

Peace Research in Latin America: CLAIP

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July, 2006**

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Recent History of LA

- **The twentieth century commenced with the Mexican Revolution, the first indigenous and peasant movement, defying landlords and incipient transnational capital in hands of sugar-cane industry owners. The Mexican Revolution (1910), followed by the October Revolution in Russia (1917), seeded a socialist utopia seeking to redistribute political power to workers and peasants. But the process was blocked by power struggle between colonial empires and old bourgeoisies, new capitalistic forces and a different world order, bringing new conflicts and two World Wars.**
- **Latin America, like many parts of Asia and Africa, enjoyed some independence and genuine development during the war times. After World War II, the Cold War divided the world into capitalist and communist blocs for some forty years, and the South became the battleground for conflict by proxy and a space for representative wars. Both blocs struggled to expand their influence promoting alliances and economic support, as well as imposing embargoes, and exacerbating internal and ethnic conflicts.**
- **North America used the Organization of American States (OAS). Under the pretext of stopping a communist “domino effect”, North America justified internal repression (McCarthyism); and instigated military coups, genocide, and ethnic repression throughout Latin America, its so-called backyard.**
- **Furthermore, alliances between the armed forces and the rising bourgeoisie imposed autocratic and repressive regimes throughout the Latin subcontinent.**

LA between Indigenous Origin and West

- **Latin Americans situate themselves in some way between Western and non-Western modes of understanding. The region has been able to question occidental models of law and justice, envisaging novel alternatives of integrating conflict prevention and nonviolent conflict resolution at the grassroots and indigenous levels.**
- **They have inculcated the values of their culture through education, myth, communitarian participation, and social and family events. Contrary to the occidental punitive law establishment, which operates through the legal and police system, the emphasis in indigenous societies has been prevention.**
- **Nevertheless, when a transgression defies the social order, the community as a whole takes responsibility for the crime and takes the necessary measures to re-establish social harmony. The offence is conceived as a social disruption, a deviance that indicates a deeper root of imbalance, as the offender requires social support in order to be socially reintegrated. Punishments in this setting are complex; they must return equilibrium to the social collective. This procedure aims to restore the social tissue of the society affected by a crime.**

Origins of IPRA & CLAIP

- **Peace research, like peace movements, has been closely linked to local and global conflicts. The Korean and the Vietnam wars; Apartheid in South Africa; the Palestinian-Israeli conflict; military dictatorships in Latin America have all given impetus to this general background, the specific history of peace research in Latin America has become historical and conjuncture inputs.**
- **Worker movements, trade unionist, bourgeois and socialist peace movements in late 19th century, the Hague Conference in 1899 and the Red Cross constitution opened the eyes of the atrocity of war and injustice. Institutions and individuals such as the International Court of Justice in The Hague; L.F. Richardson's work in the UK in the 1930's and 1940's; Quincy Wright's book: A Study of War (1926-1942); and the discussion in Ann Arbor in the mid 1950s together with the foundation of the Journal of Conflict Resolution in 1957 analysed the crimes of two World Wars and a longstanding Cold War.**

Constitution of CLAIP

- In 1977, IPRA held its international congress in Oaxtepec, Mexico, which had been sheltering refugees expelled by, or fleeing from, repressive military dictatorships from almost all Latin American countries. With more than 180 Latinos present, the Latin American Council of Peace Research (usually known as CLAIP, its acronym in Spanish) was created.
- Its activities were linked to the ongoing democratisation wave and the international denunciations of torture, human right violations, massacres, and disappearances of social and political leaders (CLAIP, 1979). Slowly, during the 1980s and 1990s, many of these researchers were able to return home to democratically governed countries, bringing peace research with them, and new ideas on how to improve popular participation in fragile democratisation processes.

CLAIP' Evolution and Consolidation

- The interaction of peace education with practical peace courses, including collaboration between peace researchers and peace activists have infused new dynamism to CLAIP, such as increasing parity between regions and gender sensitivity.
- Convinced of the importance of forging this equilibrium, CLAIP has made a strong commitment to promoting gender and regional balance within the organization as well as in several universities and research projects, linking human and environmental security, and promoting a security concept able to deal with new and old threats: security threats in a world that changes at an unprecedented speed, transcending traditional military security.
- Human security has been defined by UNDP (1994-1998): “Protection from the threat of disease, hunger, unemployment, crime, social conflict, political repression and environmental hazards” (UNDP 1994: 23). Confronted with new risks, science and technology did enormous progress. Military technology permeated civil one (microwave, Internet, nanotechnology, genetics). New knowledge brings new threats and society does not have enough time to get adapted to the new complexity

Links with South

- Other “southern” regional associations have enriched CLAIP and also IPRA with invaluable empirical peace and conflict resolution materials, opening the door for intercultural exchange and deepening theoretical reflections.
- Latin America with its contribution of dependency theory, Asia with *ahimsa* and nonviolence, the USA with Martin Luther King’s racial liberation linked to black feminism and Africa with the peaceful transition from the apartheid regime to an elected multiracial democratic government are all encouraging kernels of peace, both in theory and practice.
- Several universities have deepened into peace education and nonviolence practices throughout the South (El Salvador, Nicaragua, Guatemala, Chile and Argentina).
- The reconciliation processes between victimizers and victims created models of multi-dimensional integration and “Truth Commissions”, promoting a deep democratisation process with traditional grass-root practices.

