

**PIONEERS**

# Elise Boulding: New Voices in Conflict Resolution\*

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## ■ Abstract

This article presents a biographical account and analysis of the work and ideas of Elise Boulding as a pioneer of peace education, peace research and peace activism. In a context where many of the leading figures in the emergence and evolution of peace research and conflict analysis are seen to be men, the article emphasises the significance of women as peacemakers and peace thinkers, and the role that Elise Boulding played in this evolution of a gendered peace. Born in Norway in 1920, Elise emigrated to the USA as a child, and in her academic career took a leading role in some of the key institutions that shaped the contemporary peace research community globally. She was a creative thinker who opened spaces for the 'new voices' that appears in the title of this article, exploring the place of women, children and the family in the everyday practices of peacemaking, in pursuit of what she called a global civic culture of peace. The second part of the article takes the form of a partly auto-biographical account by Irene M. Santiago and her work in the Philippines, showing how much of what Elise Boulding argued for and represented has come to inspire contemporary peacemakers to mainstream gender analysis in the policy, theory and projects of their peace building work.

## ■ Keywords

Elise Boulding, peace education, gendered peace, peace activism

## INTRODUCTION

When the history of peace research is surveyed, the academic literature often concentrates on the biographies of the men who pioneered this development – and the names for example of Johan Galtung, John Burton, Kenneth Boulding and Adam Curle dominate the accounts. Yet women peacemakers and peace thinkers are currently prolific in the theory and practice of peace. In this article we concentrate on Elise Boulding, one of the pioneers of peace

research, whose career as an academic and peacemaker spanned the years from the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century until her death in June 2010. The article is in two parts. Firstly, we provide an overview of the work and ideas of Elise Boulding. Secondly we show, through the contribution of a partly auto-biographical account by Irene M. Santiago, how much of what Boulding argued for and represented has come to inspire contemporary peacemakers to mainstream gender analysis in the policy, theory and projects of their peace building work. In this section, Irene Santiago demonstrates how she adapted a well known model used in conflict analysis

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(Edward Azar's concept of protracted social conflict), and radically adapted it in the light of women's experiences in the conflict in Mindanao. She also shows the creative role played by women and women's organizations in peacebuilding in that conflict.

## PART 1. THE CONTRIBUTION OF ELISE BOULDING TO PEACE EDUCATION AND PEACE RESEARCH

Elise Bjorn Hansen was born in Norway in 1920, and emigrated to the USA as a young child, with her parents, in 1923. She became a peace activist as a young woman and also joined the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers), where she met her husband Kenneth Boulding, whom she married in 1941. Together they brought up a family of five children and forged a lifelong relationship which was pivotal in the definition and growth of what was to become a global peace research and peace education network.

Elise Boulding trained as a sociologist, receiving her Masters degree from Iowa State College and her PhD from the University of Michigan. With Kenneth and a small group of other academics, which included the mathematician-biologist Anatol Rapoport, the social psychologist Herbert Kelman and the sociologist Robert Cooley Angell, she was involved in launching the *Journal of Conflict Resolution* (JCR) in 1957, and the initiation of the Center for Research on Conflict Resolution in 1959. She served as Secretary-General of the International Peace Research Association (IPRA), from 1964, and as chair of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, of which she was subsequently international chair. She was also co-founder of the Consortium on Peace, Research and Education (COPRED) in 1970, (currently the Peace and Justice Studies Association). With the help of UNESCO, the IPRA Newsletter, started by Boulding, developed the network which facilitated the formulation of the Association, and she continued to serve as its editor for a number of years.

As a young sociologist she was concerned, as were all the pioneers of the new field of conflict research in the 1950s, to avoid the mistakes which led to World War II and which might lead to a catastrophic, nuclear, third world war. She was influenced by *The Image of the Future* (1951), a study of 1,500 years of European history by Dutch historian-sociologist Fred Polak. In the efforts to rebuild a peaceful European and global society after 1945, Polak offered the idea of 'imagining' a better future as a way of empowering people to bring it about. The idea attracted Boul-

ding, and her major contribution both to the foundation of conflict research and its gender sensitisation was to open up a discourse and practice in contemporary conflict resolution, where women and children were included as radical change agents and empowered peacemakers.

