberian women initiating a broad disarmament process; South African women insisting on gender equality in the parliament (no gender apartheid should replace the racial apartheid); the Mums Against Arms in the USA; or the Mothers of the Plaza del Mayo, in Buenos Aires, demonstrating for human rights and justice, who received the UNESCO Peace Education Prize (1999).

The Pan-African Women's Conference on a Culture of Peace in Zanzibar in May 1999, where about 300 women from 49 African countries gathered, also turned out in favour of demilitarisation and disarmament. It was regretted that peace negotiations are male-dominated, regardless of women's efforts and initiatives to resolve conflicts and promote peace on the continent, notably through consensus building and dialogue (The Women's Agenda for a Culture of Peace in Africa, UNESCO 2000).

Individual women and women's organisations remain the strongest supporters of the culture of peace initiatives, often showing "active disgust for war" to use the terminology of the first female Nobel Prize Winner, Bertha von Suttner, in her book from 1889, *Lay Down your Arms*. Bertha von Suttner inspired Alfred Nobel to add a peace prize to his scientific prizes. She was also prominent in the world's oldest existing peace organisation, the International Peace Bureau, IPB, which received the Nobel peace prize in 1910.

Also the "muse" of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Eleanor Roosevelt, showed a strong anti-war attitude e. g. in her statement: "Nobody won the last war, nobody will win the next", as have a long list of eminent women, working with the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF).

Yet, only twelve women have received the Nobel Peace Prize so far: Bertha von Suttner (Austria) 1905, Jane Addams (USA) 1931 (shared with Nicolas Murray Butler), Emily Greene Balch (USA) 1946 (shared with John R. Mott), Mairead Corrigan and Betty Williams (Ireland) 1976, Mother Theresa (Calcutta) 1979, Alva Myrdal (Sweden) 1982 (shared with Garcia Robles), Aung San Suu Kyi (Burma/Myanmar) 1991, Rigoberta Menchu Tum (Guatemala) 1992, Jody Williams (USA) 1997 (shared with the International Organi-

zation against Landmines), Shirin Ebadi (Iran) 2003 and Wangari Maathai (Kenya) 2004. These women, together with other major peace promoters, have important functions as role models and inspirations.

The establishment in 2006 by the "Nobel Women's Initiative, united for peace with justice and equality" is interesting. How would the six female Nobel Peace Laureates, who are free to express themselves, want to (possibly) distinguish themselves and their work from the male laureates? So far, they seem to be paying particular attention to combat violence and violence against women.

Some Swiss women came up with an interesting nomination for the Nobel Peace Prize in 2005. They suggested "a collective prize" to 1000 female peace activists from around the world, an initiative in line with feminist, non-hierarchical thinking and with the peace movement.

7 Security Council Resolution 1325

The Security Council passed an unprecedented and historical resolution on Women, Peace and Security, on October 31, 2000 (SC 1325), strongly encouraged by women's organisations, feminist researchers and women peace activists and with the attentive and supportive Bangladeshi ambassador, Mr. A. Chowdhury in the Security Council. This resolution is particularly important because it was passed by an organ with high status among the UN member states, and it is a potentially important step towards a gender perspective on security issues – which again may lead to a stronger emphasis on human security (as opposed to or complementary to national security) in the future. The resolution has been translated into a various number of languages and several countries have made national 1325 Action Plans. The plan, however, pays more attention to women in conflict and post-conflict situations, and is weaker when it comes to practical and political measures for the strengthening and use of women's potential for peace building, negotiation and prevention. Women, despite the existence of the resolution, still remain largely outside the arenas where it is decided how a given conflict is to be tackled (see the article of Manuela Mesa in this book).

8 Male Roles and Masculinities

Rigid and stereotyped gender roles prevent individuals, both women and men, from realising their full potential and run counter to the principle of participatory democracy. Whilst women's roles and status have been broadly debated over the last decades, men have been seen as the standardised human being – the norm – and men's roles and positions have, until recently, hardly been discussed and even less been questioned.

One of the first international conferences on male roles and violence was organised by UNESCO in Oslo in 1997. Connections between certain types of masculinity and violence and how masculinities can change in ways favourable to peace, were discussed, notably the social, cultural and economic conditions producing violence and political and practical strategies for reducing men's violence and ways of raising boys that emphasise qualities such as emotional response, caring and communication skills, that are vital to a culture of peace.

Statistics gathered by the researchers, however insufficient, showed that men (often young men) are responsible for almost 90 % of all physical violence. Participants emphasised that most men are not violent, nor have natural violent inclinations. It was argued that men, in general, through their upbringing, feel entitled to dominant positions in the family, in work and political life, and react negatively when this entitlement is not fulfilled. Young men may feel marginalised and disempowered when they, e. g. due to the globalisation process, do not, in the same way as before, inherit work from their fathers and dominant positions in the family and in society. These reactions might lead to domestic violence, violence in schools or in the street, adherence to extremist gangs and sects, or wanting to join institutions, which may use force, such as the police and the military. Some groups of men are becoming a risk, for themselves as well as for society at large.

Given the existing gender imbalances, it is important that men, who are the current power brokers, participate actively in the discussion about the development of equal partnerships and reducing violence and force.

Jonathan Power (The Transnational Foundation for Peace and Future Research) has raised the question of whether a surplus of

men will lead to a deficit of peace. Worldwide, the human sex ratio is 104 women to 100 men. A few countries have an inverse gender ratio, primarily due to son preference. He estimates that there are some 62–68 million "missing women" in Asia, a situation which risks to gradually undermine everyday life equilibrium, including the stabilising factor which some research findings indicate women have on men (less criminality among married men, mixed workplaces being healthier, etc. ...).

"The hegemonic masculinity" is a straight jacket for many men with its insistence on stereotyped expectations for men to be the breadwinner, to be "over-decisive", forceful, non-emotional, aggressive, etc. In addition, men showing "traditional female attitudes" tend to be perceived negatively since "the female" has a lower status in society. The contrary is applauded when women take on traditional male roles and behaviour. Dr. R. Connell, one of the leading researchers on boys, men and masculinities, underlines how much men would be able to gain, if we were to get rid of the "gender toxicity", which implies e. g. that "boys will be boys". The hegemonic type of masculinity broadly defines itself in relation to its ability to use force. Countries/states also tend to define their strength in terms of traditional hegemonic masculinity. The hegemonic type of masculinity defines itself mainly in relation to its ability to use force and have power (R. Connell in Breines/Connell/Eide 2000).

It is also worth noting that there seems to be a trend towards a general "masculinisation" of society. This is reflected, for example, in the emergence of militarised masculinities in communities under threat and has also reached young girls in some societies, who have started using violent methods in their search for equality and recognition. This has notably been observed in schools in more democratic societies, where girls have started to feel entitled to a gender equality that may not be provided in satisfactory and practical terms.

Even though changing the traditional male roles still remains highly political and sometimes controversial, some excellent initiatives have been developed, such as state-supported parental leave for fathers, research and training-courses in non-violent conflict resolution and conflict transformation on different levels of the educational system. It is particularly encouraging to follow the es-

tablishment of a number of groups and networks of young men working against violence, including violence against women, inspired by initiatives such as "Pro-feminist men" or the "White Ribbon Campaign".

9 Humanistic or Humanitarian?

The preamble of UNESCO's Constitution, which states: "Since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that defences for peace must be constructed" (1945), conveys a belief in the importance of education and socialisation in changing mind-sets and attitudes. A relevant question in our context is: do women tend to be more inclined to the principles of a culture of peace/do they feel more affinity with the culture of peace? If so, are we socialising girls for a culture of peace and boys for a culture of war and violence? If this is proven to be correct, how do we socialise both girls and boys, women and men for peaceful conflict resolution/tackling, dialogue and a culture of peace?

Perhaps there is a need to reinforce both a humanistic approach and an attitude towards conflict resolution, peace building and development? Too often we see mechanical, preconceived, uncreative, culturally and linguistically insensitive, gender-blind, uninformed, a-historical and undigested "real-political" approaches to solve conflicts. Are we drifting towards measuring and weighing, instead of focusing on the essential? Are we more into competition (for funds and fame), than into seeking cooperative models? Do we involve the locals, local competence and culture properly in our attempts to help? And if we involve the locals: are they representative and are women and women's insights, experiences, talents, needs and interests taken into consideration? Are we too fragmented and not sufficiently comprehensive in our approach to really making a sustainable difference to the lives of people in conflict and war zones?

The peace-building arena seems to be dominated by some kind of emergency thinking of short-term relief, stabilisation and efficiency. The long-term and preventive aspects are less in the forefront. In addition and increasingly, both the immediate emergency and the middle-term humanitarian work are dangerously getting mixed up with military actions and operations. The lines between

military and emergency operations are getting blurred – with all the potentially negative implications.

It may be important to distinguish more clearly between a humanitarian and a humanistic approach. This little anecdote about a fisherwoman may help clarify the difference: A woman was standing on the shore of a river, unable to fish because she constantly had to rescue drowning people in the river rapids. After doing this for a long time with no abatement in the flow of victims, she was about to leave, when another person arriving tried to stop her by insisting that she had to continue to help people about to drown. However, the woman responded that she had to go up-stream to see who was throwing these people, who had not even learnt to swim, into the water. Perhaps women are the strongest protagonists of a most needed humanistic perspective on conflict resolution and peace building?

The vast amounts of resources used for military purposes, peace-keeping and in conflict and post-conflict humanitarian assistance, depict our failure to meet basic human needs and concerns in an adequate and timely manner. Instead of trying to tackle problems and conflicts at the roots, we mainly deal with symptoms and undertake "stop-gap" measures in times of crisis. Acting in a timely manner with long-term preventive measures to radically address the root-causes of violence (poverty, exclusion, ignorance, inequality and injustice) would be more human and less costly. Prevention is better than cure, also in this context. Hence the importance of re-instituting the humanistic long-term values, lest we all have to become part of an unsatisfactory and mostly unsuccessful humanitarian fire-brigade – always coming late, after the suffering and the destruction.

Poverty and inequalities erode the goal of human security. Poverty data are so appalling that we are hardly able to take them in: 2.8 billion people have to live on less than two dollars a day. Thirty six million people die of hunger or its consequences every year. Every three seconds, a child dies as a result of poverty and of women's low status in many societies. Contaminated water kills 10.000 people a year. Almost 100 million children are out of school and nearly 800 million adolescents and adults are illiterate. Nearly two thirds of these are girls and women (UN figures 2004). This impoverishment is undermining our societies and even eroding the idea

of human security. Conflicts and wars may be the result of poverty – or of greed – and poverty may again be the result of wars and conflicts. Eradicating poverty is an indispensable requirement for peace, security and sustainable development. Abject poverty is also morally and politically unacceptable. The present financial crisis may perhaps lead us out of the capitalistic growth syndrome, through which globalisation and its effects have exacerbated inequalities, and allow the introduction of new, more just, more human focused and viable paradigms.

Perhaps it is time to revalue the human sciences? The human sciences are primarily interested in understanding individuals or groups of people and/or their products in a given context. This would normally entail openness to new situations, to languages, to cultural expressions and to comparing a given situation to its historic development. Maybe the human sciences are particularly apt to put forward questions, which cannot be answered that easily. Probably, the humanistic inclined scientists accept and understand the complexity of the human mind, society and its structures and do not easily fall into the trap of (over)-simplifications.

10 Education and Competence Building

Education, competence- and institution-building are essential factors for peace-building. Investing in relevant quality education for everybody is an investment in a better and more peaceful society. Rebuilding and strengthening the education system, getting rid of intolerance and "national self-service" in curricula and teaching material, are important aspects of peace-building and nation-building. Education is important for empowerment, for creativity, for unlocking human potential and for getting us out of stereotyped perceptions and expectations. Imagine all the wrong perceptions existing between the West and the East! If, in addition, the tool of literacy is also lacking, then it is easy to become dependent on the closest authority – whether wrong or right – without a possibility for the illiterate to check for him-/herself. Yet, education – and certainly peace-education – is mostly forgotten and strongly under-funded as a tool for peace-building.

Education is a very important process, in which people can attain the values, attitudes and behavioural patterns consistent with

a culture of peace. Learning may give meaning and normalcy to young people from war-torn societies. Additionally, it is a great preventive tool against the relapse into violence and conflict. In the report on education for the Twenty-first Century: Learning, the treasure within (UNESCO 1996), four pillars of education were outlined: learning to know, learning to do, learning to be and learning to live together. Learning to live together peacefully is seen as a "second literacy", as indispensable to a culture of peace as literacy itself.

11 Women's Voices for Disarmament in Afghanistan

Representing the United Nations' Organization for Education, Science and Culture in Pakistan as of September 11, 2001, I also had responsibilities in Afghanistan until UNESCO, as the rest of the UN system, bilateral embassies and international NGOs moved their offices from Islamabad to Kabul.

In 2002, the international celebrations of the International Women's Day, on March 8, took place in Kabul in an attempt to support a more progressive view on women's role and status than under the Taliban regime. Several UN organisations joined hands with the newly appointed Minister of Women's Affairs, Ms. Sima Samar, to organise this historic event in the ruins of a cinema house. Those of us who came from the outside were full of optimism and expectations for a new era. It was, however, resignation we could mainly see expressed in the faces of the Afghan women.

Women from different parts of the country were invited to a 2–3 days seminar. They arrived in their burkas, which they took off once inside only with women. Their male partners were waiting outside. It soon became evident that these women did not believe in any quick solution to the social and political difficulties in Afghanistan. They had experienced the Taliban coming as liberators, after the violence and rivalry of the Mujahideen and the local warlords. Communism and the Soviets had brought ideals of women's emancipation and women's education in the 1970s and 1980s. This had also been tried in the 1920s. It seems that never before so many teachers have been killed and schools have been destroyed, as in the times, when extremist religious groups started to see the Soviet building of schools as a manipulation to

undermine Afghan culture and religion – and the traditional role of women.

The seminar participants were very clear in their description of "reality" and their priorities, despite the lack of enthusiasm and hope for an early improvement of their situation. They complained about a general lack of respect for women, about poverty and an excessive workload, about restricted freedom for women within the family, no freedom of expression, severely restrained possibilities for geographical mobility, a pervasive preference for boys, and that all decision-making remained with the men. In short, they complained about the patriarchal power structures.

They wanted education for girls and women (including married girls/women), access to basic health care, including natal and pre-natal care (Afghanistan is ranking top for maternal and child mortality), access to work, to own land and to open own bank-account, possibilities to participate actively in political life, including the right to have an identity card, allowing them to travel and to vote and access to the media so that women's voices could be heard. These women also stated the need of research on the role of women in Afghan families, in working life and in society in general. They wanted a halt to child marriages, to the selling of young girls for land and to sexual abuse of children, not least of young boys.

What they insisted on most though was that the UN should help in disarming the country. They expressed a profound fear of the many weapons floating around, increasing the risk of fatal "accidents", both in the home and outside. As Mark Twain said: If you only have a hammer in your toolbox, you will be looking for nails.

Later studies have confirmed that disarmament is a top priority for the majority of Afghans (Human Rights and Advocacy Consortium, 2004). A report from the Independent Human Rights Commission of Afghanistan (January 2008) also showed that rape over the last years has mostly been committed by armed men.

To ameliorate the situation of Afghan women was a prominently pronounced goal of the attack on the Taliban-ruled Afghanistan as of October 2001. Now, some nine years later, it is time to ask why we have given Afghan women weapons for bread – the exact opposite of what they asked for and needed. Perhaps now is the time to listen to what they have to say.

The Canadian researcher Cheshmak Farhoumand-Sims wrote in the *International Journal* (June 2007) about the many unfulfilled promises to women in post-Taliban Afghanistan. She refers to one of her own studies for UNIFEM in 2003, where Afghan women express anger because "Western forces had co-opted their suffering to legitimize a strong military presence in their land and that 'the war against terror', as they have learned to know it, only would bring more suffering to the people and strengthen the insurgency." Other studies also show that the growing support for the Taliban in many regions often is due to the continued presence of foreign troops in the country, as well as to the lack of humanitarian assistance and development aid. The views of (some) Afghan women on the Western, non-Muslim, military presence in Afghanistan was expressed in the March 8 statement (2008) by women in Kandahar: "We believe that only Afghans themselves can stop the use of violence against other Afghans." The strong military presence seems to serve to reinforce the macho power structure, as well as hegemonic masculine ideals.

The Norwegian Prime Minister, Jens Stoltenberg, got standing ovation in the ECOSOC meeting in Geneva in July 2006, when he proudly claimed that Norway was not rich primarily because of the oil, but because of Norwegian women, who combine being among the most active workforce in the world with giving birth to more children than what is average in the Western world. The Norwegian government would most likely get very strong applause from peace-loving people around the world, if they were to use the same type of argument in relation to Afghanistan. Afghan women are probably a much greater asset to Afghanistan than its geopolitical situation of closeness to the Central Asian oil reserves, that so many would like to have access to.

It is getting obvious to more and more people that a military presence cannot solve the underlying problems in Afghanistan – and how could anybody be as naïve as to think so at the outset? Many, however, continue to believe in a strengthened military presence, combined with strengthened humanitarian efforts. The attempts to legitimise military presence by insisting on the need to protect the humanitarian efforts (to win the minds and the hearts) and the mixing up of military and humanitarian interventions, are highly dangerous for the humanitarian work and workers and is probably also a prolongation of the conflict.

If we consider that Afghan women could serve as agents of positive change, we should go way beyond the mere rhetoric of working for their well-being and emancipation/empowerment, which more often seems as an excuse for seeking to meet ones' own economic, political or military goals. Instead, there is a need to take their priorities seriously and to seek to enhance both their competence and their possibilities to use their insight and knowledge to create social justice and build peace.

A Norwegian female physiotherapist got international acclaim, when she presented a new thesis for healing an aching part of the body by insisting not to touch the sick part, but instead strengthen the adjacent healthy parts so that they in turn could heal what aches. If the aching part is for instance the elbow, then the upper and lower arm should be strengthened to allow them to make the elbow well again. There are many "elbows" in Afghanistan. To strengthen the "female upper- and underarm" would probably be the best help the Afghan society can get.

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Biao Yang

Memory and Change: History Education as a Way for Peace in East Asia

1 Between Integrity and Disunity

An important aspect of history education is to solve the conflict of concepts. In recent decades there is an increasing tension in the relationship between East Asian countries, as nationalism has become popular in the region. In addition, no compromise has been reached for history textbooks and Yasukuni Shrine issues.¹ East Asia tends to become another Middle-East, in terms of the clash of historical concepts. The main reason for the situation is that these countries hold different views towards historical events, and disputation over historical memory in East Asia becomes a pattern of conflicts, resulting in a kind of peace without security.