Secretary General of CLAIP & Regions

1977-1980 Heberto de Souza (Brazil)

1980-1984 Antonio Cavalla (Chile)

1984-1988 Jorge Serrano (Mexico)

1989-1998 Alberto Padilla (Guatemala)

1998-2002 Nielsen de Paula de Pires (Brazil)

2002-2006 Úrsula Oswald (Mexico)

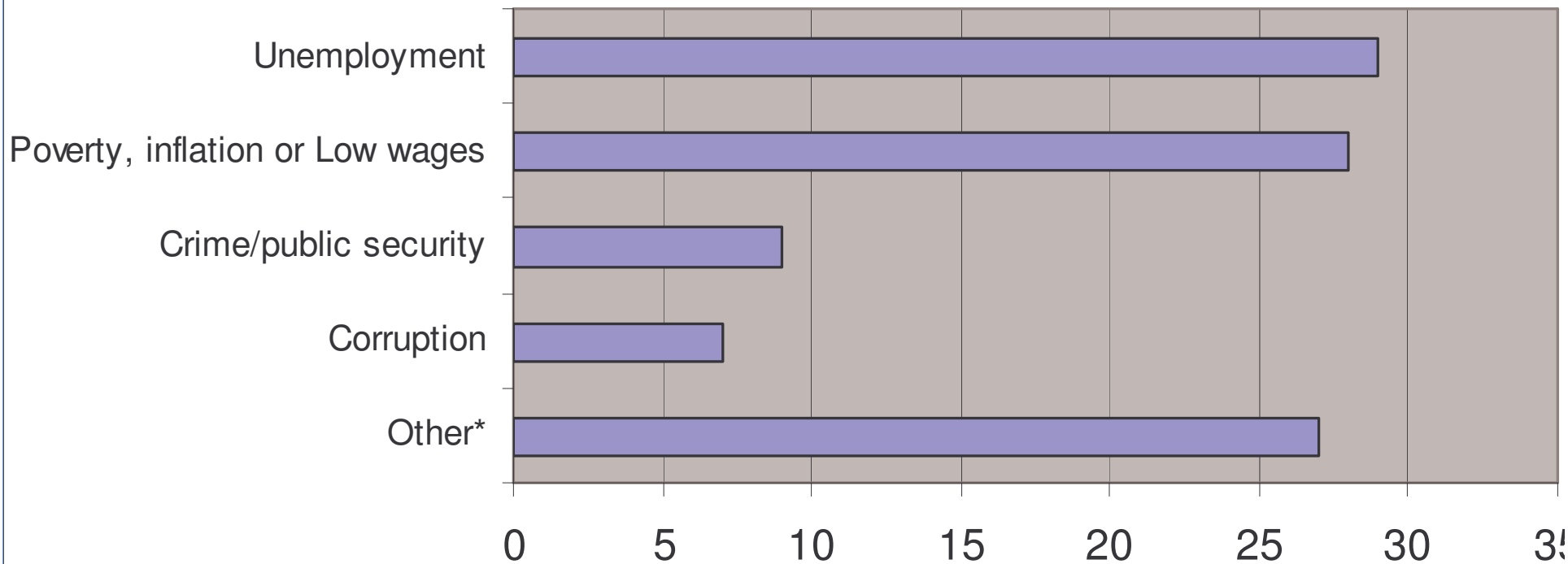
2006-2008

Countries involved: Latin America

- Argentina, Brazil, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Dominican Rep, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Mexico, Nicaragua, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay, USA, Venezuela
- North America: USA, Canada
- Europe: Austria, Belgium, Germany, Italy, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, UK

MOST IMPORTANT PROBLEMS IN LA

*What do you consider to be the country's most important problem?
% of respondents 2004, (unweighted average of all countries)*