In order to encourage wider participation in peace and conflict resolution processes, she introduced this idea of 'imagining the future' as a powerful way of enabling people to break out of the defensive private shells into which they retreated, often out of fear of what was happening in the public world. She encouraged them to participate in the construction of a peaceful and tolerant global culture. The use of social imagination and the idea of imagining the future was placed within the context of what she called the '200-year present', that is, the idea that we must understand that we live in a social space which reaches into the past and into the future, "it is our space, one that we can move around directly in our own lives and indirectly by touching the lives of the young and old around us" (Boulding, 1990, p 4). She was also an early exponent of the idea of civil society, of opening up new possibilities for a global civic culture which was receptive to the voices of people who were not part of the traditional discourses of nation-state politics, and in this she anticipated many of the preoccupations of conflict resolution workers today. Women (see Boulding, 1976) and children (see Boulding, 1989) were obviously excluded groups, and these new voices were added to the idea that globalism and global civic culture needed to accommodate the many culture communities which were not heard in the existing international order (see Boulding 1988, 2000). For further details on Elise Boulding's life the reader might like to refer to the excellent biography by Morrison (2005).

For Elise Boulding, as she developed the idea in the 1980s, the next half of our '200-year present' contained within it the basis for a world civic culture and peaceful problem-solving among nations, but also for the possibility of Armageddon.

Her study of women in history, *The Underside of History* (1976), presented the case for a feminist project to abolish structural and behavioural aggression against women and to establish gender equity. However, she also insisted that 'equity feminism', while representing an important phase of feminist aspirations, was a limited mode of action. It needed to be augmented by a social and transformational feminism which focused on the broader malformations that produce violence and oppression for both sexes, while also identifying women's culture historically as a resource for development and peacebuilding.

During the 1980s, Boulding organised a series of 'Imagining a World Without Weapons' workshops, an extension of the idea of problem-solving workshops and influenced



by Polak's thinking on future imaging. Initially Western-oriented, the workshops were subsequently reformulated in an effort to incorporate perceptions and values globally. In *Cultures of Peace: the Hidden Side of History* (2000), she surveyed over fifty years of research on human culture and society, and on the activity of peace movements working within a culture of war. She argued that the resources and energies for peace cultures are deep and persistent and are nourished by collective and communal visions of how things might be. In a manner not often displayed by the value-neutral exponents of problem-solving based conflict resolution, Boulding was explicit about the norms and objectives that characterized her transformative agenda. In 2001, at the age of 81, she imagined herself looking back at the way the world had changed in the 100 year future, that is, looking back from 2101:

“By 2050 the population had, through both disaster and design, fallen below five billion: human life on earth became viable again. School-based peace education joined with health and social education, leading to mutual solving of problems in and across communities and faiths. Industrialization slowed down, older technologies and skills were revitalized, steady-state economies were achieved. Dismantling the military and its institutions began. People's organizations (NGOs) now provided vital communication networks round the world, linking the growing thousands of locally-run communities, sharing information, skills, problems, solutions.

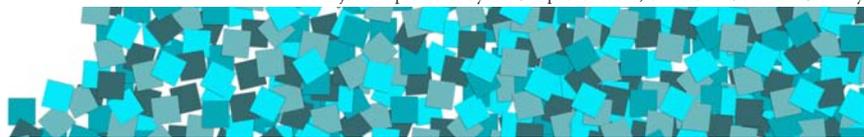
By 2100, the biosphere was beginning to recover from the destruction of the twentieth century, though used-up resources were gone for ever. National boundaries still existed for administrative convenience, but regional intergovernmental bodies skilled in conflict management handled disputes peacefully ... Humans had learned to listen to one another and the planet. (2000, p.1)”