The root of the peace crisis in East Asia lies in its "disunity" – a fatal weak point of East Asian society. From the historical perspective of its modern development, this "disunity" is not a born characteristic, but a cultivated feature. East Asia belonged to the culture circle of Confucianism. Under the influence of this common culture, close ties between the nations were formed. Gradually, a unique form of civilisation and a social system with China as

1 Yasukuni Shrine in Tokyo, Japan, is dedicated to the kami (spirits) of soldiers and others who died fighting on behalf of the Emperor of Japan. One of the controversies arises out of the enshrinement of World War II war criminals. The fact that a Class-A war criminal was enshrined as well was the reason Emperor Hirohito refused to visit the shrine from 1978 until his death in 1989. A visit by Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi in August, 2001 was widely reported in Chinese media and led to popular anger among Chinese youths. In September 2001, Koizumi met with China's President Jiang Zemin and Premier Zhu Rongji and agreed to make a symbolic trip to the Marco Polo Bridge outside Beijing to honor Chinese soldiers killed during the Second Sino-Japanese war. When Koizumi visited the Yasukuni Shrine again in the spring of 2002 it led to a diplomatic crisis between the two countries (editors' note).

the historical centre were established. However, in modern times, the integral social structure nurtured by the common culture and the stable social system was damaged under the impact of Western civilisation. The declining influence of China, the westernisation of Japan, and the invasion of Western powers shattered the traditional system of East Asia, which further threatened its cultural integrity. The rise of Japan broke up the original structure of East Asia. Japanese invasion and colonisation incurred strong objection and antipathy from its conquered neighbours. Consequently, the original spiritual and emotional bond in East Asian society broke up. After World War Two, with the "Iron Curtain" stretching to East Asia, a "Bamboo Curtain" was formed which divided the East Asian society into groups. As a result, the integral social structure formed in the long historical evolution was shattered into pieces. The destruction of the social system, the emotional bond and the social structure, has transformed an integral East Asia into dispersive pieces (Lin 2005, p. 190).

Therefore, in recent decades, while we are amazed by the economic miracles of East Asia, we can observe its innate paradox – the paradox between integrity and disunity. Integrity refers to the common value innated in the core history and core tradition of the East Asian society. The pushing power of Confucianism towards the modern development of East Asia, shows that modern East Asian countries still share this intrinsic integrity and benefit a lot from common culture. However, in contemporary East Asia, this integrity cannot counterbalance the disunity. "Disunity" means the diversity or disparity in social structure, despite the common ground, shared by East Asian countries. It also refers to the disparity in terms of concept and spirit, especially to the confrontation of the concept of history and the disparity of ideology. Integrity is the driving force of the mutual development of an East Asian society, whereas disunity hinders East Asia from exercising its influence in worldwide scope. The smashing effect caused by the confrontation of the concepts of history, reveals not only the inherent weakness in East Asia, but also sets obstacles towards its future peace. Thus certain core powers, which function as the driving force, are indispensable for the combination of East Asia society. The integration of the European community has set a good example for this process.

East Asian countries can be called "Familiar Strangers". We Asians tend to look up to the so-called Western civilisation while looking down upon the nearest neighbours. The continuous civilisation that cannot even be cut off by warfare, is now endangered by our dispute on history. We keep forgetting the most beautiful thing in Asia, as Asian civilisation can be summarised as "Love and Peace". As the Japanese historian Tenshin Okakura in the 20th century put it, Asia is an integral part. The Himalayas set two great civilisations apart – the Chinese civilisation, featured by the collectivism of Confucian and the Indian civilisation, featured by the individualism of Buddhism. But this "snow curtain" cannot prevent the expansion of universal love pursued by Asian nations. It is this universal love that creates the most important religions in the world. Persian poems, Indian thoughts and Chinese morality, all tell about the love for peace in ancient Asia. It manifests the important role that a common concept of history plays in the peace process of East Asia. It strengthens the friendship between nations and brings people together.

East Asia has a good foundation for future development. The key is to leave "disunity" behind in order to form an effective regional advantage, through the combination of innate power. Thus, East Asia is able to maintain its stability and security by its own regulation and cooperation rather than by external forces. This regional advantage will turn out to be powerful once it is attained. It will push East Asia forward as a whole and more importantly, enhance the all-round development in economics, society, politics and culture. Therefore, East Asian countries should adopt strategic measures, especially strategic concepts to intensify the cultural exchange between each other and to explore the "Common Values" that support the future development. The integrity of history and culture is an important source for the establishment of regional advantage. In this regard, it needs to broaden the scope of cultural exchange and explore the historical source of the whole East Asia as a whole, in order to establish common concepts and basic values. The integrity of the core value in history and culture is the basis for the peaceful development and the establishment of the regional advantage of East Asia.

2 Diverse Historical Memories

From the perspective of a Chinese researcher, Chinese historical memory is featured by optimism. Chinese people tend to romanticise the history of the country. People from other countries would be confused by the glory that the Chinese see in failures. Although China suffered a lot from splits, defeats and invasions of foreign powers, the Chinese are still proud of their past as a big country. This pride, very often becomes a yardstick for them to measure the world history. In the very era, when nationalist thoughts are widely popularised day by day, it is truly through collective memories, that the Chinese structure their world and understand their past. Thus, memory of the history is romanticised and viewed with optimism.

Conversely, in evident contrast with China, the memory of history in Japan is characterised by a strong realism and is greatly pessimistic. The realistic and indefinite nature of the war memory in Japan embraces the particular attributions concerning history and ideology. It is necessary for us to get a better understanding of Japanese memory of war in its social and historical contexts. The consciousness about the responsibility of the war of the Japanese masses is pegged directly to how they face up to the political incentives and economic demands of the future; these are caused by the changes within international relations, as well as by the campaigns for compensation from the region. On the other hand, the Chinese render emotional reminiscence as the significant inner sources in the memory of history; there is only the ideological essence memory has to shoulder, rather than the complicated international political relationships which Japan has to meet. After the 1980s, pronounced changes occurred to the mentality of the Japanese regarding the memory of war history, as well the responsibility for the war. This was because the process of examination and approval of history textbooks in Japan had aroused strong criticism among the countries in East Asia in the summer of 1982. In that year, some Japanese history textbooks changed the word "invasion" of Asian countries to "got in and out" in the content of the Second World War history. Furthermore, such issues were re-kindled, as later editions of history textbooks occurred every four years in Japan. In addition, in the 1990s, law suits and claims by

the "comfort women", forced laborers and prisoners of war for compensation from Japan, received immense media focus. Confronted with the issue of responsibility as an offender, questions of morality and human rights began to inform Japanese consciousness of their responsibility for the war; moreover, their memory about the war appeared to be seriously split. Therefore, we can see that the severe international political atmosphere has promoted changes in historical memory within Japanese society as a whole. However, in the plan of politics, these changes are sometimes the transferred versions of the policy, dominated by a pragmatic philosophy. It was also proposed that the Japanese government should build a secular war memorial. At such a memorial, visitors would not have to be concerned with the ideological and religious connotations of visits to Yasukuni Shrine, which is dedicated to those who died in Japan's conflicts, including Class-A war criminals. However, this proposal was rejected to avoid an internal Liberal Democrat Party feud, before a party presidential election (Asahi Shimbun 2003). In some Chinese understanding, the Japanese government has weakly admitted responsibility for the war and rendered only a minimal apology. This might reduce the diplomatic pressures and meet the needs of maintaining the leading role in Asia as a strong political power, rather than deepening of the historical realisation within the Japanese society (Liu 2000). Therefore, at the time when changes occurred in the international environment and domestically, the thoughts of the Japanese society as a whole towards the issue of the responsibility regarding the war, might be in stagnation or even reversed in direction. There was no feeling of the historical memory being romanticised as enjoyed by Chinese.

Despite the current "History Wars" in East Asia, the comparison between Japan and China shows that in the present, many Chinese can reconstruct their historical memories regardless of its past failure; while Japan has broken away less from its past. Several war-time factors still exist in post-war Japan to some extent. Although the "Tenno" or Emperor system is very different now, it is still a basic structure of Japanese society, which cannot be ignored and can be understood easily through seeing how ordinary Japanese acquire personal security, by not conflicting with others in daily life. It is hard for Japanese people to impute the war to their Tenno, as

post-war Germans have done with Hitler. Unable to make a break with the past, the Japanese still live in the shadow of their past, suffering from the historical pressures and blame. German criticism regarding past war history, is less often perceived as a fundamental criticism of the current state, while Japanese criticism of national history is sometimes seen as unacceptable criticism of the state itself. The inseparable relations with the old era make it hard for the Japanese to condemn their history, which is still related to their life to the core. Even now, the Japanese government's recognition of their responsibilities regarding the war, and the ways in which it recognises this responsibility result from contemporary political concern, not from the intensification of its war memories, since behind the memories there are complex and countless problems, which refer to the future ways for Japan as a nation.

Being an island country, Japan did not suffer much from exterior military menace throughout history in comparison to China; therefore it did not resort to centralisation or huge bureaucratic organisation as China did. Local governments stood out as the most effective pattern of administration in Japanese history and through centuries of cultural evolution, a compact underlying social structure has taken shape. Public morality permeated within individual businesses, serves as a potential force, which goes diametrically against the bureaucracy's pursuit for superficial splendor in China (Huang 1997, p. 312). As a result, while China blamed the "Foreign Powers" for losing the wars during the modern time, the Japanese viewed their defeat as the failure of the whole nation. The degree to which the nation, its people and its army are unified, is the key difference that lies between Japan and China. Japanese war memory reflects a thinking mode based on the framework, which emphasises an integrated nation and in which every member involved is placed under obligation. That accounts for the sense of perplexity and unyieldingness that Japanese war memory has left with us. Today, as globalisation (though vague in its definition) has become the suitable word for almost all contexts, war memory reminds us that "Nation" and "People" are not simply an academic concept or notion of ideology. War memory is in the first place, "a record of emotion" (Shun 2002), which determines that we should not only discuss the issue in a logical way, but also need to approach historical memory from a national character and traditions perspective.

In terms of national character or culture, the confidence and formality revealed in Japanese culture, definitely have their roots back in history. More traces of idealism can be found within Japanese culture, in which people and things are expected to be perfect, while Chinese prefer to be casual and stay out of each other's business, positively lacking the Japanese desire for perfection. Moreover, coming into the modern age, the Japanese sense of superiority continued to expand, insinuating itself into the minds of the whole nation, from leaders to the public. It is the sense of superiority, as sub-consciousness in modern Japanese historical memory, which backed the bloody wars and increased the gap between the East Asian countries and Japan. The Second World War, in a sense, is still going on, not so much because many of the participants are still alive, but because some factors that once triggered the war have not yet been eliminated. Therefore, the effort to make the war part of our historical memory and to draw knowledge out of it is, by no means, the only way to understand the war. We have to admit that the gap between the ways in which different peoples view the war history is, above all, not one of knowledge, but one of emotion. Post-war Japanese public historical memory has been dominated by the victim complex. Contrary to Germans' understanding of the Second World War, that focused on Auschwitz and other concentration camps, Japanese understanding of the war largely stressed the atomic bombing of Hiroshima, rather than Pearl Harbor. Sometimes, Japanese post-war historical memory shows great similarities to the German way of memorial after the First World War. Being the second largest country in terms of economy, yet with a disproportionate international status, Japan, with its proud people, who consider themselves to be the descendants of a divine emperor, is certainly not satisfied. Isn't it true that conservatives and ultra-nationalists on the right of the Liberal Democrat Party (LDP) support an effort to change history? Specifically, they want to change Japan's role as a defeated nation, which has abandoned military action in its post-war constitution, so that it can resort to force at will just like the US and Britain. Despite the dissidence of a continuing and strong peace movement in Japan, this may be the major problem we currently have to face.

The issue of Japanese war memory should also be put into the globalisation frame, including the historical plan for better under-

standing. In fact, it would be possible for us to get deeper insight into the historical memory in Japan, by locating it with the political and cultural logic of globalisation. Frankly speaking, globalisation is the internationalisation of Western civilisation. From a historical aspect, the "globalisation" campaign "in essence is the continuation of Western expansion over the past 500 years" (Wang 2002). In a certain sense, Japan, such an ancient Asian country alienated geographically from the West's arena, has actually already become successful in the practice of the inner logic of Western expansion for launching wars and becoming an economic giant. In the Second World War, Japan intended to establish what was called "the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere" by means of war, which was for the purpose of not only extending the Japanese nation itself, but also taking full possession of the resources and wealth of Asia as a whole. That is the great truism of the certain material logic involved in the globalisation process (Dai 1999).

Another essential meaning of globalisation is to eliminate the abstraction and difference contained in the various regional and domestic cultures. Meanwhile, globalisation also seeks to remove from their pedestal the historical epics, which differentiated the various nations. Historical epics only belong to traditional societies, whereas modern memory and narrative of wars, with its characteristics of racialism and nationalism, actually can be regarded as a reflection of the logic of economic exploitation symbolising colonialism; furthermore, the giant wheel of global capitalism lies behind such stories.

It is necessary to place the issue of Japanese war memory in a much broader background, within the framework of modern history of colonialism, rather than restrict it within the range of Japanese nationality. Here, we might come to the conclusion, that as a result of the collision between the US and Japan in the Pacific and Asia during the Second World War, post-war America has taken up a role similar to that of pre-war Japan as far as their influence in Asia and the layout of colonies in the region are concerned. As a matter of fact, the USA turned Korea and Japan into occupied countries and to a degree colonised the region. Since this contemporary structure of colonialism has never been challenged, it is in reality impossible to censure the history of colonialism. Then how could it be possible for Japan to reflect on its history of colonial-

ism in the real sense within a new colonial system (Kuang 2003)? In the age of globalisation, we can only resume the necessary vision for understanding Japanese war memory by connecting the already broken chain of colonial historical memory.

For the issue of historical memory, although we are disputing the past, it is the future peace that we are really concerned about. Therefore, we should seek solutions for the future, rather than confining our dispute on certain events which happened in certain period. The future of Asia should not be ripped by the past. We shall transcend national hatred and face the problem for the sake of future peace and development in East Asia. The principle of equality and rationality should be observed, because if we go from one extreme to another, the future peace in East Asia can not be realised.

From the perspective of world history, China and Japan are closely bonded. While we are discussing how Japanese interpret history, it is necessary for Chinese to understand Japanese culture and society in a rational way. In modern times, Chinese paid special attention to Japan, so they could understand the West through Japan and follow its suit. Nowadays, the Chinese admire Western civilisation as Japan did in the Meiji period, while neglecting Japanese culture. Nationalism is one of the reasons. In times of diversity, East Asian countries should hold open attitude toward other cultures in order to truly understand the other's historical memory. Thus future peace can be foreseen.

3 History Education: Trying to find a Solution for the Future

Entering a new era, history education in East Asia is faced with new situations and tasks. Firstly, the developing trend of East Asian society in the twentyfirst century is internationalisation and informalisation. Information and knowledge will be the main driving force for social development. The main task of education is to improve students' creativity and personality. History education should get more responsibilities than it did in the past. Secondly, from the 1980s on, especially China has gradually shaken off the mode of an agriculture society. And in the 1990s, industrialisation has spread out to the whole nation. At the turning point to the new century, the information age begins to take shape. The qual-

ity demanded for human resources in a future society will be quite different from the one in today's society. As a result, history education, as an important part in civics education, has to change and develop. Thirdly, with the development of an East Asian society, there will no longer be a unanimous and centralised educational policy and criteria. Education in East Asia will focus more on self-development, rather than on controlling. Different levels of local institutes will have more rights of making policy that should meet local demands, which provides more room for the further development of history education.

Faced with new situations and tasks, reviewing the past of history education in East Asia, we should have a new orientation for future one. Firstly, mutual understanding between different nations and countries plays a decisive role in the process of globalisation and culture plurality. History education serves as the basis of mutual understanding and respect. Therefore, its function must be strengthened in order to eliminate stereotypes and bias in past teaching. Thus, history education can serve as an important tool to deepen the understanding and cooperation between different nations and areas for a new citizenship. Secondly, human beings should become the centre of history education instead of the knowledge study itself. There is also an increasing appeal for individuality. History courses should meet this demand. Traditional history teaching places more emphasis on the right choice of contents, the completeness of scientific principles and the academic system of the discipline, rather than on the individuals who are being taught. The core of history education theory in the future should be about how to combine the development of individuals with the content of study. Learners should be put at the centre of the theory and thus be enabled to become qualified citizens.

Thirdly, future history education in East Asia should guide students from memorising information towards creating something new. We should develop not only students' memorising capacity but also their independent and analytical thinking, self-evaluation and self-orientation.

Last but not least, history education should reflect current issues of the region and peoples' demands, so students will be able to foresee future tasks and understand the current situation through historical analysis. History education should reveal the past ex-

periences, as well as the prospect of the epoch, rather than stay away from current problems and dangers we are faced with. Students should be encouraged to put historical knowledge and interpretation into solving future problems. They should understand all kinds of possibilities and undertake their responsibilities for a shared culture through history study.

Peace education should be introduced into the history education system in East Asia. History education is more than giving historical knowledge and developing analytic skills. Another important element in history education is to advocate peace concepts. Peace education, which is lacking in East Asia's education system, should be carried out from elementary schools onwards, to middle schools and finally to universities. The main method is to impart peace concepts in history education. Conflicts between individuals, groups and nations are an inevitable topic in the course of history. Thus evaluating and understanding those conflicting events is a good issue for peace education for this particular region. In terms of teaching task and objectives of the history courses, the following items should catch attention of history educators in East Asia:

- The basic task of history courses should be to give students historical knowledge, which enables them to feel the progressing steps of the world. Thus students are encouraged to create a better life and to make their own contribution to a peaceful development of the world.
- History courses should enable students to understand problems and events in the transformation period. Under the guidance of teaching, students can discuss domestic history as well as foreign history in order to have a better understanding of their own country. Besides, students shall get to know the common cultural heritage shared by all the nations.
- One of the basic objectives of history courses should be to overcome bias in order to better understand the problems and features of other ethnic groups, nations and communities. Teachers should imagine that all human beings are listening to their class.

To sum up, history education is an important phase in peace building in East Asia. It does not only tell students how to evaluate the

past, but it also shows them how to face the future. An essential aspect in history education is trying to find a solution for the future, rather than to disrupt the order in Asia due to historical hatred. Young people should be taught to solve problems by mutual understanding, for the sake of future peace and development of East Asia instead of national hatred. An important way to build trust between East Asian countries is to foster shared historical memory and thinking through history education. Common historical thinking serves as the basis of future development and peace process, if Asian nations want to cooperate as a union like the members of the European Union. History education and the solution of conflicts are interrelated with each other. In order to achieve future peace in East Asia, we must draw lessons from history, and history education is a starting point for regional cooperation. Young people will strive for peace, when they are taught a new historical outlook and true historical facts. As a result, future peace in East Asia can be ensured through new generations.