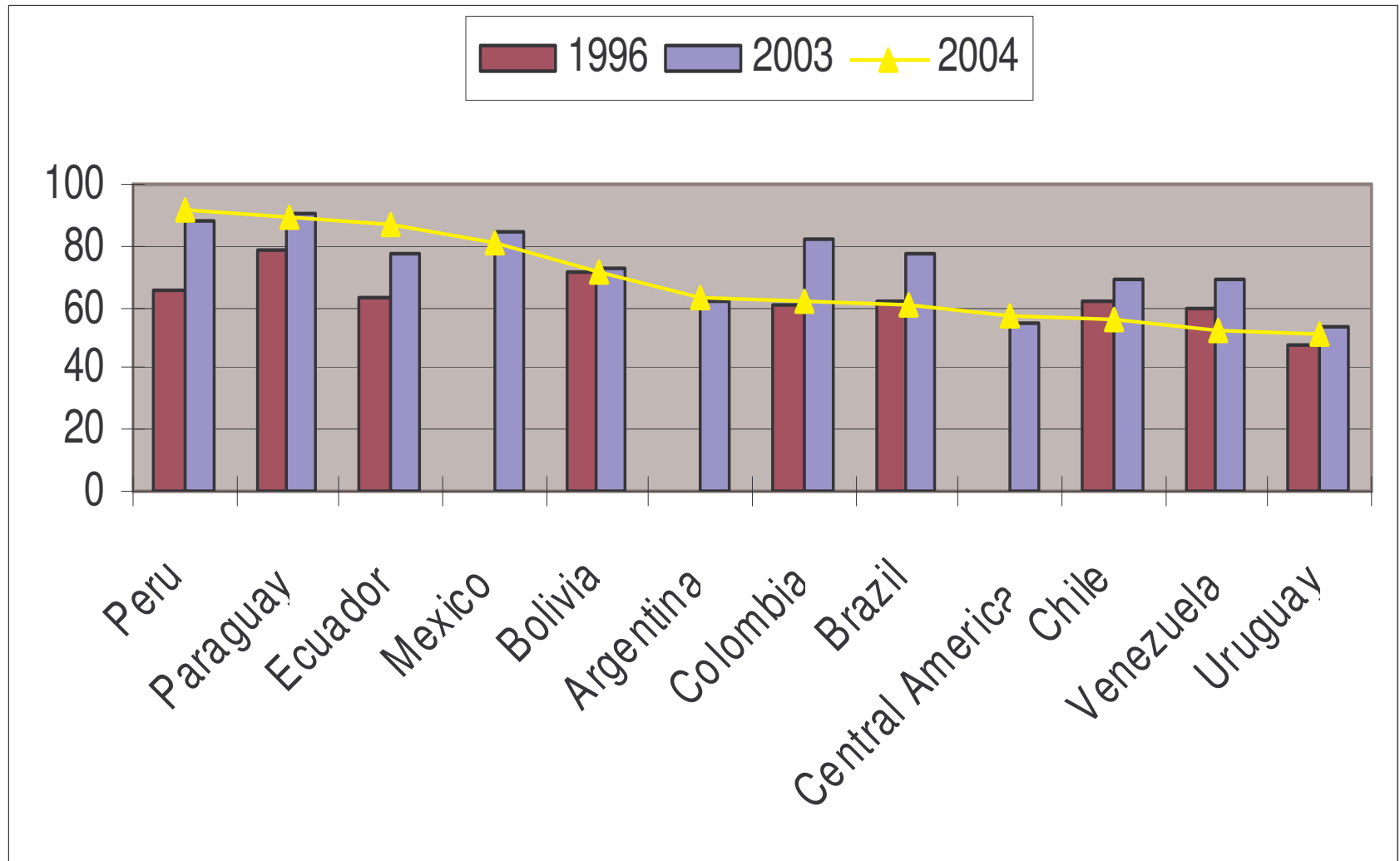
Peace and Human Security, CLAIP

1. Scientists and the governments from Norway and Canada (1999) started developing politically and theoretically the first pillar, oriented to increase the “*freedom from fear*”. Both governments promoted agreements against personal land mines and supported their destruction. Canada launched with social movements a world wide campaign against personal landmines, their production and their use, affecting basic human rights, especially for their most frequent victims, innocent children paying.
2. Japanese government promoted internationally a **second pillar**, named “*freedom from want*”. Sadako Ogata and Amartya Sen (2003) “**Security now**” related human security to poverty alleviation, dignified life options, the right to minimal life conditions, physical security, fight against organized crime and respect for life in all its expressions. Taking from feminism the concept of **empowerment**, they redefined the threats to human security.
3. Fuentes and Rojas (2005) applied them to Latin America, including the alleviation of social problems such as unemployment, hunger, illnesses, losses of lives and houses due to local violence, organized crime or disasters and other socio-environmental threats. In political terms both authors insisted in the creation of a **good governance** where struggles against repression (state violence), loss of reinforcement of the state of laws, organized crime and public violence are important risk factors for civil society and individuals.