Many people are rightly credited with the academic and intellectual innovations which collectively contributed to the emergence of the new field of peace and conflict analysis as it began to take shape and become institutionalized in academic and policy centres from the mid-1950s. Amongst this group of pioneers, Elise Boulding provided a uniquely creative, comprehensive and imaginative concept of a project for peace research and education which has had far-reaching impact on the evolution of the field as praxis – the unity of theory and practice. She saw the field of peace and conflict studies as being relevant beyond the academy, indeed as drawing its energy and creativity across

an inclusive and cosmopolitan global community. She saw the development of indigenous and international citizens' networks, composed of the voices of women and children as well as men, as a potent way of engendering a world-wide civic peace culture. For her, peacemaking demands specific craft and skills, a peace praxis encompassing “all those activities in which conflict is dealt with in an integrative mode – as choices that lie at the heart of all human interaction” (1990, p. 140). In the inter-subjective relationships which make up social and political life, as also in the structures and institutions within which they are embedded, the success with which this is inculcated and encouraged will determine whether, in the end, we are peacemakers or warmakers. This global vision, with peace praxis as its core, is her enduring contribution. In the second part of this article, through a case study of the work of Irene M. Santiago, we demonstrate how Elise Boulding's peace praxis evolved, and also through her voice. Irene has worked globally through UN agencies to provide women with a voice in peacemaking. She has also worked at the grassroots in many communities in the Philippines to develop a peace praxis relevant for the challenges faced by Mindanao, which has suffered a generation of conflict. In the following section, this conflict is explored and analysed by Irene M. Santiago, in a way that acknowledges the influence of Boulding on her peace praxis. As will be seen, Santiago was an activist in a global citizens network that progressively embedded women's rights and a gender perspective in policies at the UN. Upon the passage, in October 2000, of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 which calls for an increase in the participation of women at decision-making levels in conflict resolution and peace processes, Santiago became involved in the vigorous implementation of the Resolution at national and grassroots levels, where the impact of international instruments has to be felt.

## PART 2. THE WORK OF WOMEN PEACEBUILDERS IN SOUTH EAST ASIA. A PERSPECTIVE FROM THE PHILIPPINES

Many women have followed and built on the pioneering work of Elise Boulding and have projected women's voices and gender-sensitive perspectives into the academic, policy and activist discourse of conflict resolution, and many are also voices from the global South (McKay et al., 2004; Ashe, 2010). In this section, Irene M. Santiago describes her work as a peace activist and peace scholar based in Mindanao. She is the founding Chair and CEO



of the Mindanao Commission on Women and Convenor of Mothers for Peace. She was a member of the peace panel of the Philippine government negotiating with the Moro Islamic Liberation Front between 2001 and 2004. She has worked with Muslim communities in Mindanao, especially women, and is a leading voice calling for the recognition and involvement of women in peace processes. Here she shows how the gender perspective called for by Elise Boulding became progressively mainstreamed in UN policy, and how academic theory on peace and conflict was enriched through her work and that of others in the Philippines through a grassroots programme that evolved to become relevant to the realities of the conflict in Mindanao, where women were to become active and creative as peacebuilders.

In her work, she came to realize that gender is usually not seen as central to the armed conflict and therefore it is not seen as central to its resolution. She looked at the work of Edward Azar, who produced a generic theory of conflict using the term protracted social conflict to label and analyse it (see Azar, 1990). Azar was born in Lebanon and went to the United States to study. He became aware that traditional analytical frameworks described only inter-state conflicts that did not have any relevance to the armed conflict in his own country or other countries such as Northern Ireland, Sudan, Sri Lanka, and so on.

The Philippines has had a long-standing conflict between the central government and the Muslims who were the majority in the island of Mindanao until successive colonization by Spain and the United States left them as the minority in what they consider to be their own land. Azar's theory of protracted social conflict resonates in this type of majority-minority conflict.