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Olivia Guaraldo

Grief, Loss and the Possibility of Non-Violence: an Exercise in Political Imagination¹

"Each one of us has suffered in a different manner, for each one grief has manifested itself with a different face; in every family there has been a different suffering [...] But we have learned to walk together."

Juanita Pargament, member of the Madres de Plaza de Mayo

1 A Politics of Grief?

Political scholarship has, since 9/11, taken at least two different (and opposite) directions. The first deals with the "realist" approach to geopolitical situations that are variable, precarious and in need of a global redefinition after the end of the Cold War. According to this mainstream political science approach, 9/11, though significant, can be relevantly situated among the other events in the disorderly flow stemming directly from the end of the contraposition of USA and USSR. In order to understand and counteract the effects of global disorder, mainstream political science has proposed comprehensive schemes to account for war, terrorism, and globalisation in ways that are effective and firm, hopefully allowing a solution to the mess we are in. More often than not, these schemes and their rigid implementations have produced disastrous effects: war, destruction, death and a resurgence of terrorism worldwide.

The second, different and opposed intellectual approach to the post 9/11 global situation has less to do with grand post-Cold War schemes and their effectiveness in "preventing new attacks" than with the ambitious enterprise of rethinking democracy and its bellicose instincts, or put differently, the relationship between politics and violence. In this undertaking, scholars of different backgrounds (but for the most part of feminine gender) have decided that new imaginative theoretical frameworks are needed, along with the courage of putting into question a whole tradition of phil-

1 A special thanks to Anna Schober and Ludmila Bazzoni, who in different ways contributed to the making of this paper.

osophical political thought. More deeply, this approach has registered an epochal change in the tragedy of 9/11, necessitating new names and concepts in order to define and understand the present. Unenthused by the project of waging new wars in order to vindicate the victims of Ground Zero, a number of political scholars – rather than examining medieval Just War theories and adapting them to the globalised present – have found the “interesting” aspect of 9/11 to lie in what followed: communal and public expressions of grief.

Theory – especially political theory – perceived that in the immediate aftermath of that fateful event something new and different was taking place: people were wandering about Manhattan holding pictures of their missing friends and relatives, or gathering in public parks around improvised altars; pacifist writings were appearing on walls and placards. These became symbols of a different kind of response, and one deserving new attention. As we know, this response was soon surpassed and obliterated by the official, state-centred and media-staged drama of the “War on Terror”. Yet, something of significance remained to work on.

Some prominent exponents of the recent debate in the field of political theory have attempted to read contemporary violence with a focus on themes of loss and grief (Butler 2004; 2009; Cavarero 2002; 2009; Honig 2009). But what is more interesting, to my mind, is how this recent interest in what could be called a “politics of grief” implies a radical revision of the traditional paradigms of political theory. I think that what has occurred is a shift in perspective, felt as both political and ethical need. After all, what is there left to say about the indispensability of war and its unavoidable injustices, or about the cruelty of humanity and its destructive drives? A different way of thinking about violence and death is needed, given the unprecedented nature of current violence with its global diffusion and unpredictability. Interestingly enough, while strongly criticising the patriotic response of the US to 9/11 and thereby abandoning the traditional “neutral stance” of political science or theory, this new approach concentrates on a usually neglected aspect of war and political violence: those who do not fight, those who die and those who remain behind to remember, to mourn. In other words, death, loss and grief have become the privileged standpoint from which to understand, analyse and oppose

violence. This new perspective involves a disenchantment with the traditional warrior-centred approach to war and violence and a critique of that method and its effects, since the global scenario is no longer intelligible using the classical instruments of political theory. This criticism of violence as a political instrument – one that has long lost its instrumental function and can no longer guarantee political order but instead produces disorder – is the stepping stone for more radical philosophical aims. To put it simply, to criticise war and violence from the standpoint of grief and mourning does not merely mean to articulate a utopian non-violent politics, or to romanticise suffering, but to investigate philosophically the attainability of non-violence, by shifting the focus from individualism and self-preservation (the modern paradigm where the State and its monopoly on violence become the guarantor of the safety and freedom of the individual, as Thomas Hobbes and Max Weber have taught us) to dependency and vulnerability. In this respect, grief and mourning are crucial instances of this change of perspective: they refer to a situation where the individual is no longer the sole central protagonist of the political scene, i.e. as the bearer of arms and of rights, and apparently invulnerable by virtue of both. Grief and mourning move us, so to say, towards a relational dimension, a situation in which we perceive ourselves as interrelated beings, exposed or even bound to one another. In other words, to look at the scene of violence from the viewpoint of grief and loss means to investigate philosophically an alternative ontology of the human (Bernini/Guaraldo 2009).

By "ontology of the human", I refer to a core structure of our being, the "condition" of livability under which we, as humans, exist and interact. We do not come to life as ready-made individuals, but depend on others for our survival. This basic condition of existence, as feminists have shown, not only shapes the initial relationship between mother and child, but characterises adult existence as well, in so far as we are constitutively related to a sociality we cannot control and upon which we depend (Butler 2004). We do not belong to ourselves but to a dimension that exits the contours of the self, exposed as it is to the presence, the care, and often the offence of others. By virtue of this constitutive exposure, therefore, we are essentially vulnerable beings. Violence is therefore an undeniable part of our being in relation with one another. Yet to

understand the human as vulnerable – and loss and grief afford us this vantage point – means to investigate the dark side of this dependency while at the same time not simply giving in to the deterministic hypothesis that humans are “naturally” violent and aggressive. On the contrary, vulnerability as the basic feature of the human has an ethically ambitious, if paradoxical, claim: framing the human as commonly or even universally exposed to the possibility of injury means to criticise violence and to work for non-violence.

With this premise, I would like to engage in an interpretive exercise aimed at exploring the potential effectiveness of a politics of grief as a critical tool. Through reflecting on how loss, grief and mourning – new to Americans on 9/11, but very familiar to other populations around the world – can become an experience of shared and multi-levelled vulnerability, it may become possible to read this experience as a political fact, epitomising a new – and yet very ancient – way to critically reflect on war and violence, thereby contesting the assumption that politics is the “continuation of war by other means”.

Interestingly, there is, if one is willing to see it and listen to it, a whole range of mourning practices that have had significant political impacts. Since classical Athens, mourning was seen as dangerous and unsettling for political power, and was therefore strictly controlled and regulated. One can even trace, in the different restrictions power has applied to public manifestations of grief, the outlines of an interesting and non-violent form of political activism (Guaraldo 2009). American political theorist Bonnie Honig, in her recently published book *Emergency Politics* (Honig 2009), suggests that one can trace an ideal line that, “from classical Athens’ Antigone to 1970s Argentina, to 1980s South Africa, to New York on 9/11/2001, connects different instances of political demands that flow out of funerary practice and mourning, where mere life’s needs opens out onto more life’s promise” (Honig 2009, p. 103).²

- 2 By opposing ‘mere life’ to ‘more life’, Bonnie Honig adopts a terminology that, from Walter Benjamin to Jacques Derrida, reflects on the political implications of the “natural” or biological dimension of the body. ‘Mere life’ is usually intended as the realm of bodily needs and processes, the mute biological dimension of our being human ‘animals’. Yet this dimension is not alien to politics, since ‘mere life’ has been a specific objective of totalitarian

Honig argues in favour of a politics that, while apparently centering its activity on death, suffering and rituals of mourning, aspires to political change. In this perspective, mourning and grief cease to belong to the private and emotional sphere ("mere life") and contribute to the shaping of political awareness and demands that qualify as "more life". Mere life and the supposedly non-political sphere to which it belongs (life and death, typically feminine spheres of action) is transformed, through a "politics of grief", into "more life", or what has been private becomes effectively public and political. Following on along these lines, I would like to analyse three instances of public grief and explore their political significance within the abovementioned theoretical framework.

2 Scene 1: Teheran, June 2009

Recently in Teheran, millions of people have been protesting against the results of the general election that confirmed Mahmoud Ahmadinejad as president of the Islamic Republic. Amateur videos spread over the internet and showed to us in the West how serious and extensive the protest was. They also showed glimpses of how the theocratic regime reacted to the protest by means of a furious repression. As reported by the Italian newspaper "la Repubblica" on July 15 (a month after the contested elections), former slaughterhouses in the southern part of Teheran had been transformed into provisional morgues. The young rebels who dared to protest against the regime had been punished with death, but there was still further punishment: the bodies in the provisional morgues, dead from hanging, were said to be those of drug dealers and Sunni rebels, and they were identified by first name only. The protesters had been mainly young students. Their parents, in order to recover their children's bodies, had "to sign a letter against Mousavi, the reformist candidate whose victory had been taken away by the fundamentalist wing of Ahmadinejad supporters". In some cases it was reported that parents, in order to receive the bodies back, had to

political power, for instance in the case of the *Shoah* and the atrocities and experiments conducted in the extermination camps. Mere life is not merely 'natural', but also an artificially produced entity according to specific ideological and technological frameworks.

pay for "damages" allegedly caused by their killed sons and daughters (Vannuccini 2009).

Not only did the reactionary power of the Ajatollahs regime repress dissent with violence, exercising its monopoly of violence in a very dutiful way, but in order to dissuade protesters from further agitations, it worked on a symbolical level, too: contempt was shown for the dead bodies (kept in former slaughterhouses), the victims were de-personalised (banned as traitors, or worse, as drug dealers, intentionally misrepresented, their parents having to pay to recover the bodies, and identification of the bodies only by first name). The regime, as part of its efforts to control or suppress further protests, prohibited all religious ceremonies, particularly funerals, according to "la Repubblica". More suitable to the propaganda of the regime as drug dealers or Sunni rebels, the dead bodies of the young protesters were contested: the parents claimed the right to get them back, while the political power falsified their identities and prohibited mourning for them. Yet, pictures of the agonised faces of young people beaten to death during the protests circulated worldwide, exposing by their simple presence, by the "mere life" of their pain, the lies of the regime. By grieving the deaths of their loved ones and by exposing their names and faces to public opinion worldwide, parents and friends criticise the regime and act politically.

What we witness when listening carefully to these unusual "more life" claims is a conflict between two opposite attitudes towards loss and grief: on the side of the regime, a de-personalisation and falsification of the identity of the dead bodies, on the side of the relatives and friends, a public struggle to identify the names and faces. On the side of power, the battle is waged by persistent attempts to deny the reality of the protests, first by killing the protesters and second by depriving the corpses of any identity. On the side of the protesters, the struggle lies in naming and identifying: were it not for the pictures clandestinely put onto the internet, the protesters and their deaths would have been cancelled out, made unreal, deprived of any empirical content. Power decided to put a ban on grief. Parents and friends, by reclaiming the bodies of their loved ones back, reacted perhaps involuntarily to this ban and in doing so acted politically. They simply gave voice to their loss, yet their action became politically meaningful and crucially critical.

3 Scene 2: Buenos Aires, 1976

When the first opponents to the Videla regime began to disappear, a small group of mothers started to meet every Thursday in the Plaza de Mayo right in front of the Casa Rosada, walking in a circle around the square (to circumvent the prohibition against gathering in groups of more than three people) and wearing white headscarves over their head. They were protesting for their missing sons and daughters, who had been abducted by agents of the Argentine government during the years of the Dirty War (1976–1983),³ many of whom were tortured and killed. The children of the young disappeared were in many cases kidnapped and raised by other families, often members of the dictatorship. Since then, these women have met every Thursday in the Plaza de Mayo to simply walk around the square, showing pictures of their disappeared sons and daughters. The mothers were simple women who were forced by the situation to abandon their otherwise very traditional role in patriarchal Argentina. They had never before been engaged in political activity, in spite of, or because of the very dictatorial inclination of Argentina. Yet suddenly they felt compelled to leave their homes to go and look for their missing sons and daughters. They could not help but be mothers, looking for their children: the white scarf they wear on their head when demonstrating in the Plaza de Mayo symbolises the diapers of their missing children.⁴

Today, the Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo [Madres de Plaza de Mayo] is a unique organisation of Argentine women who have become human rights activists in order to achieve a common goal. For over three decades, the Mothers have fought for the right to reunite with their abducted children. The kidnapping, torture and killing of the young people have been protested by these women by a very unusual and effective method. The regime relied on the

3 The Videla regime ruled Argentina from 1976 to 1983 as a military dictatorship that caused the disappearance of an estimated 30,000 persons.

4 Interestingly, the patriarchal and macho culture of Latin America contributed to the politicisation of the Madres insofar as first they stayed at home and therefore had time to visit police stations and offices to ask about their children and second it was not appropriate for a man to express grief and show weakness (Bonomelli/Fedi 2008, pp. 110–111).

practice of abduction and disappearance of activists in order to dissuade further dissent and spread fear that members of one's own family could be hurt if found cooperating with the opponents to the regime. The opponents in fact were not simply killed by the regime, they were cancelled out, made disappear. The *desaparecidos* became the unhealing wound in the heart of Argentine society. The mothers courageously resisted the regime, countered the symbolic erasure of their children by simply but perseveringly displaying their pictures, pronouncing their names, claiming them back, alive.⁵ Their peaceful, yet steady activism contributed to raising awareness worldwide of the *desaparecidos*, and it achieved something else as well.

Consider the fact that their protest stems out of loss: the white scarf is a remnant of the disappeared child and a simple reminder of their being mothers. A focal point of the demonstration is the generating female body reclaiming her baby, and grief paradoxically becomes the most effective expression of this anger. In walking with the scarves on their heads, these women are performing mothering and childcare out of context, i.e. in public, and by so doing they are displacing their bodies from the private, hidden sphere and making them political. Their appearing in public constitutes a forceful, spontaneous and original form of protest to call attention to the disappearance of their children. They exposed their children's names and faces to the public in times when dissent and protest were punished with disappearance, torture and death. They politicised their maternal body as a deprived body, a grieving body that would reclaim its progeny. Crucial to this expression of grief is that, in the name of their loss, they have become political activists, transforming the traditional role of the mother into a public figure. In the 1970s during the feminist movement, the motto "the personal is political" resonated throughout the West. The Madres de Plaza de Mayo became feminist activists perhaps inadvertently,

- 5 "Aparicion con vida", "Re-appearance as living entities" is the slogan the Mothers use in the protest, thereby meaning that they claim the bodies of their children back alive. By so doing they want to stress the fact that they lost their children alive and alive they want them back. This apparently irrational claim serves the scope to force public discourse to recognise that their children had been murdered and did not simply 'disappear' somewhere.

their private pain became public, their personal grief was put in common, shared in a public space and publicly denounced. It contributed to the building of a community that by virtue of a common grief acquired political awareness. Grief became a way to express and act resistance against the dictatorship.

As has been noted, the activism of the Madres differs from other forms of political protest. In labour strikes, for example, the effect is based on the quantitative effect of the protest: the more, the better. Strike supporters are massed together in a de-individualised way. In armed struggle, activists are clandestine or at most militarised in a collective structure. In both cases, the activism is based on anonymity (Zibechi 2003, p. 54). The Madres, in contrast, based their activism on their own personal story and that of their children: their loss became the gathering element, and from a personal yet shared condition of loss they could move forward towards more political demands. This example tells us that to grieve a loss can become a political practice, one whose point of departure is the private sphere, and by way of an innovative politicisation of it, shapes a different kind of community. This community through grieving moves from "mere life" to "more life".

4 Scene 3: Athens, 5th Century BCE

Around the 5th century BCE the supremacy of Athens over all other Greek cities depended on both its military and ideological hegemony in the area. The strict relationship between war and Athenian democracy became a vital part of both military formations (the people in arms) and political rhetoric (the most famous example being Pericles' Funeral Oration for the fallen of the first year of the Peloponnesian War, 430 BCE, as related by Thucydides). During this time, a strict city law was imposed on funerals, prohibiting excessive forms of lamentation. Funerals were public ceremonies that had to be strictly controlled and performed according to the city's ideology of war. Funerary practices in democratic Athens therefore deprived the family of the intimacy and privacy of mourning and at the same time prevented mothers and wives (the traditional protagonists of lamentations during funeral ceremonies) from publicly expressing their grief through laments and cries. They were also prevented from carrying out traditional burial practices and from

establishing a direct relationship with the dead bodies (often women relatives spent days preparing the corpse for disposal by washing, dressing and even speaking with the dead one, also by filling the tomb with familiar objects to accompany the dead through Hades and to serve as an offering for the gods). As archaeologists have pointed out, private forms of grief were relegated to minor expressive arts, such as the *lekythos* pottery, depicting mourning scenes where the protagonists are almost exclusively feminine (Shapiro 1991).⁶ These private, minor forms of expressions coexisted, evidently, with the public forms of mourning, which were performed strictly under the control of the Athenian democratic ideology. According to it, equality and heroism merged together in the practice of war and in the forms of burial: the collective tomb [*demosion sema*] replaced the various forms of aristocratic burials and stelae, imposing an essentially collective and anonymous form of remembrance. The official and public attitude towards death – especially death in battle – was rigidly directed by the ideology of the polis, for which to die for the city was the supreme sacrifice an Athenian could aspire to. Yet archaeological findings tell us of the insistent survival of an opposite attitude towards death, one that must have been practiced in spite of the prohibitions.

Further support for the existence of conflicting attitudes towards death and mourning can be found in Attic tragedy: that unsurpassed art form reminds us that public ideology and its prohibitions were continuously contested and opposed in various ways. Sophocles' *Antigone* is the most popular example of a conflict over burial.⁷ Yet not only *Antigone*, but a variety of dissenting voices (often considered irrational, unworthy of attention, or excessive and alien to the measured character of Athenian democracy) signal that there was a critical discourse circulating in Athens in the 5th century BCE about the linkage made between war and the democracy. This discourse was less content with war heroism, less enthusiastic about self-sacrifice, and less archaic and apolitical than

6 As Shapiro notes: "White *lekythoi* became virtually the only outlet for expressing more personal feelings and for reassuring the dead that their tombs would be well looked after" (Shapiro 1990, p. 629).

7 Recent interpretations of the politics of burial in Sophocles' *Antigone* include Jagentowicz Mills 1996, Butler 2000, Cavarero 2002, Honig 2007.

is traditionally portrayed. The critical side of the discourse may seem unreasonable, even incomprehensible, similar to the cries and howls of a wild beast: it is the lament of mothers who grieve their sons killed in war.