4. **Cultural homogenization** (Arizpe, 2004) through global communication is imposing world consumer behaviour by manipulative propaganda, affecting particularly healthy food and life patterns, benefiting only multinational enterprises (Oswald, 2006b). These false ‘freedom’ reduces the freedom from want.
5. solid institutions without interests in economic interests can assure HS. Market forces alone can not guarantee *freedom form want*, but represent new security threats, able to destroy biological, physical and cultural diversity, related on local communities’ networks, which were the basis of a millenarian solidarity, enabling humanity to grow and live together in peace.

GOVERNMENT AND DEMOCRACY

How satisfied are you with the way democracy works in your country?

% responding “not very satisfied” and “not at all satisfied”



Source: Latinobarómetro

Third and Fourth Pillar of HS

- During the evaluation of the Millennium Development Goals (MDG), **Kofi Annan (2005)** demanded “In larger freedom: towards development, security and human rights for all” **“freedom for a dignified life”** for all human beings: respect for human rights, empowerments of poor people by consolidating institutions, reinforcement of laws and improvement of socioeconomic conditions for the poorest,.

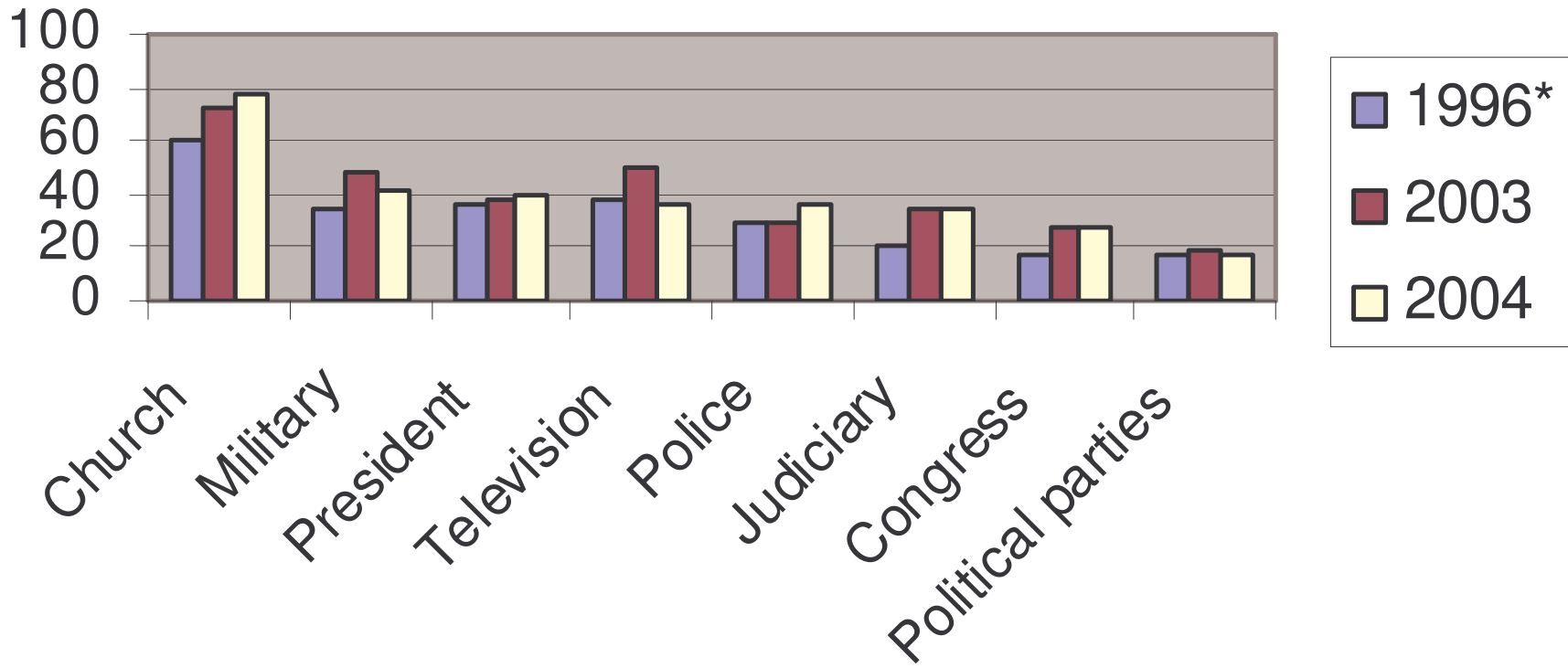
- Confronted with an increasing number and higher severity of disasters, affecting differentially regions and social groups, **Bogardi and Brauch**, 2005 developed the fourth pillar of human security and citizen protection named **“freedom from hazard impacts”**. The increasing threats to human and environmental security are related to six key factors:

- 3 supply factors: soil, water (degradation and scarcity), and air (pollution, climate change, ozone layer depletion),

- demand factors: population growth, urban surroundings (urbanisation, anthropogenic pollution and contamination) and rural processes (agriculture, food production, minerals, fibres and industrial inputs).

- These anthropogenic as well as natural variability factors have contributed to global and climate change, soil erosion, food scarcity and alteration of the hydrological cycle, creating in different parts of the planet a **“survival dilemma”**, where state, economy and society have to prevent, mitigate or handle disasters, crises or conflicts. The worst case scenery are armed conflicts over scarce resources, famine with refugees & migrants.

Confidence in Institutions in Latin America (in %)



Source Latinobarómetro, 2005

Gender Security & Identity

- Refers to the process of consciousness raising to be a human being; a man or a woman or a bisexual, depending on the position of the social structure.
- Gender security is normally taken for granted. The relations are linked to the status as gender –indigenous, poor, minority, women- in relation to the model of reference. Equity and identity are values at risk. The source of threat comes in first instance from the patriarchal hierarchical and violent order, characterized by exclusive and totalitarian institutions such as non-democratic governments, churches and élites. The symbolic distribution assigns the male the public space: production, *res publica*, *homo sapiens*; and the women the private one: reproduction, home, *homo domesticus*. The distribution of power acquires also generic forms. Men exercise a hierarchical and vertical power of domination and superiority.

Social Identity

- Tajfel affirms that the social identity is lived in a world where processes of **unification and diversification** are occurring with giant steps, quicker than ever in the past history (1979:31). And Hogg and Abrams (1988: 78) add that persons have a **basic necessity to simplify** and to put order into the reality, where the **categorization** of the social environment is done through **social comparison** which improves self-esteem positively.
- Precisely, the social representations of gender are charged with **stereotypes** –weak, incapable, dependent and vulnerable. However they are **social categories**, rich and complex in a symbolic system, where they are socially and dialogically constructed (Habermas, 1998, 2000 and 2001). They form part of an inalienable collective life, enriched by ideologies, rites, beliefs and daily practices (Graves, 1985).

Social Identity

- Social identity is *processual*, because it is permanently changing; *relational*, due that its transformation is linked to interaction; *multidimensional*, because it is operating inside, between individuals, groups and ideologies (Doise, 1986); *contextual* in order to forge a relation in specific contexts and *essential*, because the diversity and complexity of the social interaction is sustained and transformed by identity processes (Serrano, 2004, 2005).