Azar's conclusion was that long-term development is essential to address the issues around protracted social conflict. However, while Azar's original theory makes no reference to gender, it becomes evident that gender in fact is central to the resolution of protracted social conflict. Men and women are involved in war differently. Although more women are now involved as combatants, war is largely male in both its leaders and participants. Because of the gender roles assigned to them by society, men and women also suffer differently in times of war. Women are usually left to care not only for their children but also for their extended family. Destruction of infrastructure and loss of property burden women who have to cook, clean, wash, look for food, and generally care for the young and elderly. On top of this environment of economic insecurity, women suffer physical insecurity as rape is used as an instrument of war. However, it has also been shown that women have economic, political and social roles that are important in post-war reconstruction and recovery. So

aside from looking at women as victims, women must also be seen as important actors in the attainment of peace and development.

Edward Azar saw civil wars (protracted social conflicts, as he termed them) as the outcome of a denial of four areas of human needs. In this section, Irene Santiago describes her work in Mindanao, building on Boulding's theory not only about the centrality of gender in the analysis of peace and conflict but most importantly about women's participation in peacemaking and peacebuilding.

### Santiago writes:

In my work with women in Mindanao, I have defined the four fundamental human needs that form the basis of Azar's analysis differently – that is through a gender lens – as follows.

### Security needs:

Gender-based violence is a concern during the war and also the post peace agreement period when men, who have become used to a life of violence, return home. Having taken full responsibility for children and extended family in war time, women have become more independent. This independence may not sit well with the returning combatant who still believes that everything is what it was before the war. That is why I have recommended training in non-violence for ex combatants in post peace agreement programs. Women also view the security problem in the aftermath of war differently. The Mindanao Women's Peace Summit (called If Women Negotiated the Peace Agreement) organized by the Mindanao Commission on Women in February 2006 recommended that, instead of the traditional DDR (demobilization, disarmament, reintegration) there should be a 'de-militarized Mindanao'. The women believed that no armed groups – whether government or rebels – should be allowed to operate in the areas once wracked by violent conflict if their communities are to feel secure.

### Development needs:

Because of their role as primary providers of basic family needs in times of war and in its aftermath, women give much importance to food security. Only when food is secure will they have time to attend to other things. The ability to provide basic sustenance gives women status. It is important to bear this in mind in designing reconstruction and rehabilitation programs. For example, the way houses are designed has a bearing on whether women are able



to continue to play the food provider role effectively. In Cotabato, a row of government-constructed housing for internally displaced families was built with very little space in between the houses. Such a design meant that there would be no space for a woman to plant vegetables and keep small animals. This meant she would have no contribution to the family's basic need for food. Her status in the family – as a major contributor to the family's food security – would be diminished. With a diminished status, she would have less voice in family decisions. Women's development needs and priorities being different from men's, it is important for women to be trained as program officers and community organizers. In Mindanao, a foreign-funded training program excluded women, because the local partner agency believed only men should be trained for reconstruction and rehabilitation projects. The training facilitators convinced the agency that women were needed, not only to approach other women, but also to provide a different perspective on how to assist families and communities who had suffered from war.

### Fair access to decision-making:

Even when women have played significant roles in the struggles for liberation, their role is diminished in post-war decision-making as the structures of old are replicated in the reconstruction and recovery period. In the armed conflict between the Philippine Government and the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) which culminated in a peace agreement in 1996, the women's committee chair held an important position as a member of the Central Committee. However, most of the powerful positions in the newly created structures were given to men. She was relegated to the traditional position of social welfare secretary. Furthermore, all resources were directed to state commanders who were all men. Women had very limited access to those resources, having to negotiate with the men at every turn. In the end, the MNLF women calculated that they were able to access less than 10 per cent of the post-war resources. Learning from this lesson, the Mindanao Women's Peace Summit organized by the Mindanao Commission on Women has taken a position in the current negotiations between the government and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) that a Special Fund for Women be established in the Mindanao Trust Fund. In this manner, women will get not only immediate access to funds but also have decision-making authority over these funds (access and control). Women have expressed the desire to use the funds to develop an economic development model that will not lead to the impoverishment of others.