This unreasonably obsessive and somber voice finds a very interesting and memorable representation in a tragedy that has long been neglected and underrated by scholars: Euripides' *Suppliant Women*. The suppliants are seven women who, along with their lord Adrastus, King of Argos, have come to Athens and its leader, Theseus, to ask for aid in their quest. The women's seven sons had been killed in battle against Thebes in the attempt by Polyneices to regain his inheritance from his brother Eteocles (both sons of Oedipus). Argos lost the battle and both sons of Oedipus were killed. The new ruler of Thebes, Creon⁸ (the brothers' uncle), refused the mothers the right to recover their sons' bodies for burial. Theseus at first refuses to help them but is eventually persuaded by his own mother to help the Argives in their recovery. In the end, the dead are finally laid to rest, but both Adrastus and Theseus decide to prohibit the mothers of the dead soldiers to attend the mourning ceremony at Eleusis, for fear that they would lose control of themselves when in front of their sons' disfigured corpses. Only afterwards will the mothers have a chance to hold their sons, even if symbolically by embracing the urn containing their ashes.

The tragedy echoes the recent prohibition of excessive mourning behaviour that was intended to control female archaic-style lamentations, which was a practice considered too reminiscent of aristocratic times. In the tragedy the wise and measured discourse of Theseus (symbol of Athens and its democracy) is counterposed to the howling voice of the grief-stricken mothers, who are apparently merely engaged in stating the superiority of the archaic laws of burial and of the biological/family bond.

This opposition seems to reinforce the vision according to which only political power, democratic and rational, can bring about order and curb the emotional impulses of women, prohibiting excessive expressions of grief. Yet this tragedy, far from simply reinforcing

8 Creon in Sophocle's *Antigone* refused burial to the enemy of the city, Polyneices and condemned Antigone to death for disobeying him and burying her brother.

ing the clear cut view of an orderly city that is reconciled with grief and pain and well ordered under the rule of law and reason (as the tragedy's superficial ideological content suggests), actually offers a chance to see the contraposition between the crying mothers and political power in a different way.

What comes to life in the dramatised text is a strange proximity of the different poles of the contraposition. In the "dialogue" between Adrastus and the Chorus of Argive mothers, there occurs a hybridisation of masculine and feminine roles. The voice of the mothers with its howls and laments mixes with the voice of the King, a rather old and noble hero. The prohibition against excessive displays of grief remains here in abeyance: the king cries with the women, joins in with their laments and seems to enjoy its cathartic effect. His mourning with them is admirably shown in the text:

MESSENGER

Your tears are useless, and you make these women weep too.

ADRASTUS

It is they, I think, who are the teachers in this [doko men, autai g'eisin ai di-daskaloj] – (Euripides 2007, 762–771).⁹

Feminine grief mingles with masculine discourse – apparently centred on the traditional topoi of the warrior – and contaminates it with its emotional power:

CHORUS OF ARGIVE MOTHERS

You lament both your woes and mine! [sténeis ep'amphoin àche]¹⁰

ADRASTUS

Would that the Cadmean ranks had felled me in the dust!

CHORUS

And I, would that I had never been brought to a man's bed!
(820–823).

9 Literally, the translation of the passage is: "It is they [the mothers] who taught me how."

10 Literally: "you suffer a common grief" or "you suffer the grief of us both." The literal translations of these passages are mine.

As these passages from Euripides' *Suppliant Women* show, the mourning lament equates the opposed activities of fighting in battle and giving birth: the king wished he had died in battle, the women not to have married at all. The traditional line between the public and the private becomes blurred, confounded. The characters' actions in either realm generate an equal amount of suffering. Their sequence in the verses shows a strange and, for the culture of the time, even tabooed proximity between male and female behaviour and feelings. The chorus of the mothers draws King Adrastus towards their grief, and evokes the expression: "you suffer from the grief of us both" [steneis ep' amphoin ache']. The common grief of the mothers, their sobs reaching an almost animalistic pitch, causes a very unusual commonness between male and female, king and women. Adrastus is contaminated by it: while lamenting not having also died in battle, he is displaced from his sovereign position and becomes, in a very interesting sort of gender exchange, just like the suppliant mothers himself. Grief seems to have a transformative power: not only does it succeed in erasing differences, in dislodging rigid social roles, but here it also works to spread critical anti-war seeds in the bellicose ground of democratic Athens. The mothers' grief, in fact, puts forth demands; it can only be satisfied by reclaiming their sons' bodies for burial. Their laments do not call for revenge (revenge will be called for only later, by the chorus of the sons of the fallen heroes). The mothers seem to question radically the frame of power, its sacrificial logic. Their suffering, far from calling for a vendetta, alludes to a commonness able to undo the rigid gender binary; hybridising, so to say, the self-assured masculine perception of its superiority with the uncertain feminine rumination on their cruel destiny of childless mothers.

CHORUS OF ARGIVE MOTHERS

Alas! my son, it was for misery
 That I carried you next to my heart and nourished you,
 Bearing the pain of childbirth!
 And now Hades has taken
 The fruits of my labor, wretch that I am,
 And I have no one to tend my old age, though I,
 Unhappy one, have borne a child! [918–924]

5 The Common Grief

What is then the meaning of the visible transgressions taking place between feminine and masculine roles in this tragedy? Hints of a critical awareness towards the apparently hegemonical war-rhetoric, typical of the Greek polis of the 5th century, is visible in the apparently senseless actions of Adrastus and Theseus. During the development of the tragedy, we learn that the king of Athens, when going to war to retrieve the bodies of the Argive soldiers, personally takes care of the corpses by washing and preparing them for burial. To even touch a corpse or prepare it for burial was considered a very base activity, quite demeaning for a man, no less so for a king. Theseus, like Adrastus, also seems to be drawn towards feminine behaviour by the strong power of grief. What does this mean? What is this common grief [*amphoin ache*] that the mothers' voices call into being in the masculine protagonists of the tragedy? It is a form of sorrow that can estrange one from the traditional terrain and borders of the political (the public/private divide) and thereby cause boundaries to be transgressed: fathers become as mothers, hate transforms into piety, heroes become victims.

The question is, therefore, the following: does the mothers' lament represent something more than a simple lament, a howling voice usually dismissed by political discourse as animal-like and irrational? Or is it, in contrast to mainstream interpretations of the female roles in this tragedy, that the mothers' voice with its female critique of war and death in battle alludes to something more than simply a defense of the *genos*, the clan, the family?¹¹ Can it be that the public expression of grief is not merely an apolitical expression of the traditional exclusion of women from politics?

Considered from the viewpoint of the sharing of the loss endured and suffered by the mothers, then Pericles' famous funeral oration as reported by Thucydides, becomes the epitome of hypocrisy: the *logos epitaphios*, pronounced at the burial of the dead soldiers, is a key moment in the ritual supporting the ideology of

11 Traditionally, the feminine element in Greek tragedy is considered expression of the archaic ideology of the *genos* – the clan, the family – as opposed to the democratic ideology of the *demos* – the people in an enlarged, non consanguineous sense.

"death for the city", whereas the democratic rhetoric tries to take away even the right to grieve from the mothers. The monument to the fallen soldiers represents, in the Greek polis, the symbol of a communion in death, and serves the public function of rendering the deaths a "public good" by symbolically diminishing the value of personal or private remembrances and grief. The fallen soldiers, seen as heroes who sacrificed themselves for the city, become unwitting instruments for reproducing the ideology responsible for their very annihilation. Women are marginal to the polis ideology, and therefore have a strong critical function in lamenting the deaths of their sons and in fighting to reclaim their sons' bodies. Why give birth to children if they will for sure become the indispensable food nurturing the belligerent hunger that afflicts and sustains the polis? Why give birth at all, if they are to lose their posterity and then be violently deprived of even the right to lament?

The Chorus of the Argive mothers with its contagious effects as well as the funerary art of 4th and 5th centuries BCE are evidence of the political potential of the *amphoin ache* – the common grief, or the grief of both – which, suffocated and hindered under the ever-belligerent polis, may now be read in a new light: as part of a project to trace a feminine political genealogy rooted in vulnerability.

To put it differently, the apparently irrational funerary lamentations of the Greek women do bear a political significance: their "dangerous" or subversive nature lies not in their "excessive" displays of emotion, but in their putting forth "more life" claims, just as in the public, non-violent manifestations of grief in Iran and Argentina.

The political claims of the different instances of grief analysed here – Greek tragedy with its background, and modern dictatorships with their various erasure techniques – lie in the dual public/private aspect of grief and loss. They are viewed as personal, private and often as apolitical issues from the perspective of political power. The grieving mothers are seen as old-fashioned and excessive or "hysterical", obsessed with nothing but dead corpses, or merely with biological aspects, matters of womb. But insofar as their voices are uttered in a public space, transgressing the usual prohibition, they are considered subversive and dangerous. Why? Could it be

that their cries become understandable utterances if one ceases to see things with the eyes of the "warrior", or the "ruler", and tries to identify with a helpless mother who has lost her child? If one is willing, as I mentioned above, to shift the standpoint and re-orient the senses, the maternal attitude of the grieving women becomes political. The ancient episode of the Argive mothers tells us that the "mere life" issue of reclaiming the bodies of their children is immediately connected to "more life" critiques of power, of its unfairness and hypocrisy. From the "mere life" issue of demanding the return of the dead bodies of one's family, tragedy is able to move towards the crucial issue of war critique, towards the "more-life" issue of breaking the vicious circle of *pro patria mori*.

Democracy and its bellicose inclination – Euripides seems to tell us – must be exposed and criticised for its insatiable demand for dead bodies, its celebration of collective and impersonal death as the ideal sacrifice for the polis. A way to expose and oppose this intertwining of democracy and self-sacrifice, of equality and death, is offered by that essentially public and political form of art that is tragedy. As Nicole Loraux affirms:

"(while the polis) expels extreme mourning practices from both the necropolis and the agorà, that which remains inaccessible and unspeakable about grief and loss reflows in theatre, intra muros, within the walls of the city, but at a good enough distance from the civic self. The representation of mourning, of its greatness and its predicaments is something vital to tragedy, because tragic genre dramatises for the citizens the essential exclusions upon which the city is construed" (Loraux 1990, pp. 12–13, my trans.).

6 Politics Between Loss and Grief: Towards a Theory of Non-Violence

American theorist Judith Butler, in her book *Precarious Life*, has reflected upon the political impact of grief and mourning in the U.S. after September 11th (Butler 2004). Butler affirms that the shock of the terrorist attack could have been an occasion for the US to reflect not only upon the effects of its foreign policy, but also upon the changed situation of the globalised world, which is marked by precariousness and interdependency. Acknowledging precariousness says Butler, forces us to rethink politics in terms of the interdependency, which unavoidable shapes our lives as humans.

"[...] the dislocation from First World privilege, however temporary, offers a chance to start to imagine a world in which that violence might be minimised, in which an inevitable interdependency becomes acknowledged as the basis for global political community. I confess to not knowing how to theorise that interdependency. I would suggest, however, that both our political and ethical responsibilities are rooted in the recognition that radical forms of self-sufficiency and unbridled sovereignty are, by definition, disrupted by the larger global processes of which they are a part, that no final control can be secured, and that final control is not, cannot be, an ultimate value" (Butler 2004, xii).

Butler argues in favour of what she calls a common human condition of vulnerability, shared beyond geopolitical borders and social differences (see also Butler/Cavarero 2009). Violence, in this context, far from engendering an artificial mechanism of order, as in the modern tradition, puts into question the model of individualism and evokes instead the fundamental exposure of every human being to every other. "Despite our differences in location and history, my guess is that it is possible to appeal to a 'we', for all of us have some notion of what it is to have lost somebody. Loss has made a tenuous 'we' of us all" (Butler 2004, p. 19). Does this "we" have something to do with the "common grief" of the Argive mothers of ancient tragedy?

At the risk of being provocative, I would assert that politics should acknowledge this shared condition of vulnerability, this "we" that, though tenuous, is significantly rooted in grief and loss. I would assert that there is a commonality that crosses the spatial and temporal boundaries, and that suggests that the "common grief" of the Argive mothers, which contaminates kings and heroes and carries them across genders, is the same grief that causes Argentine mothers to go out into the streets and build a community of non-violent resistance against the dictatorship, the same grief that compels Iranian parents to fight for the recognition of their dead sons and daughters, perhaps in the name of political transformation. Public manifestations of grief and mourning enable us to see the otherwise invisible political claims of provisional communities based on loss. This is my claim: grief and loss allow us to see violence and its effects from the new perspective of a shared vulnerability. They offer us a privileged standpoint, able to give visibility and audibility to non-violence and to contest the legitimacy of a politics based, since time immemorial, on the centrality of

violence and its protagonist, the warrior. Grief and mourning also tell us that to be in relation to others means to be exposed to their loss or injury. Yet, to understand the human as vulnerable does not necessarily mean to recreate the human as invulnerable – with the inevitable effect, as history shows, of producing more death and destruction. To explore the political potentialities of sharing a loss – crying over a death, experiencing grief – means to work for a different role of violence in politics: to refuse its centrality and the supposedly instrumental function it is said to play. It means, further, to contest and criticise the fatalistic notion that violence is an inherent part of human nature, and which, since it cannot be avoided, is at best controlled by the State.

I would dare to say that what we have to consider, after years of terrorism and global war, is the collective possibility for a politics of non-violence. One may ask: What is there to be analysed, explored, imagined in order to produce a new framework of thought, able to exit the traditional paradigm of war and instrumental violence? How, instead, may violence be framed as excessive, uncontrollable, destructive and therefore profoundly devastating for politics? To draw the contours of a real and yet very inspiring politics of grief can be a first attempt to build a different framework in which to locate violence and its relationship with vulnerability. In this context we can perhaps apprehend how power works, especially in relation to issues of life and death, and in its obsession for controlling grief and limiting mourning practices. In this article I have attempted an exercise in the politics and ethics of grief, in order to frame it as a politically influential public activity. This exercise should allow us to see how and to what extent, in the era of globalised violence, there are instances of public action centred on grief and loss that qualify as essentially non-violent, yet effective. Their effectiveness lies in the fact that they succeed in building a type of community that transcends the borders of traditional types of community: instead of being based on a common identity (as the nation, race, class etc.) it is based on the painful sharing of a loss. Can we start from there to re-think the problematic relationship between politics and violence?

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Viktorija Ratković

Media Produced by Migrants: A Lively Contribution to a Culture of Peace¹

In this article, I will try to show that peace journalism as a concept could be applied to everyday reporting (and not only to reporting on war and violent conflicts) by using migration as an example. In a first step I am going to introduce the concept of peace journalism, in a second step give a brief overview on the research field media and migration and in a third step present examples of media produced by migrants in Austria. The point I am trying to make here is that if peace journalism is applied in everyday reporting, it can serve not only as an early warning system but as an *early learning system*, thus preventing (violent) conflicts from arising in the first place.

1 Peace Journalism

Much has been written on the role of media and journalism in times of violent conflicts and war, e. g. questioning the work of embedded journalists in the recent Afghanistan and Iraq wars. There is no doubt that media coverage shapes and influences our views on the world and one can only stress the importance of fundamental journalistic values like well-balanced reporting, transparency, in-depth research etc. On a more basic level, coverage of war and conflict should also be questioned itself, as catchphrases like "Only bad news are good news", "If it bleeds, it leads" seem to symbolize the media's main focus. Media as an industry appears to be built upon the belief that war and conflicts guarantee the viewer's/listener's/reader's attention. Though financial success may seem to back up this assumption, one has to ask herself/himself: Isn't there anything else to report on? This question is not to be seen as a naïve one, as war and conflicts are part of our world. Not reporting on those aspects would mean closing our eyes to the problems thousands of people have to face every day, but still: The majority

1 I would like to thank Claudia Brunner for her support during the writing process of this article.

of the world's population does not live in war regions, most states do not engage in armed conflicts. Also, the way in which war and conflicts are reported about bear both the danger of justifying violence as well as the potential for questioning war and violence altogether. At the same time it is obvious that while much scientific attention is given to the media's relationship with conflict, the media's relationship with peace is somewhat being neglected (see Spencer 2005, p. 165).

These thoughts are not new though, but have been summed up in the concept of peace journalism by many authors, on philosophical as well as on activity-based levels (Lynch/McGoldrick 2005). In short, peace journalism aims at shaping a "peace consciousness" by highlighting the potential for peace (see *ibid.*, p. 168) and by paying attention to structural and cultural violence that may underline conflict situations (see Hackett 2006, p. 2). At the same time, peace journalism is not meant to focus on wars between states only but, as Galtung stresses, also on "violence between other groups – [...] rape and wife battering, mistreatment of children, racial or social conflict" (Galtung 1999, p. 30).

Professional standards for journalistic work can be seen as cornerstones for peace journalism, as well as existing UN and UNESCO declarations. More than 30 years ago, in 1978, the UNESCO proclaimed its Declaration on the Role of Media in Strengthening Peace.² Recalling on the UN's Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the goal of the declaration was the "strengthening of peace and international understanding, the promotion of human rights and the countering of racism, apartheid and incitement to war [that demand] a free flow and a wider and better balanced dissemination of information".³ Freedom of opinion, access to public information, giving oppressed peoples the chance to express themselves etc. are stated as the main principles of the declaration. As Mark Thompson and Monroe E. Price state, the UNESCO is continuing to play "a key role in redefining assistance to media as humanitarian assistance" (Thompson/Price 2002, p. 25) ever since, e. g. by codifying recommendations on media in times

2 <http://ics.leeds.ac.uk/papers/vp01.cfm?outfit=pmt&requesttimeout=500&older=193&paper=954>

3 *ibid.*

of conflict and post-conflict.⁴ Accordingly, free flow of information and the role of media are highlighted in the promotion of a culture of peace in the UN's International Decade for a Culture of Peace and Non-Violence for the Children of the World (see article by Adams in this volume).⁵

While most journalists would probably agree on the importance of professional standards, another main principle of peace journalism continues to provoke debates: Instead of reporting on war and conflict in a way that suggests that only one party can win and therefore one has to defeat the other, peace journalism intends to "call attention to dangers of escalation and to opportunities for settlement that the parties may not have recognised" (Bote 1996, p. 8 as cited by Spencer 2005, p. 169). In this concept, journalists are not seen as mere observers of conflict and war, they are rather expected not only to intervene in existing violent conflicts but also to serve as an early warning system in order to prevent them. The objection to this claim is mainly grounded on its contradiction to one of the main parameters of journalistic practice: objectivity. Researchers in favour of peace journalism are quick to dismiss this protest, stating that every journalist needs to recognise that he/she has bias and influences the subject he/she is reporting on in the first place. Journalists have to take responsibility for the consequences that arise if they decide not to intervene in a conflict, not only if they decide to intervene. Also, "objectivity" is defined here as reporting from all sides and trying to cover all facts as correctly, completely and precisely as possible (Bentele 1994, p. 309 as cited by Bilke 2002, p. 71) to show the whole complexity of a conflict in order to understand its underlying issues (McGoldrick 2006, p. 4).