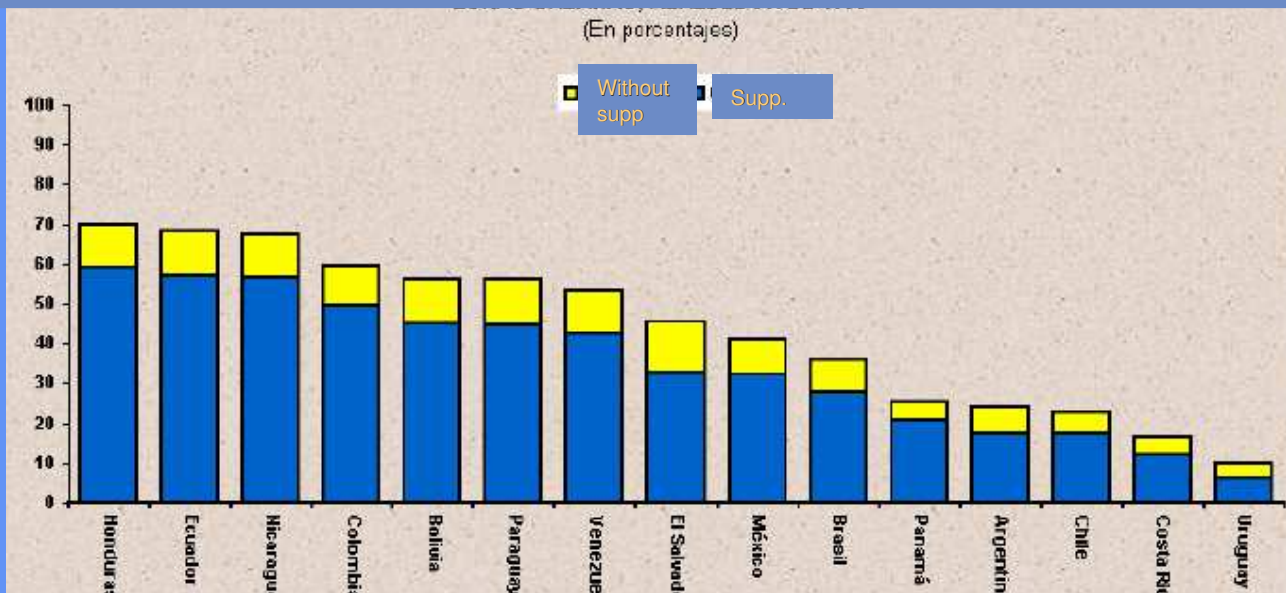
Social representations

- “Systems of values, ideas and practices” which simultaneously creates a system of order, able to offer a person the possibility to get familiarized to dispose of the social and material world. The communication within a community offers a code of social common interchange, where several aspects of life, personal and collective history are classified without ambiguity (Moscovici, 1976^a: xiii). For this reason, social representations are originated in the daily life, where the society is the thinking system. The theory of social identity establishes a continuum between personal and social identity, giving the identity a *processual*, relational, multidimensional, contextual and essential character.

Vulnerability and Gender Security

- Thousand of years of social experiences have created a society within a specific socio-historic environment, where symbolic elements have developed –**class, ethnicity, age, religion, race, nationality, professional adscription, political ideology, education** etc. However they are in permanent change, but the main attributes –**gender, sex and race-** and the socioeconomic condition –**rich, poor-** are stable (Habermas). Each process of classification implies relations of identity, inclusion or rejection and exclusion, which constitutes the base of any power exercise.

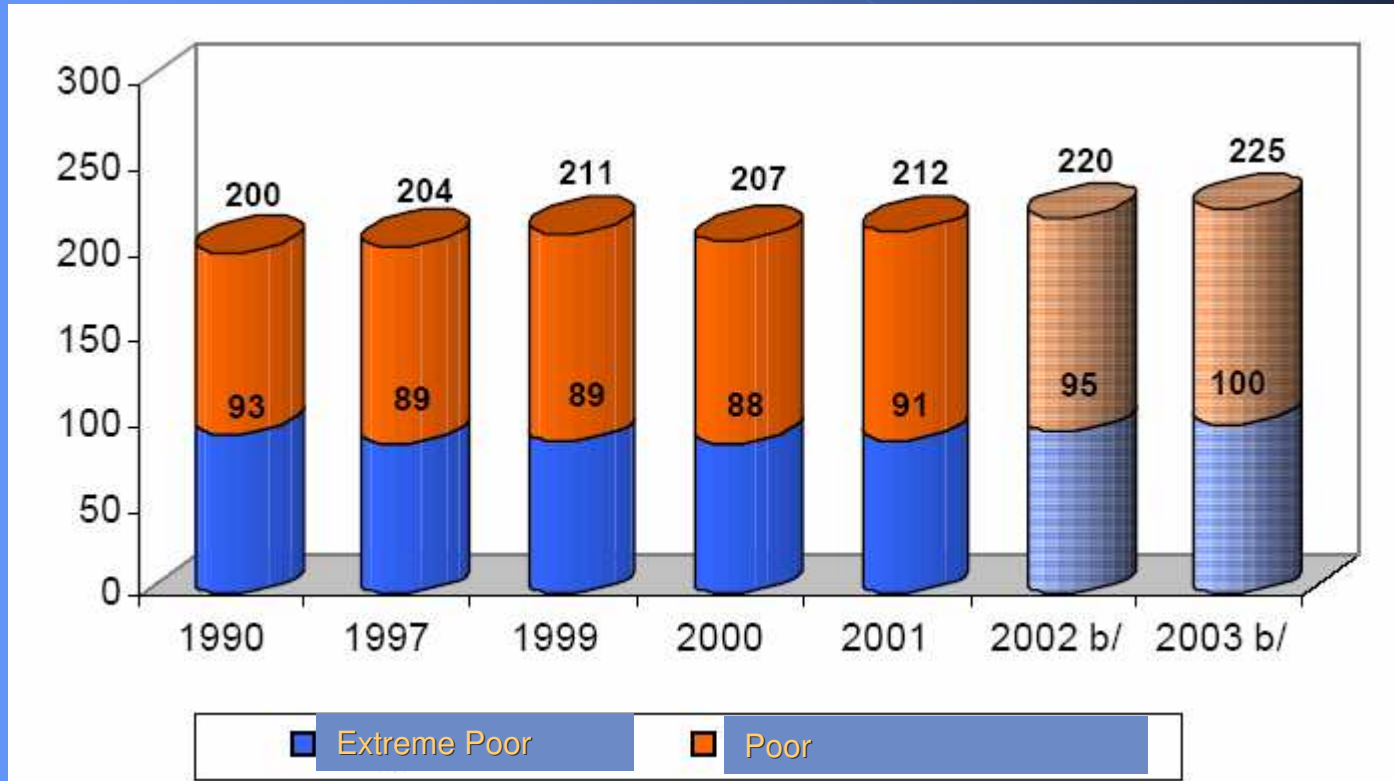
Poverty at household level with both husbands, and women working (%)