### Acceptance of identity:

Since Moro women are readily identified because of their headscarves, they are more easily the objects of discrimination. In public transportation and in employment, they suffer in ways that Moro men do not. The demand of the Moro struggle for their right to self-determination includes the right of Moro women to be proud of and secure in their identity. This involves, also, recognition of their identity and pro-active role as peacemakers and peacebuilders. Many of the projects initiated by the Mindanao Commission on Women recognize, support and project this positive role. For example, the Mothers for Peace movement provides training for women in conflict prevention, resolution and containment. They are involved in mediating violent clan feuds or *rido*, a blood feud or a chain of killings provoked by an affront to family honour. A *rido* may erupt any time this honour or *maratabat* is besmirched. Taking the form of tribal conflict or clan warfare, the killings are often carried on for generations. Mothers for Peace members also participate in grassroots institutions that address violence against women and other issues of injustice. Being a movement among Muslim, Christian, and indigenous women, Mothers for Peace provides a venue for communal groups to learn that diversity is an asset. The Mothers for Peace credo states: "I affirm the uniqueness and goodness of every individual and group and regard diversity as a resource for enriching humanity."

## MAINSTREAMING GENDER IN POLICY MAKING AND THE EMPOWERMENT OF WOMEN

The passing of UN Security Council Resolution 1325, on 31st October 2000, was described by Kofi Annan as "a landmark step in raising awareness of the impact of armed conflict on women and girls, and of the vital role of women in conflict resolution and peacebuilding" (UN 2002). It was clearly historically significant in the progression of the role of women in peacebuilding, as originally envisioned in the conflict resolution field by Elise Boulding. Resolution 1325 called for fuller representation of women in peace negotiations and in the highest offices of the UN, and for the incorporation of gender perspectives in peacebuilding, peacekeeping and conflict-prevention activities.

The Philippine example shows us that women's advocacy can an international instrument such as Resolution 1325 to the local level. The Philippines is the first country in



Asia to develop a National Action Plan to implement Resolution 1325. Women's NGOs took the major initiative in developing the plan by conducting a series of consultations in different regions of the country. A presidential order was then enacted. A national steering committee composed of major executive departments, co-chaired by the Office of the Presidential Adviser on the Peace Process and the Philippine Commission on Women, has overall responsibility for implementation of the plan. Mindanao 1325, a network of peace and women's NGOs, was formed to ensure that Mindanao NGOs had a voice in the implementation of the national plan. The major thrust of the network is the localization of Resolution 1325. Localization enables women at the grassroots to participate in advocacy for the passage of a local ordinance and in monitoring its implementation. Localization also ensures that issues addressed under the four pillars of Resolution 1325 – prevention, participation, promotion and gender mainstreaming – are relevant to the local context.

One of the major gaps addressed by Resolution 1325 is the participation of women in peace processes. Few women have ever participated in Track 1 or formal peace negotiations (Anderlini, 2007). Women are concentrated in Track 2 – among civil society organizations – and in Track 3, the grassroots. In the Philippines, Muslim, Christian and indigenous women formed the Women's Peace Table as a 'connecting, mediating, and educating' table. It connects the various tracks while also trying to influence the peace negotiations to include gender provisions. It will also mediate between parties when necessary, and educate the public, especially key sectors, not only about the roots of the conflict in Mindanao but also the options for achieving peace. Boulding's global civic culture is very much at work here, as Mindanao 1325 is linked to the national network called WeACT 1325 and the international women and peace network lobbying at the UN. Recognizing the transformative power of women's participation in imaging and making real a peaceful future as envisioned by Boulding, the Women's Peace Table is engaging various sectors to participate in designing peace-promoting institutions to be established after a peace agreement is signed. Looking back at the life of Elise Boulding, it is evident that the significance and importance of women in peacemaking has become progressively established in the policy of the global community, as the following chronology demonstrates.