Many authors have stated that this might be too much to expect from a single journalist, e. g. by stressing the fact that no one can know all sides of a conflict (see Ingruber 2008, p. 97). Furthermore, every journalist is facing the reality of mainstream media, which have been described as a system of structural violence themselves as they emphasise "immediacy, drama, simplicity, and ethnocentrism and hostility towards adversaries" (Luger 1991, p. 70

4 http://portal.unesco.org/ci/en/ev.php-URL_ID=14501&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html

5 http://www3.unesco.org/iycp/uk/uk_sum_decade.htm

as cited by Bilke 2002, p. 60). Apart from the challenge of intervening in conflicts, researchers have argued that the standards of peace journalism cannot be seen as additional tasks that have to be met by journalists, as they simply sum up what professional journalism should stand for. "Ideally," as Thompson and Price note, "peace broadcasting consists of professional, pluralist journalism" (Thompson/Price 2002, p. 18). Claims that peace journalism is *just* good journalism, in the sense of old wine in new bottles (Hanitzsch 2007), have been also been dismissed, e. g. by drawing attention to the fact that the "fulfillment of these standards presupposes specific conflict competencies" (Kempf 2007, p. 4).

Though it obviously makes sense to talk about peace journalism in times of war, one should not forget that as a concept, it can be applied to everyday reporting as well – especially if a culture of peace is supposed to be created (see article by Wintersteiner in this volume). Nevertheless, today's research on peace journalism seems to focus on two main fields where it is supposed to be applied: war and violent conflicts. As stated above, I argue that peace journalism could be applied to other topics as well, using one of the most defining and discussed phenomena of today's world as an example: migration.

2 Media and Migrants

In the course of the last ten years, migration has become a fashionable research field in media studies. In German speaking context, analysis of the portrayal of migrants in mainstream media has taken the spotlight (Geißler/Pöttker 2009, p. 7). The results of these research efforts are similar, they mostly show that migrants are hardly ever the topic of media coverage and in case they are, often in connection with negative events/circumstances. Reports about criminal acts, especially violence, drug trade and prostitution make up a good deal of the coverage (Farrokhzad 2002, p. 75). Everyday life of migrants is hardly ever broached as an issue, migrants themselves mostly appear passive as they usually are just the objects of report, seemingly incapable of speaking for themselves (Bonfadelli 2007, p. 104). In a study conducted in 2007, I was able to show that in Austrian media, migrant women were either portrayed as victims or as perpetrators. As victims, the women appeared very

vulnerable, their role as mothers was stressed, strongly recalling upon the slogan "women-and-children-first". As perpetrators, the women appeared very aggressive and dangerous, with the media using the women's ethnicity as an explanation for their behaviour (Ratković 2007).

Researchers themselves often seem to focus on negative images, echoing the assumptions that prevailed in mainstream migration studies for a long time, namely that migration as such is first and foremost a field of problems. At the same time, the analysis of media produced by migrants themselves is a nearly blind spot of research, especially in the German speaking countries (Geißler/Pöttker 2006, p. 29), where they are seen as odd and exotic (Becker 2007, p. 44). Moreover, in the German speaking countries, the problematic term "Ethnomedien" ("Ethnic Media") has been adopted by researchers, which implies that "ethnicity" is something only migrants have. Is not, one could ask, German/Austrian mainstream media also an example of ethnic media? And: does not the labeling of migrant media as "Ethnic Media" serve as a perfect example of how strongly the normativity of Whiteness still influences research (Wollrad 2005)?

The lacking scientific consideration of media produced by migrants comes as a surprise, especially if one considers that in Germany alone, there exists a long tradition of such media. The field of "Ethnic Media" comprises media (newspapers, TV, radio, websites) produced in the countries of origin of migrants and which is then distributed/broadcasted in the receiving countries (where some additional parts can be produced) as well as those produced exclusively for migrants in the receiving countries. Whereas in the US and Canada these media are mainly produced by migrants for migrants, in Germany they are also produced by members of the majority population (Weber-Menges 2006, p. 123). Weber-Menges has identified six phases of this media in Germany, starting with the recruitment of "guest workers" ("GastarbeiterInnen") in the 1960s. Due to the economic rise and the resulting lack of workforce, workers from southern European countries (including Turkey) were hired to work in Germany (and Austria) in order to perform low-wage work. Those workers were provided with newspapers produced in their countries of origin and radio shows produced in Germany, which were meant to serve as a help during

their stay in Germany, providing the information they needed. At the beginning of the 1970s, TV shows for "guest workers" were introduced, trying to bridge the distance to their countries of origin and providing them with help for their everyday life in Germany. By the end of the 1970s, when it became more and more apparent that the workers who were supposed to return to their home countries intended to stay in their new home countries, TV and radio programmes started focusing on forging the integration of migrants. At the same time, e. g. Turkish newspapers launched specific issues for Turkish migrants in Germany, and with the rise of video recorders in the 1980s the media produced by members of the majority population for migrants was facing keen competition (*ibid.*, p. 129). The implementation of satellite technology in the 1990s paved the way for media using the native languages of the migrants, public broadcasting shows which were only aiming at migrants started trying to attract members of the majority population, asylum seekers etc. too. Today's situation is characterised by multicultural radio and TV shows, the spread of the internet and, more and more media produced by second and third generation immigrants.

Research that has been done on media produced by migrants mostly focuses on the aspect of integration, highlighting the question whether this media has the ability to help integrate the migrants in the receiving societies or if it should be seen as potentially dangerous, conveying segregative content (Goldberg 2000). Almost 20 years after it has been published, Riggins' comment on ethnic minority media still sounds like an up to date description of many researcher's perspective on migrant media: "[...] it is debatable whether ethnic minority media are tools of cultural preservation or whether they surreptitiously contribute to the assimilation of ethnic minority audiences to the dominant culture within which they are immersed" (Riggins 1992, p. 276). In media studies, so it seems, one can find many discourses that have prevailed in migration studies, even if it is stated that one should aim at an integration of migrants that acknowledges cultural differences (Geißler/Pöttker 2009, p. 8). In line with the fear of parallel societies there stands the fear voiced by some researchers, media produced by migrants could lead to media ghettos ("Mediale Ghettos").

3 Media Produced by Migrants in Austria

Here, I do not intend to present an extensive research on media produced by migrants, but I want to shed a light at four examples in order to show that while mainstream media and research neglect their existence for the most part, in Austria alone a broad variety of this media endures.

migrazine.at

migrazine is a multilingual online magazine, launched in 2006 by maiz, which "is an organisation by and for migrant women [which] was created out of the necessity for changes with regards to migrants' living and work situation in Austria as well as in accordance with the strengthening of political and cultural participation".⁶ migrazine's slogan is "from migrant women for all" and it aims to provide space for critical migrant voices and to make a statement against the stereotypical portrayal of migrant women. Published four times per year, each issue is focusing on specific contents, e. g. "weddings" in May 2010, though not in the bridal magazine sense but looking at the consequences of marriage for migrant women (when it comes to their legal status etc.). The editors define the term "female migrant" as a political identity and as a label for an oppositional standpoint in the sense of feminist and antiracist partisanship. The editorial staff consists of first and second generation migrant women, their articles are published in German mainly but also in English, Serbian, Portuguese, Spanish and French.⁷

BUM

In the summer of 2010, BUM was celebrating its fifth anniversary as well as 50 issues. 80.000 issues are printed in Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian (B/C/S), 60.000 in Turkish and published eleven times a year. BUM is being distributed to 1.600 different locations in Austria, 12.500 households have a subscription. It can be obtained for free (a .pdf version is also available on the magazine's website) and can also be bought (for two Euros). The publishers claim that BUM is the most read "Ethno-Magazine" in Austria as it reaches at least

6 <http://www.maiz.at/?id=6&L=1>

7 www.migrazine.at

300.000 readers – which is about a third of the migrants coming from former Yugoslavia and Turkey (who make up the majority of immigrants in Austria).⁸ Aiming at citizens from former Yugoslavia, BUM has a delicate task to fulfil, as its readers have been waging war against each other less than 20 years ago. The war is reported on regularly, e. g. on the Den Haag trials, the search for war criminals or the rebuilding of relationships between Croatia and Serbia. One of the trickiest tasks, the naming of the language used, is met by a label that many migrants from former Yugoslavia use: e. g. on the magazine's website, one can choose between "German", "Turkish" and "Our language" for B/C/S, thus underlying the readers' common ground. Next to news from the countries of origin, living in Austria is also an issue, focusing on specific "migrant topics" (e. g. German courses for children) as well as on "everyday topics" (e. g. the prohibition of smoking). BUM seems to be financed by advertising, ads are published in B/C/S and Turkish (even if the companies that run the ads are Austrian), nevertheless the majority of the ads in the B/C/S version is published in German.

Das Biber

Founded in 2006, the name of the magazine "Das Biber. Stadtmagazin für Wien, Viyana und Beč. Das Biber mit scharf" is a play with meanings and words in itself. "Viyana" is the Turkish, "Beč" the B/C/S name for Vienna/Wien. In both languages, "biber" stands for "pepper", the full name of the magazine "Das Biber mit scharf" means "Das Biber with spice", a play of words, hinting at Turkish Kebab stands where one can order "spicy" food and at the same time indicating the magazine's "spicy" contents. On another level, "Biber" means "beaver" in German, implying that the magazine might e. g. be ready to bite or gnaw at existing stereotypes (e. g. by questioning them). Though the chief editor and the executive director do not have a migrant background, the authors do. 50.000 issues are printed and distributed for free, mainly all over Vienna, but the magazine can also be downloaded, and one can get a subscription for free. Das Biber is aiming at Vienna's second and third generation immigrants, who – in the magazine's self portrayal – are described as consumption orientated, trendy and focused on their

8 http://www.bummedia.com/pdf/bumzeitung_mediadaten_2009_2010.pdf

personal advancement. The magazine is also open to cosmopolitan readers who want to obtain "pure first-hand Multikulti" and claims to represent successful integration. *Das Biber* is published in German but seems to have a "foreign accent" as its authors use specific second and third generation immigrant terms as well as intentionally "wrong" grammar (e. g. leaving out the verb in a sentence). In accordance to its self-portrayal, *Das Biber* mainly focuses on topics relevant to a younger generation: lifestyle, education, career opportunities etc. At the same time, the specific experience of migration is also relevant; reports about the countries of origin as well about being an immigrant in Austria are reoccurring topics.⁹

MiGaY

MiGaY was initiated in 2009 as the first Austrian information medium and networking platform for and by homosexual migrants published by the Association for the Integration and Support of Homosexual Migrants. It consists of a website and a printed version – 3.000 copies are printed and can be obtained for free. MiGaY intends to reflect, discuss and promote diversity and special interests of its readers ("Mi" means "We" in B/C/S, the magazine's title can also be seen as a reference to migration). The publishers claim that the "choice of topics we represent is as diverse as ourselves. We are MiGaY – migrants, minorities, together. Many times different". As for now, two issues have been published, mostly in German but also with reports in B/C/S, Turkish, Slovene, English, Spanish and Greek. MiGaY is combining two specific experiences in its coverage and does so by reporting on LGBTQ-relevant events all over the world (e. g. in the section "From Home and From Far Away") and current issues concerning Austria (e. g. on same-sex-marriage).¹⁰

4 Peace and Media Produced by Migrants

So what, one could ask, do these media have to do with peace journalism? None of the media described above claims to "do" peace journalism and I doubt that the authors and editors have ever heard of peace journalism – simply because it is hardly known in

⁹ <http://www.dasbiber.at/>

¹⁰ <http://www.migay.at/>

media at all. Also, "peace" as a term is not prominent in this media either. Taking as given that the journalists of the media described above apply the rules of professional journalism (at least at first glance they seem to) what criteria of peace journalism do they fulfil? I argue that media produced by migrants can serve not only as an early warning system (as peace journalism is supposed to) but as an *early learning system*, simply by showing that diversity does not necessarily lead up to (violent) conflicts.

One of the most problematic issues when it comes to Austrian mainstream media and migrants is obsolete in media produced by migrants: the simple lack of coverage. In media produced by migrants, migrants are in the focus of reporting. Though it is not stated clearly, all of the media described above promote peace in their own way, challenging mainstream media that is "propagandizing and amplifying the issue [migration, V.R.], presenting the immigrant as more of a problem than as part of the solution" (Hassane 2009, p. 138). Though problems and obstacles of living as an immigrant in Austria are part of the coverage, the experience of migration is not scandalised. The complexity of being an immigrant is shown by every media choosing different perspectives – from those of migrant youth, women, LGBTQs to the perspective of a population that has been torn apart by war. By doing so, the readers are not reduced to only being immigrants, thus making clear that there can not be a simple "us" against "the others". Even though war and conflicts are part of the coverage, the main message of this media seems to be that living together can work out, no matter if there are certain differences.

Whether it is stated explicitly or not, the media described above is clearly biased (as is mainstream media, as I have shown above). Of course peace journalism does not simply stand for being biased for anything but being biased for a positive cause. Faced with the negative images mainstream media conveys about immigrants, migrants who produce media seem to use their products as mere self-defence, or as Hassane puts it (describing the situation in France): "They make information in reaction to the monologue or monopoly of the dominant forms of information and, in particular, to contest their own negative representation in the mainstream media. Minority media are the consequence of a rejection of information from a direction that makes French people of foreign origin

the anti-heroes of the 'news-in-brief' columns, of violence, or of fundamentalism" (Hassane 2009, p. 118). Still, one must not forget that the danger of exercising self-censorship by concentrating on topics flattering your own group exists (Riggins 1992, p. 278). Nevertheless, media produced by migrants "transform readers, listeners and spectators into components of the media, into active sources of information, and most importantly, into constant recipients" (Hassane 2009, pp. 119–120).

At the same time, one should not praise migrant media for their sheer existence. Further research needs to analyse what underlying issues are transported, and one must not forget that "minority journalists – however militant – [cannot] escape the influence of the majority culture in which they are immersed" (Riggins 1992, p. 278). This is especially obvious in Das Biber's self description, highlighting its readers interest in consumption, thus perfectly fitting the neoliberal capitalistic system. At the same time, one must bear in mind that taking part in the capitalist society might be a legitimate goal for a group of people that has been at the lower end of the ladder for a long time. For the second and third generation of immigrants, empowerment might mean not having to do the low degree work that their (grand)mothers and (grand)fathers had to do as "guest workers" in the 1960s, but aiming higher and showing off what they have achieved.

Further research has to take a closer look at the economic conditions of media produced by migrants, as "it is essential for minorities to have full control over the financing and administration of their own media" (Riggins 1992, p. 285). The fact that all the media described above can be obtained for free has positive as well as negative effects. While everybody can read these magazines/web-sites if they wish to do so (and if they understand the language they are written in), the publishers of this media have to sell space for ads if they want to make profits thus obviously having to obey to the rules of the media system. Also, media produced by migrants might simply serve as another product to make money with, serving an "ethnic niche" (see Ha 2005, p. 62).

5 Conclusion

I argue that mainstream media can learn from migrant media – not only that migrant lives do not consist of violence alone (as mainstream media constantly claims) but also how to interweave migrant experiences (that more and more people share) in everyday reporting. The message that being different does not necessarily lead to (violent) conflicts and war, is one that mainstream media fails to convey. At the same time, the goal must not be to celebrate and praise diversity for its own sake, but to question the dualistic thinking that in the first place constructs diversity (Dhawan 2005, p. 83). Simultaneously, one must keep in mind that all too often "it is the members of the oppressed, objectified groups who are expected to stretch out and bridge the gap between the actualities of our lives and the consciousness of our oppressor. [...] Whenever the need for some pretense of communication arises, those who profit from our oppression call upon us to share our knowledge with them. In other words, it is the responsibility of the oppressed to teach the oppressors their mistakes. [...] The oppressors maintain their position and evade responsibility for their own actions" (Lorde 2001, p. 177). Thus media produced by migrants should be seen as an invitation to the majority population, as Gloria Anzaldúa puts it about her book *Borderlands/La Frontera*: "[...] we Chicanos no longer feel that we need to beg entrance, that we need always to make the first overture – to translate to Anglos, Mexicans and Latinos, apology blurring out of our mouths with every step. Today we ask to be met halfway. This book is our invitation to you – from the new *mestizas*" (Anzaldúa 1999, p. 20).

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Elisabeth Augustin

"We are being confronted with violence everywhere:
on the street, in the media, in schools."¹

A Report on a Video Project with Teenagers as an Attempt to Prevent Violence in Schools

"An ounce of experience is better than a ton of theory ..."

(John Dewey 1994, p. 145)

On March 11, 2009, 17-year-old Tim K. entered a secondary school in Winnenden/Baden-Württemberg and shot twelve people; three more died in the course of his escape. To run amok, as in this example, drastically shows that violence in schools is a problem on the rise. Because of the media only focussing on extreme cases of bullying and physical violence, the fact that violence has a very broad range of articulation, and occasionally a very subtle one, is pushed aside. Karl Dambach is identifying the lack of discussion of less spectacular forms of violence as well. Bullying in schools is just addressed by the media in its most brutal forms. Less dramatic cases are barely noticed (Dambach 1998, p. 24). This statement was already made by Dambach in 1998 – and has not lost any of its significance up to this date. Teenagers are exposed to various violent experiences in their every day life and by the media; but not all of these experiences are recognised as violent acts by the public. Statistics show that the amount of experienced violence is strongly linked to social class and education. Researches demonstrate that in Germany, physical violence is less likely to happen in Gymnasiums (which are secondary high schools). Nevertheless, bullying is – according to a report by Michael Gruener – as present at Gymnasiums as in any other school type (Gruener 1997, p. 181).

While working together with 17-year-olds within the scope of the project "Teenagers, Violence, Media" (October 2008 – May 2009), the following observations were made: Most forms of vio-

1 Statement Nicholas Kogler, Student, at the project presentation on May 5 at the IBG Klagenfurt. All quotations in this article were translated by the author.

lence which are brought up by media (e. g. bullying and verbal violations) were downplayed as jokes; the teenagers were indifferent to violence in comics, cartoons, as well as to popular horror movies (slasher films) and only understood them as jokes. Many teenagers were not aware of problematic contents and were lacking critical distance to mass media products. Some students also lacked communication skills. Very often young people are unable to reflect movies properly, as they don't have great command of an appropriate descriptive vocabulary. In general, there are not enough institutionally and pedagogically guided discussions on violence, and we must not forget the lack of informal opportunities for conversations about any kind of violence.