Source. CEPAL, 2004, Unity or Women and Development

Vulnerability and Regions in LA

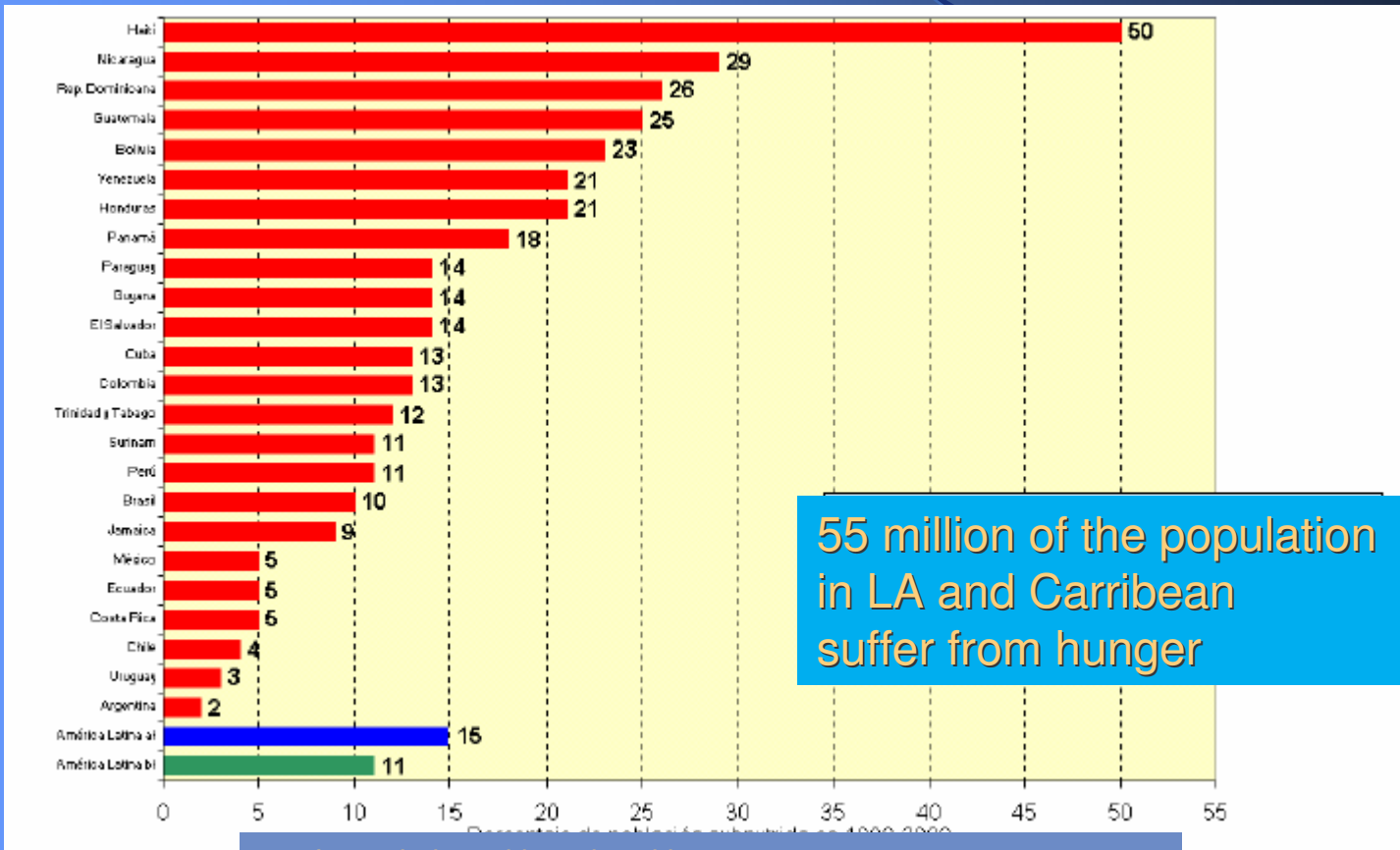
EVOLUTION OF POVERTY IN LA (MILLION OF PERSONS)



Source: CEPAL, 2004,
b) Data for 2002 and 2003 are projections

Human Security and CLAIP

UNDERNOURISHED POPULATION IN LA AND CARIBBEAN: 1998-2000



55 million of the population in LA and Caribbean suffer from hunger

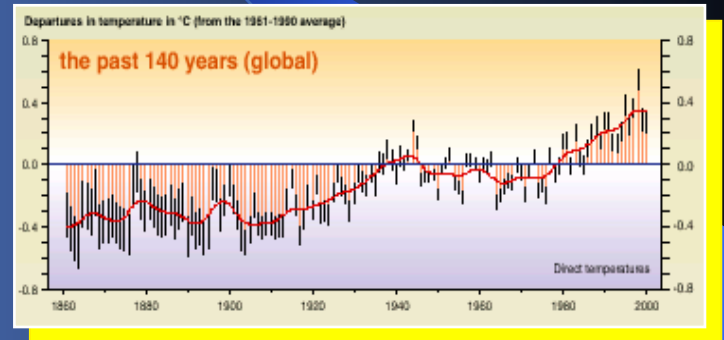
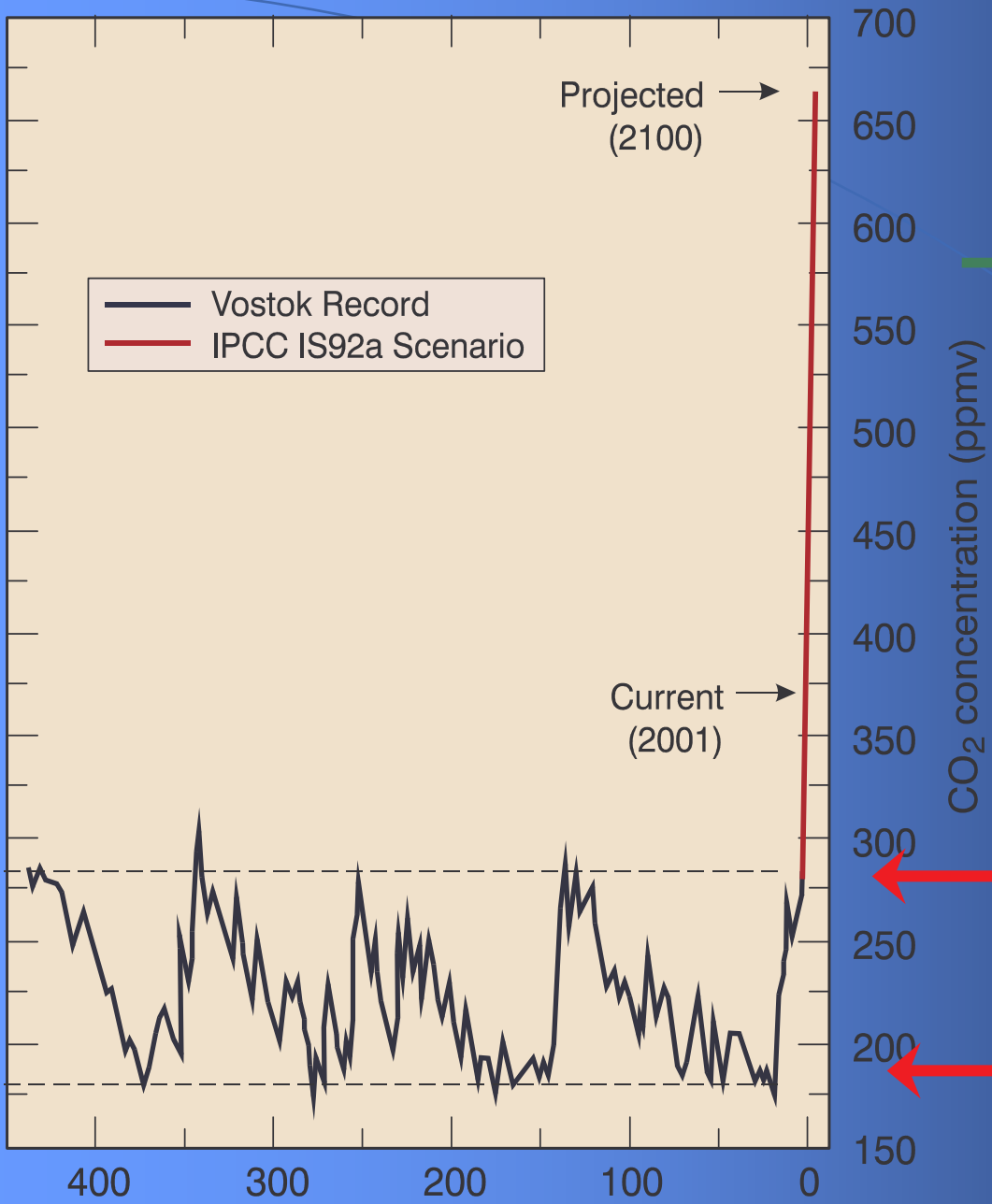
% of population with malnutrition 1998-2000