## ENGENDERING PEACEBUILDING AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION: THE EVOLUTION OF UN POLICY<sup>1</sup>

1948 (Dec): Universal Declaration of Human Rights (General Assembly Resolution 217A) recognised the equal rights of men and women.

1966 (Dec): Resolution 2200A on the Protection of Women and Children in Emergency and Armed Conflict recognized that women suffered as civilians in armed conflict. Member states should make all efforts to spare women from the ravages of war and ensure they are not deprived of shelter, food and medical aid (Articles 4 & 6).

1975 (June): First UN World Conference on Women, leading to the Declaration of Mexico on the Equality of Women and their Contribution to Development and World Peace. Recognized the multiple roles as peacemakers played by women at the level of the family, community, and at national and international levels. Called for fuller representation of women in international fora concerned with peace and security. The declaration had the status of a recommendation, and was not binding on States.

1979 (Dec): General Assembly Resolution 34/180 on the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), recognising that global peace and welfare was linked to the equal participation of women in all areas.

1985 (July): Nairobi Conference to Review and Appraise the Achievements of the United Nations Decade for Women. Produced the Nairobi Forward-Looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women, a collective plan of action for women and their advocates.

1989 (Nov): UN Secretary-General reported to the Commission on the Status of Women to review the implementation of the Nairobi Strategies. Concluded that women remained victims of violence disproportionately, and that they had not progressed significantly in decision-making roles since 1985.

1993 (July): The World Conference on Human Rights issued a Programme of Action to integrate women's needs into human rights activities. The Programme identified a variety of forms of discrimination against women, including rape in situations of armed conflict.

1995 (Sept): Fourth World Conference on Women, Beijing, held during the 50th anniversary of the formation of the UN, issued the Beijing Declaration. This identified six strategic objectives related to promoting the role of women in peacemaking, including commitments to increase wom-

<sup>1</sup> Source: adapted from Poehlman-Doumbouy and Hill 2001, and WILPF, and Global Network of Women Peacebuilders at <http://www.gnwp.org/>.



en's participation in decision making, to reduce military expenditures, to promote non-violent conflict resolution, and the contribution of women to fostering a culture of peace.

2000: Women in the Balkans and Rwanda claim that systematic rape is a form of genocide. Influenced by the Women's Caucus for Gender Justice, the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court recognised these issues for the first time as crimes against humanity and war crimes. The Rome Statute also demanded the equal participation of female judges in trials and on gender-sensitive processes in the conduct of trials.

2000 (Aug): The UN conducted a comprehensive review of peacekeeping operations under the direction of Lakdhar Brahimi. The Brahimi Report produced a wide range of recommendations for the reform of peacekeeping, which, although it did make some proposals to increase the role of women in leadership positions in peacekeeping operations, did not fully recognise the significance of gender perspectives.

2008 (June) UNSCR 1820; 2009 (September) UNSCR 1888; 2009 (October) UNSCR 1889: all three resolutions strengthened calls to take effective action against sexual violence in armed conflicts and in post-conflict situations and to support the inter-agency initiative United Nations Action against Sexual Violence in Conflict.

2010 (February): Margot Wallstrom appointed as first Special Representative of the Secretary General (SRSG) on Sexual Violence in Conflict.