1 Project Description – Aesthetic Reflection Through Video Procedures

From October 2008 to May 2009, 20 students of the Ingeborg Bachmann Gymnasium in the Austrian town of Klagenfurt got together to reflect upon experiences of violence in real life and media under the supervision of the project team. The project was lead by Christina Schachtner, whereas the main idea originated from the Department of Media and Communication Sciences of the Alpen-Adria-Universität Klagenfurt. It was performed in cooperation with the youth centre "blue cube – the cube with wit" (Sieglinde Sumper) and the Ingeborg Bachmann Gymnasium (Josef Wagner). The intense exchange between the university and the school was significant for this project. Within the scope of the course "Violence and Digital Media", university students and the students of the Gymnasium worked – under the supervision and coordination of the project team – together on experiences of violence in school, within the family and in public areas. The outcome of the joint effort was implemented into artistic media projects. In small groups three short films ("Bullying To Death", "Two At Lolita's", "Kiss & Bang!") and one big format painting ("Colours of Violence", acryl painting) were produced. In their media contributions, the students mainly focused on the origins of violence. The movie scenes were developed together with the university students and performed by the teenagers themselves. The participants had the opportunity to determine the main focus of their work by themselves. Because of the process-like developing character of the

project, the students were able to establish their own experiences as learning instruments, which was a big motivation to participate but also proved to be a lasting lesson. The content highly corresponded with the life style of the young participants. While the popular slasher films seemed to be the initiator for the discussions of media violence, the main focus among the young people tended towards bullying in school. In weekly workshops, the teenagers were stimulated by activating methods, like visualisations or aimed perspective adoption, to explore themes on their own. The aim of this method was to call upon knowledge they already possessed and to develop a theoretical approach (e. g. forms of violence) in connection with own experiences.

In small groups, as well as in plenum discussions, results were exchanged and intensified, and the university students as well as the project team added suggestions and commented on the ideas of the working groups. The openness of the project gave the teenagers the opportunity to be active and express their own feelings. The project team created a (safe) room for experiences and provided the opportunity to deal with the topic of violence. Also from a media pedagogical point of view, the concept of the project is of valid reason: "The advantage of projects is that they do not provide answers in advance but still keep problems and experience constellations editable – by unifying within the scope of the project which will never just be a statement but [...] also incorporates a design of what would be reality" (Baacke 1997, p. 68).

The head of the youth centre in Klagenfurt, Sieglinde Sumper, who was also the initiator of the project, took the project to a non-academic dimension by providing the rooms of the centre for the workshops, so that rooms on the school grounds didn't have to be used. Therefore, the interest and the participation of the students in the project could be increased and at the same time, reflections on the daily school life were made possible. The analysis of the sensible topic of bullying at schools (among students as well as between students and teachers) was made tremendously easier for the teenagers by the spatial separation of school and project and the safe environment/the rooms of the blue cube centre provided. Furthermore, the fear of consequences was diminished and the teenagers were able to express their opinions freely. At the same time, specific questions enabled a distinct interpretation of the subject

(e. g.: How did the victim feel? How did the culprit feel? Why did bullying occur in the first place? Which are the possible strategies to find a solution?).

For the Gymnasium, art teacher and artist Josef Wagner took part in the project together with the Class 7a (2008/2009). The media project was integrated within the art course and supported by the headmaster of the school. Aside from the project team, the partners and the students, several other faculty members participated in the project: Elisabeth Augustin and university tutor Andreas C. Langer hosted the workshops and coordinated the project on site. Erwin Mattersdorfer and Bernhard Grininger supported the teenagers as well as the university students with all arising technical issues. During their intense work on the media projects, the secondary school students were able to get insights in the department and the study of Media and Communication at the Alpen-Adria-Universität Klagenfurt as they got the opportunity to visit its media laboratory. There they worked on their films with the help of the university students. Throughout the whole developing process, a great emphasis was put on reflecting the experiences gained in the project: Every step of the project was discussed and inquired in small groups by the students themselves, as well as by the plenum of colleagues at the university. Content and procedures were prepared critically. It soon became clear that not only the topic of violence needed research but that the working process itself had to be mastered: the coordination and development of a complex movie project require a great deal of organisational skills. On the one hand, these skills were necessary to develop the project, but on the other hand, they became an analytic object of scientific interest, as we tried to comprehend them. The students gained and trained organisational capabilities in almost every step of the project. This learning process started with the development of their concepts, the establishing of working processes and the coordination of time schedules. Later on, they had to organise requisites and technical equipment. During all these working steps, the students were able to achieve and train organisational capabilities, which encouraged independence and self-reliance within the young people.

One major goal of the project team was to make the experiences last. In order to achieve this goal, posters and information material with project descriptions and essays about the pedagogic

background of the project were published. Shortly after the completion of the short films, three of the project participants were sent to a live broadcast on "ORF-Radio Kärnten" to talk about the project and what they had experienced. These three were accompanied by a member of the project team, who guided pre and post discussions of the broadcast event. The media interest supported the participants in regards to the importance and relevance of the subject and the produced media installation. Being on a live radio show was an exciting experience for the teenagers and provided a lot of new impressions in regards to media, publishing and media products. At the same time, they were able to train their rhetorical abilities and experienced themselves in a positive way – as significant and important – which in return provided the teenagers with more self-confidence.

The project team, supported by Josef Wagner and the board of headmasters of the Gymnasium, hosted a public project presentation on May 5, 2009 at the Ingeborg Bachmann Gymnasium in order to introduce the project to a wider audience, as well as to the distributors (teachers, headmasters, administrative regulators, parents); also the local media was present at this event. As Dambach noted, the publication and/or the presentation of the results is the situation when a project gets "real" (Dambach 1990, p. 72).

At this event, the teenagers presented their media products by themselves and were trying to explain their intentions to the intrigued audience. This allowed the project participants to be active in the transmission of science and enabled them to improve their skills of doing presentations and leading through discussions. Additionally to a video presentation, a plenum discussion among the project team about the subject "Teenagers, Violence and Media" was a fundamental part of the project presentation. The participants discussed different experiences of violence to which teenagers can be exposed and illustrated the individual and the societal context, which can lead to an increase of the chances of people reacting violently in a conflict situation. Today, we are dealing with a young generation that is put under a rising performance pressure caused by lowered career perspectives due to the decline of the economy and the high unemployment rates. All these factors have a negative impact on the lives of teenagers and are compromising their future (Wierth-Heining 2000, pp. 29–30).

Even though today's teenagers face a greater societal pressure than the generation before them, they still express a positive outlook on their future, as the last Shell study from the year 2006 shows. Against the background of a sensible perception of societal problems, which for the majority of teenagers are mostly fears in regards to perspectives on the job market and career opportunities, a positive personal outlook on the future still has the upper hand: "The 'pragmatic generation' has been put under more pressure recently" (Shell Deutschland Holding 2006, p. 15).

According to Galtung, social inequity is violence. This includes for instance unequal chances of getting employed. Galtung identifies such forms of disadvantages as structural violence. He regards violence as immanent in the system, which often appears as an unequal balance of power (Galtung 1977, p. 12). Within the broad definition of Galtung we can consider an action as violent as soon as people are influenced by it in a way that their somatic and mental (intellectual) attainment is made smaller than their immanent potential would have been (Galtung 1977, p. 9). My assumption is that young people confronted with structural violence as described by Galtung are more likely to have feelings of frustration and this again could increase violent actions. This destructive behaviour might be intensified by general feelings of discomfiture, disorientation in life, and a low sense of influence.

In an article of the *Süddeutsche Zeitung* of November 16/17, 1993, Zygmunt Baumann uses the catchphrase "postmodern" for all societal liberating processes, which lead to random decision makings and selectable identities (Bauman 1993, p. 17). This newly acclaimed freedom is not just a chance, but also, at the same time, a responsibility and a burden for every single individual: "The more freedom a decision carries the less it will be experienced as decision. At any time revocable, there is a lack of weight and sturdiness – the decision is not binding, not even to the decision makers themselves" (Baumann 1993, p. 17).

A lack of orientation in life and an absence of perspectives can have severe consequences on adolescents. The effects can range from resignation to retreat but also to aggression. According to the Shell study of 2006, 22 % of teenagers admitted to have been involved in violent situations: "We also have a certain percentage of teenagers, who, in various situations, took part in physical fights.

All in all 22 % of the teenagers stated to have been involved in correlating experiences" (Shell Deutschland Holding 2006, p. 22).

In the course of the project presentation, two main educational shortcomings were elaborated: On the one hand, there is no comprehensive education on this topic available to the students, which would provide an intense examination from different angles. For example: Bullying could be the overall theme, which could be explored and discussed within different subjects like German, English, Art, Mathematics, Geography and Ethics or Religion. On the other hand, media trained teaching personnel needs to be available to make sure that these kinds of projects can be produced with the latest technology. This also depends on the disposability of financial resources.

In order to make the produced video clips easily accessible for those who are interested and also in order to leave a lasting impact, the clips were uploaded on a hosting server in the very simple QuickTime format and are available for public viewing at the Klagenfurt University's homepage under the section Lessons – Project lessons.² Not just the production and the team work for the project has proven to be a learning process, but also the viewing of the movies can be seen as a motivation to trigger discussions and reflections.

2 Intellect and Emotion – Learning by Experiencing and Working with the Art of Movies

With the main emphasis on video work, the project was established on the intersection of media pedagogic and movie art. The aesthetical analysis encouraged studying the aspects of violence from an emotional and an intellectual point of view. As an illustration, before writing the script for the short movie "Two at Lolita's", the students conducted an analysis of TV talk shows. They discussed the credibility of the talk show guests and different forms of media staging. In order to explore emotional aspects of violence, they examined the emotions of the fictional talk show guests. The teenagers approached the characters by fabricating their life stories, which they later transferred into the movie scripts. How do

2 <http://wwwu.uni-klu.ac.at/csacht/>

people who experienced violence lead their lives? Which problems do arise through violence, and which fears can be caused by the usage of force? Why do these people react violently in certain situations? Would there be any other behavioural options for them in these situations? With questions like these, the teenagers got to know the characters and delved into the mentality and the emotional world of the same. Furthermore, they gained explicit and implicit knowledge of the fictional stories. Artistic procedures are very much suited to activate unconscious knowledge and to make the so-called "implicit knowledge" (Polanyi 1985) available for description and exploration. Michael Polanyi assumes in his studies that "we know more than we can express" (Polanyi 1985, p. 14). In our case, implicit knowledge is not restricted to intellectual knowledge and can reach practical knowledge, too (Polanyi 1985, p. 16).

Schanz claims that by its visualisation, implicit knowledge can be easier to access and express: "Visualisations can obviously support the externalisation of knowledge effectively because pictures (in a wider sense) allow us to approach 'inner' knowledge and reduce existing verbal difficulties in regards to implicit knowledge" (Schanz 2006, p. 77). The term visualisation does not only refer to drawings but can also involve other media products, such as movies, photographs and written texts, so that "the formerly inexpressible is visualised and can therefore most likely be communicated" (Schanz 2006, p. 78).

The emotional exploration makes the topic, in this case violence in the family, approachable for the teenagers. The content is noticed as something important and lasting impressions can be built. John Dewey also supports a close interaction between intellectual and emotional experiences and learning processes: "In short, the aesthetic experience cannot be separated clearly from the intellectual, because the latter uses an aesthetic expression to implement itself" (Dewey 1994, p. 224). According to Dewey, experience is an active attempt, originating from the doing: "The active side of experience is attempt, trial – one gathers experience. [...] We leave an impact on the subject, and the subject leaves an impact on us; in this there lays the special connection of the two elements. The closer both sides of the experience are interwoven the greater is the implication" (Dewey 1994, p. 140).

Dewey also states that a successful learning process can only be obtained if experience is reflected upon and if it correlates with the student's past and/or future: "To learn by experience means that what we create and what we suffer from must be brought in connection backwards and forwards. In this situation, the experiencing will be an attempt, an experiment with the world to obtain knowledge of the same" (Dewey 1994, p. 141).

3 Reflecting – Acting – Learning: Media Pedagogy and Video Work

Media, such as television and internet, are apparent parts of the daily life of teenagers in highly developed industrial countries. They are societal instances and big assets within families and/or teenage cliques. Especially against this background, media pedagogy can call for a reflective and responsible handling of media and can introduce media competence through a widened critical ability. Media pedagogy operates intensely with practical questions: "a retreat into pure scientific reflection is not possible. Furthermore, media pedagogic reacts in a specific way to constructions of reality which are part of the daily life of people outside the constructions of theory" (Baacke 1997, p. 5). Because of the close team work between the university (university students, professors, project team) and the school (teenagers, teachers, cooperation partners) the presented project reached a highly developed network and the exchange between theory and praxis, between university input and reflection on one side and the daily life of the target group on the other side was obvious. I just argued that media pedagogy deals with the everyday life of people and is based on practical work. But it is also necessary to include the academic view and to provide a definition of what is meant by the subject. In this case we have to say that there is no clear or general definition of the term media pedagogy. A broad description of essential elements is given by Dieter Baacke: "Media pedagogy includes all social-pedagogic, social-political and social-cultural reflections and measurements, as well as it offers the ability to children, teenagers and adults to develop their own cultural interest [...] as well as their ability to express their societal and political opinions and their participation within these [...]" (Baacke 1997, p. 5).

In accordance to Dieter Baacke, media pedagogy offers opportunities for cultural activities as well as the support of social and political participation and the widening of one's own communication abilities. Within the project, the teenagers were given the chance to produce short movies and display their contents and opinions in public. Media pedagogy can provide a safe environment to explore, learn and test behavioural patterns. Moreover, it can guide the individual learning processes with structured reflections. Dieter Baacke and Marshall McLuhan agree that the active usage of technologies can provide a chance for a broader sensual observation (Baacke 1997, p. 31). The use of technology, Dieter Baacke explains further, can make the "world richer, more colourful, more versatile and more exciting" (Baacke 1997, p. 31).

The media project "Teenagers, Violence, Media" oriented itself on critical pedagogy with the aim to strengthen the critical abilities of the adolescents and to increase emancipation and empowerment. Rainer Winter describes the concept of critical pedagogy as follows: "A critical pedagogy analyses relations of dominance and power, forms of damaged life, exclusion, discrimination and racism. Critical pedagogy wants to help people who suffer under these structures to find a (better) understanding of their conditions and also to find possibilities to act on these conditions and to change them" (Winter 2008, p. 115).

Video work is specifically suited to reach these goals, because the students get the chance to articulate their own interests and opinions. Above all, new perspectives on the problem can be found by applying electronic media. Günther Anfang formulated this emancipated momentum and points out that media pedagogy aims to make media available to disadvantaged groups:

"The demand to engage in public communication and to participate at societal discourse is a central part of the video work and the conceptual orientation of the same. [...] In a society in which mass media is owned by very few and therefore the published opinion might not necessarily correlate with the opinion of the public respectively be identified with part of this public, media work can contribute in a way that those media can also be accessible to groups which otherwise would have no access to these media" (Anfang 2005, pp. 409 f.).

4 Summary: Video Work as a Kind of Violence Prevention in Schools

Media projects in schools are an excellent way to explore the topic of violence. Adolescents enjoy working with new technologies and like trying out different ways to express themselves. Playful learning is strengthening the motivation to analyse the topic of violence, which proved to be more difficult under normal circumstances. By looking at the topic from an intellectual and from an emotional perspective, a lasting learning effect can be achieved. The participants got the chance to explore possible reasons and motives for violent actions but also learned effective solutions and strategies to cope with such situations. Taking on designed perspectives deepens the knowledge on the subjects of bullying and violence. The opportunity of slipping into different characters within the movie projects helped the teenagers to perceive violence emotionally. Media projects with the focus on these topics allow teenagers reflective experiences, which can be transmitted to other situations in life. An example of this is given by Dambach, who points out that the discussion of bullying at school can be put to use later in life to cope with bullying at work (Dambach 1998, p. 9). In general, the participation in video projects enhances self-confidence, trains communication abilities and helps developing artistic expressions. But also so called soft skills, such as the ability of teamwork, self organisation and the capability to give a positive and helpful feedback are educational objectives, which all can be attained within these media projects. Media projects give the chance to train media competence (the use of technical equipment, media production, and media critique) as well as social abilities. The development of social skills is a principal component for a successful 'together' because these social skills allow to adjust between one's own needs and the requirements of others: "Social skills as being able to gain acceptance, contacting ability and cooperative capacity; assist in the development of children and adolescents to implement an acceptable compromise between social conformity and personal needs" (Jugert et. al 2002, p. 9). Jugert et. al claim that social competence has a positive impact on success in school and can also be a benefit for the professional career (Jugert et. al 2002, p. 10).

I would like to stress that the achievements of video projects are not necessarily obvious right away, neither to the participants nor to the observers. Only by concluding discussions and guided reflections, learning goals can be examined. And also the finished product itself can not reflect the whole complexity of the learning process during the project, since the process itself is the goal. Werner Sesink gives an idea of what is meant by that by commenting on the theory of D. W. Winnicott: "Winnicott's understanding of creativity does not correlate with the quality of the product but the quality of the production which leads to the product; this can also be a piece of art – but does not have to be" (Sesink 2002, p. 65).

I would like to conclude by noting that the aesthetical exploration of violence within the scale of media projects can be an important contribution to the development and improvement of a critical and shaping media expertise, and can also be a durable element in the prevention of violence in schools.

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See the video clips online:

<http://wwwu.uni-klu.ac.at/cschacht/>

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Violence Prevention, Intersectionality and the Education for Peace

1 Introduction

Peer violence, such as violence among children and adolescents of the same age, is considered to be a comprehensive social phenomenon and problem that usually escalates in school environment and in other public places. Numerous approaches have been developed to tackle peer violence in both situations, before it happens and afterwards. Violence prevention programs usually aim at changing one's behavior before one starts to act violently. Less often these programs offer a specific approach to reach a certain group of perpetrators or victims (Scambor et al. 2009). Research shows that the roots and appearances of peer violence depend on affiliations of youngsters to social groups, which can be described and differentiated by the structural categories of gender, ethnicity and class (Phoenix 2003; 2004). In this article we argue that to perform violence prevention with youngsters effectively, these structural categories have to be taken into account systematically and that the intersectional approach in research as well as in preventive and curative programs represents a promising way for undertaking that. Intersectionality, a 20-year-old concept with its roots in feminist reflections on race and class differences between women, provides an analytical tool to study, understand and respond to the ways in which gender, ethnicity, class and other categories do intersect and expose specific types of discrimination, also among youngsters.