Source: CEPAL, 2004, estimation by CEPAL, based on Data from FAO
a) Correspondant to simple average of 24 countries
b) Correspondant to ponderate average of 24 countries

Environmental Security

- Steffen et al. (2004) argued that an evolutive interaction exists between climate change, global change and human activities. Planet Earth is as a sole system and the interactions could threaten the a-biotic and biotic factors from which depends life on earth.
- Environmental security is dominated by three theoretical currents:
 - *Neo-Malthusianism* who links the collapse of the earth to the uncontrolled population growth;
 - *cornucopian* who thinks that with new scientific and technological invention all problems of the world could be resolved, missing that scarcity and pollution of resources are part of a complex and interrelated system, where social and political factor could not be controlled by technological advances.
 - *pragmatic ones* proposes laws and norms for the whole world, linked to agreements, cooperation and a raising consciousness that global and climate change has to be mitigated, environmental and social induced migrations should be preventively worked out to avoid out-coming conflicts and by the need of peace-building and nonviolent conflict resolution.

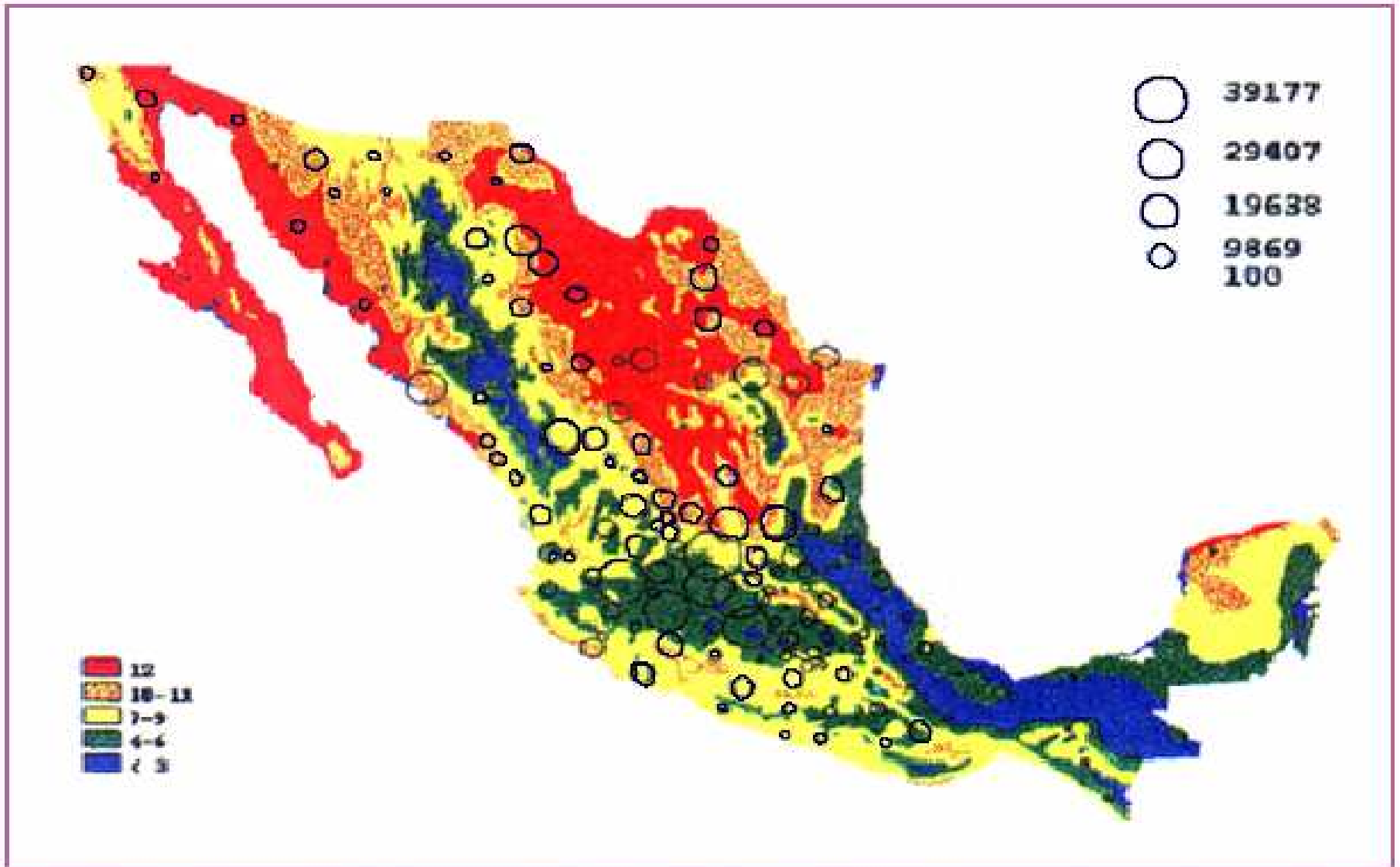
Climate Change Past and Future



280 ppm

180 ppm

Number of Dry Months and Migration



Number of dry months and flow (estimation for 1993) of Mexican migrants living and working in the US, surveyed on the border on their return to Mexico (spatial distribution according to their region of birth in Mexico, rural and urban localities).

Sources:
Survey on Mexican-US migratory flow (COMET)
Atlas Nacional de México de INEGI
Sistema de Información Geográfica y Estadística de la
Frontera Norte (SIGEF-ENOTM)

Fourth Phase of Environmental S.

- Today, a **fourth phase** is developing, where **human security** should be **integrated with environmental** one linking up with peace and conflict resolution and where gender relations together with processes of identity building and social representations could offer an integral view of the interlinks and related processes is, involving also geographical and cultural factors.
- It is important to recognize that a **people-based anthropogenic ethics** are demanded. Inclusive institutions involved in early warning for disasters and for conflicts has to be linked together, taking into account the existing tensions in relation to scarce resources (oil, gas, water) and the potential of war eruption due to these scarce resources, which could worsen the existing deterioration of environment.
- Include the social and political outcome of these kinds of processes where fatal consequences could confront persons with a **survival dilemma**. Further, knowledge on the mechanisms favouring **regional environmental integration and good governance** between neighbour countries and regions is demanded, above all when environmental conditions are getting worse and turning extreme.
- This means that human and environmental security has to be raised up from a **personal level to the community, sub-national, national and international level**, where coping strategies for extreme outcomes and environmental stress are developed.
- The **resolution, prevention and avoidance of possible violence** should become a major political goal, motivating society as a whole to contribute to nonviolent solutions.

HUGE: Human, Gender & Environmental Security in LA

Level of expansion	Determination Which security?	Mode of expansion Reference object (security of whom?)	Value at risk (security of what?)	Source(s) of threat (security from whom or what?)
Without expansion	National security (political, military dimension)	The State	Sovereignty, territorial integrity	Other States, terrorism, sub-state actors, guerrilla
Increased	Societal security	Nations, social groups	National Unity, national identity	(States), Nations, Migrants, Alien cultures
Radical	Human security	Individuals (Humankind)	Survival, quality of life, cultural integrity	The State, globalization, nature, GEC, poverty, fundamentalism
Ultra-radical	Environmental Security	Ecosystem, urban and agricultural system	Sustainability	Nature Humankind
Trans-radical	Gender security	Gender relations, indigenous, minorities	Equity, identity, social relations	Patriarchy, totalitarian institutions (élites, governments, religions, culture), intolerance

Source: Bjørn Møller, 2003:279; Úrsula Oswald, 2001, 2004

Origin of social Movements in LA

- **Guerrilla movements and ideals:** Che Guevara, Castro, Cabañas, FARC, Shining Path, EZLN;
- **Christian groups**, strengthened by **liberation theology** and active grassroots nonviolent practices, who directly oppose government-led neoliberal policies and elite interested modernization, promoting an **economy of solidarity** and integrated chains of productive processes and trade within a frame of parallel economy;
- **Indigenous groups** which call on resistance and survival strategies developed over the past five hundred years of conquest and submission linking up with the March of Women, environmental protest on dams, modernization projects (golf clubs, malls) and biopiracy in biodiverse regions.

Peace with HUGE in LA & World

The philosophy of these alternative movements and massive associations is rooted in three historical experiences:

- a) the historical nonviolent resistance of indigenous societies, the liberation struggle of Gandhi in India and the human right and race equality fight of Martin Luther King;
- b) the tradition of Che Guervarism in ongoing Guerrilla movements (EZLN, Shining Path, FLN, Tamils, ETA, IRA) and mass organizations offering alternatives to exclusion, such as the Movimento Sem Terra in Brazil, which integrates more than one million landless peasants in a regional articulated productive scheme (MST, 2003);
- c) Bases of Christian Movement (Movimiento Cristiano de Base), inspired by the Theology of Liberation (Samuel Ruíz, Sergio Mendes Arceo, Camilo Torres, Fray Betto), the movements of solidarity and alternative economy, the peace movements in India related to the Jaina monks, the Buddhist antiwar campaigns, the Quaker's peace-building process and others .
- The confluence of these three different strategies, ideological struggles and activities found an initial articulation in the **World Social Forum** and its Assembly of Social Movements, where the mass organizations were carefully avoided cooptation by international NGO's. Its basic principles are plurality, diversity, equity and social compromise, in order to promote a globalisation with a human face, all values related to HUGE.

Thank you for your Attention