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It was because of disappointment with the lack of recognition of women's roles in peacekeeping and peacemaking in the Brahimi Report (2000) that women's organizations intensified their lobbying of the Security Council. Their goal was to press for a resolution that would mainstream the role of women in peace and security issues and confer the status of recognition of that role in international law. The immediate factor which influenced the passing of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 was, therefore, linked to the lobbying by the Coalition on Women and International Peace and Security. This coalition consisted of Amnesty International, the Hague Appeal for Peace, International Alert, the International Peace Research Association, the Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children, and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. The original project to review peacekeeping operations was declared in May 2000, in the form of the Windhoek Declaration in Namibia, a country which had itself experienced years of conflict and which had also provided a successful model for UN led post-conflict peacebuilding. The Coalition on Women and International

Peace and Security persuaded Namibia to hold an open session on women, peace and security during their month of Security Council presidency in October 2000, which ended with the passing of resolution 1325. One of the key campaigning groups in the Coalition, which secured the resolution, was the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; another was the International Peace Research Association. It is significant that Elise Boulding served as Secretary General of both of these organizations.

## CONCLUSION

The barriers to women's substantive participation in conflict prevention and resolution, as in all areas of peace and development, are conceptual, technical and political. That is why theory and practice must always be linked. If the concept is that peace negotiations are only about ending war, women will rarely be at the table because war actors are usually men. On the other hand, if the concept is that peace negotiations are about building peace, women will have a greater chance at being named as participants to peace talks because they do play important peacebuilding roles in their communities. To harness women's energies to effectively address the security, development, political and identity needs of their communities, women will have to develop the required technical skills. But in the end, it is the power dynamics that will have to change, not just between the state and the people of the minority engaged in protracted social conflict, but also between men and women at all levels of the society. Women's vulnerabilities and capacities to participate in public decision-making is a critical area to be continually addressed by those who work for peace.

Boulding's idea of a global civic culture builds on women's networking – of creating even bigger circles of engagement – that makes no distinction between international, national and grassroots levels. Instead it sees the circles as one dynamic whole. In the Philippines, we initiated the formation of a Women's Peace Table, describing it as a 'connecting, mediating, and educating' table. It connects Track 1 (the peace negotiations) with Track 2 (NGOs and other civil society groups) and Track 3 (grassroots groups). The Table, through various forums and dialogues, is also building a peace constituency among key sectors (media, business, church, youth) to support the implementation of a peace agreement when it is finally signed. Using UN SCR Resolution 1325, the Table is advocating for local government legislative bodies to pass ordinances that will make 1325 relevant in the local areas. NGOs and peace groups, nationally and internationally, share experiences on how to do this, considering this is a new area of work.



Among those under-represented in peace work, Boulding said, are young people, particularly children. They are easily engaged through art and music. Currently, Youth for Peace in Mindanao is conducting Imaging the Future exercises, where children and young people, using an adaptation of Boulding's technique, imagine what a peaceful Mindanao would look like 30 years from now and the actions they would take to make that future happen. Among the Bangsamoro men and women, the Mindanao Com-

mission on Women will conduct workshops on Imaging a Bangsamoro Nation in a Philippine State.

Boulding has shown how women have sown the culture of peace throughout history, although this work has been largely invisible in history books focused on war and conquest. The challenge is to push Boulding's ideas and their practice in contemporary times into a wider arena in public discourse and consciousness. ■

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Tom Woodhouse is the Director of the Centre for Conflict Resolution in the Department of Peace Studies at the University of Bradford. The Centre has a strong research and teaching profile around conflict analysis, peacekeeping, peacebuilding and the development of conflict theory related to international conflict. He directs the Centre's E-Learning Programme and teaches on the OUC Master's in Peace and Conflict.

He is on the editorial board of *International Peacekeeping*, and of the *Journal of Conflictology*. He is also a member of the Council of the Conflict Research Society, a network of academics working on conflict and peace research at British universities.

### Irene M. Santiago

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Irene M. Santiago, founding chair and chief executive officer of the Mindanao Commission on Women, has been at the forefront of efforts to improve the status of women in the Philippines, Asia - Pacific and international levels for more than three decades.

In 2005, she was one of the 1000 women collectively nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize. Ms. Santiago was a member of the academic committee of the Rotary Center for Peace and Conflict Studies at Chulalongkorn University in Bangkok, Thailand where she continues to teach integration of gender in peace and conflict analysis.



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