The United Nations proclaimed the International Decade for a Culture of Peace and Non-Violence for the Children of the World (2001–2010) stressing non-violence and peace. A brief review of the Declaration and Program of Action on a Culture of Peace indicates the crucial role education plays in terms of children's rights, responsibilities and opportunities. These factors are important to promote the main aims of a Culture of Peace, such as non-violent conflict resolutions and joint dialogues. As defined by the United Nations (Resolution A/RES/52/13 1998), a culture of peace involves

a "set of values, attitudes, modes of behavior and ways of life that reject violence and prevent conflicts by tackling their root causes to solve problems through dialogue and negotiation among individuals, groups and nations". Further, peace education offers alternatives to violence, as it gets involved in conflicts on all levels and helps develop non-violent options (Wintersteiner 1992; Wintersteiner et al. 2003). The intersectional approach in peer violence prevention can contribute to the concept of a culture of peace and peace education in two ways: it enables an insight and an in-depth analysis of violence, where social categories, which influence experiences with violence and affect violence, intersect, and it assists to foresee possible non-violent solutions. In the words of PeerThink (Scambor et al. 2009, p. 5), "an intersectional view on youth reality is an analytical tool of explaining violence, but also [of] identification of resources for a non-violent behavior".

In this article we deal with an intersectional approach in peer violence prevention, which is presented as an educational and pedagogical tool that can be a part of formal and informal education. The intersectional approach for violence prevention work has been developed within the Daphne program funded project "PeerThink – Promotion of intersectional approach in education against peer violence".¹ In this article, we first present peer violence in the Slovenian context, which is mainly limited to its appearance in school environment and is treated more or less as an individual psychological and behaviour problem. Few studies dealing with violence of young first and second generation immigrants recognise deeper structural factors, which can be identified as active factors of peer violence, however, they fail to link different identity positions with specific predispositions for peer violence (Lesar 1998; Dekleva 2002; Dekleva; Razpotnik 2002). Therefore, analysis, discus-

- 1 PeerThink project (2007–2009; ref. no. JLSDAPO6127Y06; www.peerthink.eu) is part of Daphne program. International project team includes partners from Germany (Dissens, Berlin, coordinators), Italy (bbjshare.it), France (Eurocircle, Marseille), Austria (Men's Counseling Center, Graz) and Slovenia (The Peace Institute, Ljubljana). In the project IGIV – Implementation Guidelines for Intersectional Peer Violence Preventive Work (2010–2011, 504259-LLP-1-2009-1-DE-Gundtvig-GM) (www.intersect-violence.eu) as follow up of PeerThink project, we'll continue working on intersectional approaches in practice as educational and pedagogical tools.

sions and preventive programs against peer violence remain general, undifferentiated, untargeted and non-specific according to the co-constitutive identity dimensions of gender, class and ethnicity. In the second part of this article, the concept of intersectionality is presented with reference to peer violence. In the conclusion we propose a few suggestions how to implement the intersectional approach in peer violence research and prevention. Furthermore, the possible relation of intersectionality and peace is reflected upon.

2 Conceptualisation of Peer Violence in Slovenian Context

In Slovenia, systematic research on peer violence started in the 1990s, a few years later than in other European countries, where it started in the late 1980s, and was solely focused on violence in a school environment. The institutional context in which peer violence was and still is conceptualised consists of a quite narrow circle of experts from the fields of psychology, criminology and education. Faculty of Education, Institute for Criminology and the National Agency for Schooling are the leading expert institutions in the area, besides several nongovernmental organisations² that are providing activist violence preventive and curative projects and programmes, mainly for schools. In the last years also centres for social work offer programs, such as assistance in learning and violence preventive workshops (Mugnaioni Lešnik et al. 2008). In the research and education field, we are witnessing the popularity of the topic of youth violence in recent years, especially in social work, criminology and education studies. A few national research projects were carried out in the last years focusing on violence in schools (Krek et al. 2007; Mugnaioni Lešnik et al. 2008; Pavlović et al. 2008).

It is still the issue in Slovenia as well as in the European context that a variety of terms is used to denote violence and violent behaviour, including peer violence. One of the often cited definitions of violence is the definition by the World Health Organisation (2002), which defines violence as "the intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person or

2 If mentioning only few, Association against violent communication (DNK), UNICEF and Amnesty International Slovenija.

against a group or community, that either results in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, mal-development or deprivation". The WHO depicts violence as a public health problem and emphasises physical violence. Its typology differs between self-inflicted, interpersonal and organised violence and a variety of factors that contribute to violence, such as individual characteristics, family, economic and societal factors (unequal power relations between genders and ethnic groups, poverty, etc.), economic development and unemployment among young people, media influences and the availability of weapons (WHO 1999).

Mugnaioni Lešnik et. al (2008) make an important differentiation between types of violence (actors and context of violence, for example, peer violence, violence of teachers against pupils, violence of pupils against teachers, domestic violence, mobbing, etc.) and forms of violence (psychical, verbal, social, economic, institutional, psychological). As for the peer violence, Mugnaioni Lešnik et al. (2008) differentiate between violence among peers, which are of the same age and violence among pupils, which does not presuppose they are of the same age. The first researches on peer-violence in Slovenia (Dekleva 1996) were focused on understanding the diverse terms used to denote the phenomenon of peer violence. It was established that among these different terms (for instance "trpinčenje" [torture] and "ustrahovanje" [intimidation]), the most appropriate term describing the violence among pupils is the expression "bullying" (as it was defined by Norwegian researcher Dan Olweus) which refers to physical forms of violence as well as to verbal forms and to social abuse. In the Slovenian context "bullying" means peer violence, which is defined as a continuous activity with a power relation between the perpetrator and the victim.

On a theoretical level, several approaches towards understanding peer violence can be discerned. In the relevant literature, individual and psychopathological approaches are prevalent, according to which violence is linked to specific personal features and to specific family backgrounds of pupils involved in violence (Dekleva 1997; Pušnik 1999). Researches indicate partially different characteristics of bullies and their victims. However, according to some authors (Dekleva 1997), these differences are almost negligible and cannot sufficiently explain the phenomenon of bullying itself. This

approach individualises youth violence and turns the attention away from the context in which violence occurs and away from the more profound structural causes. Although it is recognised that individual and psychological approaches do not represent a firm ground for planning intervention strategies, they remain in frequent use within expert circles as well as in public discussion and common sense.

The approach which defines violence as a "normal" phenomenon in three perspectives is less popular, yet theoretically more thorough. Firstly, every society uses violence to pursue its fundamental goals and monopolises the use of violence (i.e. sets and protects the norms), which separates unacceptable violence from the acceptable one. We commonly use the term violence to describe unacceptable violence, while the acceptable (institutionalised) violence is not defined as violence. Secondly, in everyday life, and the so called positive assertion, we all need a number of behavior patterns and psychological features, which do not considerably differ from the behaviors and features necessary for perpetuation of unacceptable violence. Thirdly, violent behavior is one of the typical (normal) behavioral reactions to frustration and is therefore closely linked to the distribution of frustrations in society. It should be stressed here, that frustrations are not coincidental, they are systematically distributed in accordance with the typical features of a social structure. From this perspective, the starting point for understanding violence is that violence is at least a partly "normal" phenomenon, which appears in response to frustrations transmitted in a society and as the reaction to unfulfilled legitimate expectations or as the answer to the gap between the proclaimed and legitimate values and the reality of their exercise (Dekleva 1996; 2004). However, this does not mean that violence is acceptable, but rather that it represents a common element of relationship dynamics. This approach offers a more systemic understanding of violence and is not focused on isolated (pathological) individuals. Dekleva (2004) also claims that in this perspective, violence prevention (i.e. the protective factor) is a general global non-discriminatory treatment and a global execution of social, rather than formal justice. This theoretical background is echoed by the violence preventive projects pursuing to set up a safe school environment. It should, however, be stressed, that understanding violence as a "normal" phenomenon

cannot be in line with the principle of zero tolerance for violence, which the majority of Slovenian non-governmental organisations for preventive and curative activities hold as the guiding principle in all their activities.

Context-specific reflexion on violence attempts to understand the apparent increase of violence in the 1990s on the grounds of social and political transition in Slovenia. This reflexion, understanding violence as a "normal" reaction, contextualises social frustration in the process of transition and the frustrations caused by the transition in certain social groups. The surge of research and public discussions on peer violence in Slovenia coincides with deep social and political changes the country has witnessed in the 1990s, when the country took on a journey of transition from national to market economy, from socialism to democracy, from a Yugoslav republic to an independent state. In the wider sense, transition can be defined as a transition from a modern into a post-modern society. The changes in political and economic life triggered deep changes in all aspects of everyday life, which also meant new opportunities and risks. It was a shift from the static, safe and collectively organised social environment into a dynamic, individualised society, offering people a wide variety of choices and lifestyles. According to Huselja (2004), this meant a growing insecurity of transition into adulthood for the young adults and an "ontological gap" caused by a weakened tradition and changed patterns of socialisation. The social changes of the 1990s also brought about the new phenomenon of poverty, decrease of social-economic standards, a growing number of unemployed parents, economic differentiation and end of uniformly set work time, replaced by flexible work time and shifts, extension of the 8-hour workday, etc. From this context, Huselja has extracted the transition risk factors which, in addition to dysfunctional families, include the economic and cultural deprivation, unemployed or over busy parents and the organisation of working hours (*ibid.*). An empirical research of the number of the most common delicts committed by young people between 1985 and 1999 shows a considerable increase of minors as perpetrators of delicts, with the largest increase of delicts related to illegal drugs.

Mugnaioni Lešnik (2004; 2008) reflects upon the occurrence of violence as the consequence of power relations in society, thus exposing a more structural/intersectional approach towards an un-

derstanding of violence. She states that the most important factors that add to the risk of peer violence are attitudes towards violence in society and culture; the affiliation to some social groups, such as ethnic, racial, cultural, religious and social marginal groups; being a child, a woman, a handicapped, homosexual or old person; and also growing differences in socio-economic positions, poverty, etc. She argues that violence is always the outcome of inequality in power. Here the stress is not on physical but on social, cultural and economic hegemony.

3 Introduction of Ethnicity into Youth Violence Research

If peer violence in schools is framed more or less in individual and psychopathological terms then discussion on immigrant peer violence brings in more intersectional and structural perspectives. Immigration to Slovenia started at the end of 1950, but particularly after 1974 when labour markets in Western European countries were closed. In 1991, when Slovenia seceded from former Yugoslavia, approx. 227.000 citizens of other former Yugoslav republics became inhabitants Slovenia. They were mainly economic immigrants. The end of the century was marked by a period of war in former Yugoslavia and by an increasing number of a new sort of immigrants – war refugees from Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia and Serbia seeking for shelter in Slovenia. Most of them were living with their Slovenian relatives and friends, outside refugee shelters. Many had experienced extreme war violence. At the same time Slovenia has been opening towards the EU, which indicated additional possibilities for increasing migration streams.

It has to be noted that second generation immigrants in Slovenia differ from "classical" immigrants, as for instance Turks in Germany or Slovenes in the USA. The difference lies in the fact that their situation changed dramatically in a very short period – without moving to another country their status transformed from being an equal citizen of Yugoslavia to being an immigrant in Slovenia, due to a pure act of secession of Slovenia from former Yugoslavia. Many among them found themselves split between their working and personal existence on the one hand, which was bounded to Slovenia, and, their family, culture and other symbolical attachments on the other hand, which remained outside the Slovenian state borders. There-

fore, the national identity of Serbs, Bosnians, Croats and others got stronger; at the same time due to secession nationalistic feelings of Slovenians got empowered also. In the 1990s, the prevalent public opinion assumed that acts of violence were in increase and that this was essentially linked to non-Slovenes. According to the expert opinion (Dekleva 2002), however, this assumption was not based so much on the fact of empirical growth of violent acts, but mainly on a more rigorous definition of violence, on higher standards of human rights and sensibility for abuse and violation of rights.

In 2000 and 2001 an international empirical research titled *Deviation, Violence and Criminality* (Odklonskost, Nasilje in Kriminaliteta) was carried out focusing on problems of young second generation immigrants which gave the material for the book *Chefurs were born here* (Čefurji so bili rojeni tu) published a year later (Dekleva/Razpotnik 2002). This scientific monograph is recognised as a breakthrough publication on Slovenian peer violence research. Besides differentiating children on the grounds of gender and age, it was the first publication to introduce differentiation on the basis of ethnicity. Considering the large size of the sample (approx. 2000 15-year-olds from Slovenian secondary schools) and the wide scope of variables, it could be argued that this is the most comprehensive empirical study of violence among youths in Slovenia to date. The most relevant topics of the study, in addition to a discussion regarding the role of social position and ethnicity in violence and victimisation, include view points on violence, understanding of masculinity and femininity, capacity of empathic sensitivity of being in other people's shoes and non-violent conflict solution skills. The study paid special attention to the second generation of immigrants, with the general argument that these individuals are not sufficiently understood, whether they are being assessed as immigrants, or as long-term Slovenian residents. The study also introduced the concept of "cultural amphibian" (Razpotnik 2004) to describe the significant structural changes between the first and the second generation immigrants and metaphorical expatriation of the second generation immigrants from both environments: the environment of their parents' origin and the Slovene environment, which hinders their inclusion into the environment and makes the construction of their identities more difficult. The outcome of the study, however, showed that ethnicity of youth and their parents did not occur as an

important indicator of vulnerability for peer violence per se (neither on the side of victims nor on the side of perpetrators). Instead, the most important indicators of peer violence proved to be attitudes towards violence, lack of skills for non-violent conflict resolution, and attitudes towards masculinity and gender relations in intersections with ethnicity. The authors of the study accentuate however, that if the statistics at times show a higher frequency of violence in the group of the first or second generation immigrants, this can be explained with a simultaneous presence of a traditional understanding of masculinity and a weaker social economic positioning of immigrants, rather than by their ethnicity as such.

4 Intersectional Approach in Peer Violence Prevention

The term intersectionality, coined by legal scholar Kimberley Crenshaw, emerged in the late 1980s and early 1990s from critical race and feminist studies. It points to the "multidimensionality" of marginalised subjects' lived experiences by exposing differences within the broad categories of "women" and "blacks". Intersectionality appears as a significant contribution to the general theory of identity by pointing to the multiple oppression experienced by racialised, ethnicised, poor and gendered subjectivities in particular, although other differences such as sexual orientation, age, ableness, religion, etc. are also sites of oppression. Intersectionality enables a nuanced conception of identity that captures the ways in which race, gender, sexuality, and class, among other categories, are produced through each other, securing both privilege and oppression simultaneously. In its original emphasis on black women's experiences of subjectivity and oppression the concept of intersectionality has obscured the question whether all identities are intersectional or whether only multiply marginalised subjects have an intersectional identity. While some scholars insist that intersectionality refers to all subject positions (which are all fundamentally constituted by the interplay of race, gender, sexuality, class, etc.), the majority of scholars use the concept to focus on the particular positions of multiply marginalised subjects (Nash 2008, p. 10). In terms of a methodological approach the concept of intersectionality appears as a challenging one because of "the complexity that arises when the subject of analysis expands to include multiple dimensions of social life and categories

of analysis" (McCall 2005, p. 1772). Nevertheless, McCall identifies three distinct intersectional methodologies:

- "anticategorical complexity" is based on a methodology that deconstructs analytical categories, thus paying attention to the social processes of categorisation and the workings of exclusion and hierarchy (McCall 2005, p. 1773);
- "intracategorical complexity" takes marginalised intersectional identities as an analytical starting point in order to reveal the complexity of lived experiences within one individual group (McCall 2005, p. 1774). This approach exposes the under-theorised experiences of double/triple marginalised subjects;
- "intercategorical complexity" provisionally adopts existing analytical categories to document relationships of inequality among social groups (McCall 2005, p. 1773), thus using social categories in a strategic way to display the linkages between categories and inequalities.

Ann Phoenix (2003; 2004) provides a good example of using the concept of intersectionality in her study of young masculinities in schools, in which she argues that boys are not free to choose to work toward qualifications only, but are concerned to manage their everyday school interactions in the context of their complicated, multiple positioning. Schools are not simply about the gaining of educational qualifications, she argues (2004, p. 228), but are equally about negotiating the complex social processes that produce boys' masculine subjectivities. She shows how boys have to negotiate between the values of the school and a demand for hard masculinity which values aggression, confrontation, hierarchical power relationships. The boys define and enact masculinity as toughness style and sport ability against the requirements of study. Performance of masculinity is therefore constrained by canonical narratives of masculinity (Phoenix 2004; Kofoed 2008). One consequence of this is that boys who quietly work hard and make it clear that school achievement is a high priority for them are considered effeminate by boys and teachers and take a risk of being bullied (Phoenix 2004, p. 233). In her study, Phoenix also points out that gender does not operate in isolation in schools, which means that boys simultaneously occupy racialised and social class positions. It is therefore important to address the intersection of racialisation and gender in attempting to

understand why many boys cannot fulfil the demands of school performance. UK African-Caribbean boys have become associated with notions of super or hyper masculinity (the inflation effect of the racial stereotype). These processes mean that there are already assumptions in place about young black males: they are feared and excluded from school but also respected and admired for their styles and bravado. They exhibit great masculinity and resistance to teachers. Of course this rebounds on black males themselves as it becomes an assumption, a stereotype and an expectation. At the same time these same "cool" characteristics are recognised historically as being ways of psychological self-defence in the face of embedded racial discrimination. So there is a small space of power through exhibiting "properly masculine" characteristics which appears to give status to these boys while also locking them into a frame of stereotypical negative expectations. So strong is the requirement to exhibit successful masculinity (for ethnicised or poor boys it is even stronger) that this can easily jeopardise their chances of success in the school system.

5 How to Implement an Intersectional Approach in Peer Violence Preventive Work?

Intersectionality challenges us to contemplate and understand how the structural violence manifested in negotiated and often constrained identity positions is transformed into individual violence. Thus, intersectionality provides us with an analytical tool for a better understanding of the specificities of the broad phenomena of peer violence and therefore contributes also to the broader conceptualisation and implementation of a culture of peace and peace education. Several criteria can be defined with the main question whether the existing peer violence preventive education is addressing the interplay between social structure and individual agency:

- does the peace education address social differences and social inequalities in terms of social categories of gender, ethnicity/race, class, sexual orientation, age, disability, religion etc., and related everyday experiences;
- does it involve an intersection of two or more categories (for instance, class and ethnicity, femininity and ethnicity, masculinity and class, etc.);

- does it point to the social construction of identities and to the power relations in which they are embedded;
- does it foster sensitivity for, recognition, reflection and discussion of social differences and power relations as well as empowerment of youngsters.

Peace education as a supranational challenge always has to adjust to the specific social, political and cultural context (Teutsch/Wintersteiner 2003, p. 123) and therefore would be enriched by an intersectional approach in violence prevention work referring to the relation between the micro, mezo and macro level of society (Scambor et al. 2009). An intersectional approach deals with differences not only in terms of a gain for society, but also in terms of inequality and discrimination. Its conceptual basis is the overlapping of different social categories, which enables an in-depth analysis of social inequalities, violence and discrimination and moreover, it can give us some new tools and resources in peer violence prevention work, especially in reflecting the connection of the micro level of one's own situation and the macro level of society. This may also represent an added value to the culture of peace and peace education.

However, the next step is figure out points of intervention and how to bring the intersectionality approach from its abstract theoretical level into practice work of preventive and curative programs in schools and peer-groups. As Scambor and Busche suggest (2009, p. 6), the content of violence preventive programs or training courses should offer an open and safe space where youngsters can speak about their *everyday experiences with social exclusions* as well as structural discriminations (like xenophobia, nationalism, racism, homophobia, gender stereotypes). A lot of topics are relevant, such as gender/ethnic/class attitudes, self-concepts, doing gender/class/ethnicity, structures in institutions according to gender/class/ethnicity, public discourses, etc. One can pick them out as central themes. In *individual biographies structural disadvantages* can become visible. Therefore, it makes sense to link complex issues like structural discrimination to the participants' biographies. A good atmosphere and a trustful climate are indispensable for such a discussion, even though racism, sexism, homophobia, migration, global biographies, postcolonial histories, etc. can be accessed every day.

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Five Years Centre for Peace Research and Peace Education A short Balance

October 2010

The Centre for Peace Research and Peace Education was founded in 2005 at the Faculty of Humanities at the Alpen-Adria-Universität Klagenfurt with the support of Rector Günther Hödl and Dean Karl Stuhlpfarrer. So far, it is the only peace institute at a public Austrian university. There are two special characteristics of the Centre's work: the focus on the cultural dimension of peace research and the strong connection between peace research and peace education.

Staff

Univ.-Prof. Dr. Werner Wintersteiner (Chair)

Dr.ⁱⁿ Bettina Gruber (Managing Director, on sabbatical leave)

Mag.^a Viktorija Ratković (Current Managing Director)

Dr.ⁱⁿ Claudia Brunner (Researcher)

Mag.^a Daniela Rippitsch (Coordinator of the University Course Civic Education)

Scientific Board

Ao. Univ.-Prof. Dr. Wilhelm Berger, Alpen-Adria-Universität Klagenfurt

Prof.ⁱⁿ Dr.ⁱⁿ Hanne Birckenbach, University of Giessen, Germany

Prof. hc. Dr. Johan Galtung, TRANSCEND

Ao. Univ.- Prof.ⁱⁿ Dr.ⁱⁿ Brigitte Hipfl, Alpen-Adria-Universität Klagenfurt

Univ.-Prof. Dipl.-Ing. Dr. Martin Hitz, Alpen-Adria-Universität Klagenfurt

Dr. Walther Lichem, ambassador

Dr.ⁱⁿ Helga Rabenstein-Moser, Alpen-Adria-Universität Klagenfurt

Prof. ⁱⁿ em. Dr.ⁱⁿ Betty A. Reardon, Teachers College, Columbia University, USA

Prof. Dr. Dr. h.c. Dieter Senghaas, University of Bremen, Germany

Em. o. Univ.-Prof. Dr. Heinrich Schneider, University of Vienna, Austria

Research Fellows

Dr. Wilfried Graf, IICP Vienna

Dr.ⁱⁿ Daniela Gronold, Klagenfurt

Dr. Dieter Kinkelbur, Münster, Germany

Mag.^a Josefine Scherling, Villach

Research

- Establishment and participation at the Interdisciplinary Research Network "Culture & Conflict" at Klagenfurt University
- Focus on the cultural dimension in/of peace research
- "Bedingungen regionaler Gewaltprävention am Beispiel der Situation von Migrantinnen und ihrer medialen Wahrnehmung" (2007–2008) (Interdisciplinary Research Project on Human Trafficking in Austria)
- "Geschichte der Friedensbewegungen im Alpen-Adria-Raum in den 1980er Jahren" (2009) (History of the Peace Movement in the Alps-Adria-Region in the 1980s)
- "Politische Bildung in Österreich und ihre Bildner/innen" (2007–2008) (Research Project on Civic Education in Austria and its Educators)
- Politische Bildung an Volksschulen (2008–2009) (Research Project on Civic Education at Primary Schools)

Education

- Elective Programme Peace Research and Peace Education (4 courses/year), open to all students
- Certificate "Civic Education" in cooperation with University College of Teacher Education Carinthia (since 2009)
- University Course "Human Rights and Peace Education" (2004–2006)
- University Course "Civic Education" in cooperation with Danube University Krems (2006–2010)
- Supervision of doctoral students of peace issues and development of the Doctoral Programme Peace Research (Culture and Peace)
- International Summer Peace University, in cooperation with University Udine and Koper/Capodistria (August 2009 in Tarcento/Italy)
- Continuing Education, especially in-service teacher training (annual symposiums on Peace Education)

International Networks

- Initiation of the establishment of the Peace Research Institute IRENE, University of Udine, member of its Scientific Board
- Member of the International Peace Research Association (IPRA), member of the Peace Education Commission (PEC)
- Member of the Scientific Board of the Hague Appeal for Peace Global Campaign for Peace Education (HAP GCPE/Peace Boat)
- Visiting Professor at Teachers College, Columbia University, New York (2005) and Short Term Visiting Professor at Eastern China University, Shanghai (2009) (Werner Wintersteiner)
- Establishment and member of the scientific Network Peace Education of German speaking Countries (Netzwerk Friedenspädagogik)
- Establishment of EURED (European Education as Peace Education)
- Member of DARE (Democracy and Human Rights Education in Europe)
- Member of IGPB (Interessensgemeinschaft Politische Bildung)

Publications

- 18 books in total (see below)
- Establishment of 3 book series
- Articles in 5 different languages
- Cooperation at the establishment and member of the editorial board of the only scientific journal for peace education worldwide: *Journal of Peace Education*
- Authors and/or editors of five groundbreaking books in the field of Peace Education and Peace Research, two in English, three in German
- Editors of two books on Democracy Education and peace education as violence prevention
- Yearbook Peace Culture (since 2006)
- Establishment of the book series "Klagenfurt Contributions to Peace Research" (Klagenfurt: Drava, 2 books)
- Establishment of the book series "Culture & Conflict" (Bielefeld: Transcript, in cooperation with the Research Network Culture & Conflict, 2 books published, 3 books in preparation)

- Numerous articles in journals and books in German, English, Italian, Slovene, Spanish and Basque
- Peace-Letter (Newsletter), numerous brochures in German and English

Conferences

- State of the Art of Peace Research (2005)
- *Culture & Conflict* (2006)¹
- Civic Education (2006)
- Chechnya Conference (2006)
- Peace Education in German speaking countries (2007)
- *Cultural Dimensions of Conflicts* (2007)
- Peace Education in Practice (2008)
- Multilingualism, Transculturality and Education (2008)
- 25 Years University Course Civic Education (2008)
- *Conflict Transformation and Partisanship* (2008)
- *Knowledge & Power* (2009)
- Human Rights at Universities (2009)
- *Tension & Conflict* (2009)
- Peace Research in Austria (2010)

Books in Detail

Berger, Wilhelm/Hipfl, Brigitte/Mertlitsch, Kirstin/Ratković, Viktorija (eds.) (2010): *Kulturelle Dimensionen von Konflikten. Kulturwissenschaftliche Dimensionen von Konflikten*, Bielefeld: Transcript.

Brunner, Claudia (2010): *Wissensobjekt Selbstmordattentat. Epistemische Gewalt und okzidentalistische Selbstvergewisserung in der Terrorismusforschung*, Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.

Bürger, Hermann/Gruber, Bettina/Wintersteiner Werner, on behalf of Austrian Federal Ministry for Education Science and Culture (eds.) (2002): *Education for Intercultural Understanding. The "European Youth Academy" Handbook*, Innsbruck: StudienVerlag.

Dietze, Gabriele/Brunner, Claudia/Wenzel, Edith (eds.) (2009): *Kritik des Okzidentalismus. Transdisziplinäre Beiträge zu (Neo-) Orientalismus und Geschlecht*, Bielefeld: Transcript.

1 Italics: Conferences in cooperation with *Culture & Conflict*

- Grasse, Renate/Gruber, Bettina/Gugel, Günther (eds.) (2008): Friedenspädagogik. Grundlagen, Praxisansätze, Perspektiven, Reinbek/Hamburg: Rowohlt Verlag.
- Gruber, Bettina/Stainer-Hämmerle, Kathrin (eds.) (2008): Demokratie lernen heute. Politische Bildung am Wendepunkt, Wien: Böhlau Verlag.
- Gruber, Bettina/Rippitsch, Daniela/Stuhlpfarrer, Karl/Wintersteiner, Werner (eds.) (2008): Internationale Krisenherde und Konflikte. Jahrbuch Friedenskultur 2008, Klagenfurt/Celovec: Drava.
- Gruber, Bettina/Rippitsch, Daniela/Wintersteiner, Werner (eds.) (2009): Menschenrechte und Frieden. Jahrbuch Friedenskultur 2009, Klagenfurt/Celovec: Drava.
- Gruber, Bettina/Wintersteiner, Werner/Duller, Gerlinde (eds.) (2009): Friedenserziehung als Gewaltprävention. Regionale und internationale Erfahrungen, Klagenfurt/Celovec: Drava.
- Hämmerle, Kathrin/Hipfl, Brigitte/Rabenstein, Helga/Wintersteiner, Werner (eds.) (2007): Dialog der Zivilisationen. Jahrbuch Friedenskultur 2007, Klagenfurt/Celovec: Drava.
- Hipfl, Brigitte/Rabenstein, Helga/Wintersteiner, Werner (eds.) (2006): Jahrbuch Friedenskultur 2006, Klagenfurt/Celovec: Drava.
- Isop, Utta/Ratković, Viktorija/Wintersteiner, Werner (eds.) (2009): Spielregeln der Gewalt. Kulturwissenschaftliche Beiträge zur Friedens- und Geschlechterforschung, Bielefeld: Transcript.
- Klepp, Cornelia/Rippitsch, Daniela (eds.) (2008): 25 Jahre Universitätslehrgang Politische Bildung in Österreich, Wien: Facultas.
- Palencsar, Friedrich/Tischler, Kornelia/Wintersteiner, Werner (eds.) (2005): Wissen schafft Frieden. Friedenspädagogik in der LehrerInnenbildung, Klagenfurt/Celovec: Drava.
- Wintersteiner, Werner/Spajić-Vrkaš, Vedrana/Teutsch, Rüdiger (eds.) (2003): Peace Education in Europe. Visions and experiences, Münster: Waxmann (European Studies in Education, 19).
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- Wintersteiner, Werner (1999): Pädagogik des Anderen. Bausteine für eine Friedenspädagogik in der Postmoderne, Münster: agenda.
- Wintersteiner, Werner (ed.) (1994): Das neue Europa wächst von unten. Friedenserziehung als Friedenskultur, Klagenfurt/Celovec: Drava.

Public Lectures

- 29. 9. 2005 Lloyd de Mause (in cooperation with the Institute of Philosophy)
- 12. 2005 Exhibition and Panel Discussion: "1000 Women for the Nobel Peace Prize" with Ute Bock, Doris Wastl-Walter and Brigitte Hipfl
- 16. 12. 2005 Johan Galtung: "Culture, Conflict, Peace"
- 15.–18. 5. 2006 Film Screenings and Discussions in the Film series "Politics in Film" (in cooperation with Danube University Krems)
- 6. 2006 Panel Discussion and Book Presentation: "Grenzfall Kärnten – zwischen Vergangenheit und Zukunft" (Borderland Carinthia – between past and future)
- 11. 10. 2006 Donation of the Peace Library by Dieter Kinkelbur
- 20. 10. 2006 Bishop Erwin Kräutler, Brazil: "South America quo vadis?"
- 26.–29. 3. 2007 Film Screenings and Discussions in the Film series "Politics in Film", focusing on "Politics and War" (in cooperation with Danube University Krems)
- 4. 7. 2007 Marshall Rosenberg: "Non-violent Communication" (in cooperation with Empathieraum Kärnten)
- 18. 3. 2008 Helmut Hartmeyer: "Chances and Limits of Education. Global Education in Austria" (in cooperation with Bündnis für eine Welt and Landesschulrat Kärnten)
- 7.–10. 4. 2008 Film Screenings and Discussions in the Film series "Politics in Film", focusing on "Politics and Economy" (in cooperation with Danube University Krems)
- 21. 4. 2008 Heinrich Neisser, Austria: "EU Reform Treaty. What the Public Needs to Know"
- 31. 5. 2008 Kurt P. Tudyka, Germany: "Peace Force Europe – Searching for a Hidden Utopia"
- 19. 6. 2008 Roger Heacock, Palestine: "No Peace in the Middle East – Why?"
- 25. 6. 2008 Presentation of the Study on Human Trafficking (in cooperation with the Centre of Women's and Gender Studies, Alpen-Adria-Universität Klagenfurt)
- 9. 12. 2008 Franz Küberl, Caritas Austria: "60 Years Declaration of Human Rights"
- 31. 3. 2009 Establishment of the platform "Migration – a Human Right" (Villach)

- 23. 4. 2009 Charles P. Webel, University of New York in Prague: "The War of the World"
- 17. 10. 2009 Emmerich Tálos, Austria: "Social Security" (in cooperation with Carinthian University of Applied Sciences, Feldkirchen)
- 11. 11. 2009 Exhibition "No Child's Play – Children in the Holocaust"/Nadja Danglmaier: "Jewish Children in Carinthia"
- 10. 3. 2010 Claudia Brunner/Gabriele Dietze/Brigitte Hipfl: "Kritik des Okzidentalismus" (Critique of Occidentalism) (Klagenfurt)
- 11. 3. 2010 Claudia Brunner/Gabriele Dietze/Birgit Sauer: "Kritik des Okzidentalismus" (Vienna)
- 22./24. 3. 2010 Betty A. Reardon, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York: "Human Rights at Universities"
- 23. 4. 2010 Study Day on Peace Education (speakers from Austria and Germany)
- 24. 6. 2010 Conference on "Peace Research in Austria" at the occasion of the 5th anniversary of the Centre for Peace Research and Peace Education, including Anton Pelinka, Wolfgang Dietrich, Wilfried Graf, Hans Peter Grass, Arno Truger, and others.

The Authors

David Adams, Dr., since retiring from UNESCO in 2001, promotes the Global Movement for a Culture of Peace, establishing the websites of: Culture-of-peace.info, the Culture of Peace News Network (<http://cpnn-usa.org>) and the Civil Society Report to the United Nations on the Culture of Peace (<http://decade-culture-of-peace.org>). His recent books include *The History of the Culture of War*, *World Peace through the Town Hall* and a utopian novella.

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Wilfried Graf is the co-director of the IICP (Institute for Integrative Conflict Transformation and Peacebuilding) in Vienna. He is a sociologist by education and wrote his dissertation on civilisation theory and globalisation. His areas of research include "Peace as a Project of Civilisation", "Paradigms of Conflict Transformation", "Religion and Violence", "Deep Dimensions of Nationalism and Fundamentalism" and "European Security and Peace". He is engaged as a conflict transformation consultant in various projects in Central Asia, South Caucasus, South East Europe, Sri Lanka and Southern Africa.

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Majda Hrženjak, PhD, sociologist, is research fellow, coordinator and manager of national and international projects at the Peace Institute – Institute for Contemporary Social and Political Studies (Ljubljana/Slovenia). Her current research topics are social policies related to care work, gender studies, social inequalities and youth violence. She published many articles and book chapters on gender discourses in education, on inclusion of Roma children in kindergarten system and on (multi)cultural education.

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Manuel Manonelles is currently the Director of the Barcelona Office of the Foundation for a Culture of Peace. In this capacity he has coordinated the international edition of the "World Report Culture of Peace 2005", as well as the study of Good Practices in Culture of Peace of 2006. Moreover he has developed in the Foundation a series of thematic activities linking the development of a Culture of Peace in some strategic areas such as Culture of Peace at the UN (2007–2008), Interreligious and Intercultural Dialogue (from 2007 on), Climate Change and Peace (from 2009 on), etc. In 2005 and 2006 he also acted as the Special Advisor to the Chair of the United Nations High-Level Group for the Alliance of Civilizations, Federico Mayor.

Federico Mayor is professor of Biochemistry and Molecular Biology and was rector of the University of Granada (1968–1972), Minister of Education and Science of Spain (1981–1982), Deputy Director General of UNESCO (1978–1981) and Director General of this organisation (1987–1999). From 2000 on, he has been the president of the Foundation for a Culture of Peace, which main activities focus on education for peace, human rights and democracy, struggle against poverty and exclusion, defence of cultural diversity and intercultural dialogue, and conflict prevention.

Manuela Mesa Peinado, Director of CEIPAZ (Centre of Education and Peace Research). Researcher and consultant in peace and development, focus on the role of civil society, and particularly women in peace building. President of the Spanish Peace Research Association (AIPAZ), a platform that includes academic institutes, civil society groups, NGOs, and social movements. Member of the International Committee of the Global Action to Prevent War, in New York (www.globalactionpw.org) and member of the Panel of Expert about Peace Index.

Mary Lee Morrison is the director of Pax Educare, Inc., the Connecticut Center for Peace Education, a resource center for the research, study and teaching of peace. The Center offers consultation on curricula, promotes the study and practice of peace in educational institutions through higher education and in informal settings, engages in small, collaborative research projects and affirms peaceful pedagogical practice in all aspects of teaching and learning. It publishes a twice yearly newsletter with links to many activities and resources. Mary Lee is the author of various publications, including *Elise Boulding: A Life in the Cause of Peace* (2005) and co-author, with Ian M. Harris, of *Peace Education* (2003). She teaches global sustainability at Central Connecticut State University.

Augustin Nicolescou is the IICP's (Institute for Integrative Conflict Transformation and Peacebuilding) project manager and researcher. He received his B. A. in Political Science from McGill University and his M. A. in Peace and Conflict Studies from the European University Center for Peace Studies in Austria. Since 2005, he has been the coordinator of the IICP's peace support work in Sri Lanka. He is currently writing his doctoral dissertation at the University of Vienna's Department of Political Science.

Viktorija Ratković, born 1982 in Sisak/Croatia, is currently the managing director of the Centre for Peace Research and Peace Education at Alpen-Adria-Universität Klagenfurt. After graduating in Media and Communication Studies, she has coordinated the Interdisciplinary Research Network "Culture & Conflict" at Klagenfurt University and is the co-editor of the network's first two publications in the book series "Culture & Conflict" of the Transcript Verlag/Germany.

Danilo R. Streck is professor at the Graduate School of Education of the Universidade do Vale do Rio dos Sinos (UNISINOS), Brazil. He holds a PhD in Education from Rutgers University (USA) and his research covers the areas of popular education, Latin American pedagogical thought and social movements. He is presently editor of the *International Journal of Action Research*.

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