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J. Russell Boulding
Editor

Elise Boulding: Writings on Feminism, the Family, and Quakerism

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For the 96th birthday of my mother Elise Boulding

Introduction and Overview

Elise Boulding as Feminist, Sociologist of the Family and Quaker

This is the third of four volumes devoted to the life and writings of Elise Boulding. The first volume (PAHSEP 06) includes information about her life and a selection of writings that cover her contributions to the fields of peace research and peace-making, feminism and the family. The second volume (PAHSEP 07) includes 13 additional chapters on peace research, peace education, peacemaking, and the future, areas where she made significant scholarly contributions.

This volume includes 11 chapters on feminism, the family and Quakerism and in combination with the first two volumes provides an in-depth introduction to the breadth of her contributions as a scholar and an activist. Her life and work defy simple categorization. The topics and themes that she cared and wrote about were so interwoven that most texts could be placed in more than one category. In this volume we see, again, how Elise Boulding's mind ranged across disciplines, encompassing the academic in ways that sought to translate the ideas into the realm of the day-to-day, and also how her perspective as a Quaker infused so much of her work.

In the Introduction to PAHSEP 07, I defined three stages of Elise Boulding's adult life as a way to frame her written work based on the relative importance of the roles of wife/mother, scholar and teacher, and activist[1]:

1. *Wife/Mother* (1941–1966—25 years).
2. *Scholar/Teacher* (1967–1985—18 years).
3. *Activist* (1986–2010—24 years).[2]

The chapters in this volume include one from the wife/mother stage and five each from the scholar/teacher and activist stages.

[1]The Chronology of Elise Boulding's Life (Section 1.2, PAHSEP 06) provides additional information about specific roles during these time periods.

[2]Although third stage lasted six years longer than the second, that actual time period for publications was the same.

Overview of Writings in This Volume

The 11 chapters in this volume are divided into four parts:

Part I: *Elise Boulding on Feminism and Ethnicity* includes four chapters, two from her scholar/teacher phase and two from her activist stage: Chap. 1 (Women in Community, 1977), Chap. 2 (Women and Social Violence, 1981), Chap. 3 (Ethnicity and New Constitutive Orders, 1993), and Chap. 4 (Women's Movements for Social Change: Social Feminism and Equity Feminism, 1994). The last chapter in this part presents in print for the first time Elise Boulding's most complete available summation of her writing on feminism and women's movements.

Elise Boulding with local Women's International League for Peace and Freedom group that she hosted in her apartment at North Hill Retirement Center. *Source* This photo is from the personal photo collection of the editor who granted permission to include it here

Part II: *Elise Boulding on the Family from a Sociological Perspective* includes three chapters, all from her scholar/teacher phase of life. Each chapter covers similar themes, but in very different ways: Chap. 5 (The Family as a Way Into the Future, 1978), Chap. 6 (The Family as a Small Society, 1982), and Chap. 7 (*Familia Faber*: The Family as Maker of the Future, 1983).

Three generations of women in Elise Boulding's family. Left to right: (*top*) sister Vera Larson, daughter Christie, Elise Boulding; (*middle*) daughter-in-law Liz Boulding, niece Kat (sister Sylvia's daughter), daughter-in-law Bonnie Boulding, granddaughters Meredith and Brittany, daughters-in-law Pam and Susan; (*bottom*) granddaughters Krista, Kit and Carew. *Source* This photo is from the personal photo collection of the editor who granted permission to include it here

Part III: *Elise Boulding on the Family from a Quaker Perspective* includes three chapters on different aspects of family life, all from her activist phase, and also written from a distinctly Quaker viewpoint: Chap. 8 (The Challenge of Nonconformity: Reweaving the Web of Family Life for Gays and Lesbians, 1987), Chap. 9 (Our Quaker Foremothers as Ministers and Householders, 1989), Chap. 10 (Our Children, Our Partners: A New Vision for Social Action in the 21st Century, 1996).

Elise Boulding at Australia Yearly Meeting where she gave the James Backhouse Lecture in 1996 (Chap. 10). *Source* This photo is from the personal photo collection of the editor who granted permission to include it here

Part IV: Elise Boulding on Quaker Spirituality includes one chapter, written during her wife/mother phase: Chap. 11 (The Joy That Is Set Before Us, 1956).

Bloomington, IN, USA J. Russell Boulding
November 2015

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Part I
Elise Boulding on Feminism and Ethnicity

Chapter 1
Women in Community (1977)

This article was originally presented as a talk at the 1974 Lindisfarne Conference in Southampton New York which brought together an amazingly diverse group of physical and social scientists, and individuals focused on spiritual, social and ecological transformation. Elise Boulding was the only woman who contributed to Earth's Answer, *the volume of presentations given at the 1974 and 1975 Lindisfarne Conferences. An indication of how much things have changed in the last forty years is the gentle chiding she gives to the assemblage of visionary thinkers about the limitations of the male-dominated language they used. Elise Boulding was in the middle of writing* The Underside of History: A View of Women through Time *and the historical perspective that informed her future writing on women and the family is already evident in this chapter. At one point she states: "I do not share the general optimism about this being a great time for the creation of the new planetary community." More than thirty years later, toward the end of her life, we had many conversations about the potential for creating a new planetary community and in the end she* ***was*** *more optimistic.*[1]

It's a little ironic for me to be given the assignment of talking about community, because this is my year of solitude. I'm on leave from the university, and I'm living in a hermitage in the mountains. I'm living in total aloneness, or all-oneness as Brother David called it yesterday, and total silence.[2] (I do see my family once a week.) And in some ways I have very different perceptions of community now as a result of that experience of solitude.

If you live in silence, you discover, as do those of you who get up early in the morning before people get up, that there are lots of sounds in silence. The sounds which aren't humanly generated give you a very different feeling for reality than

[1]This text was first published as "Women in Community", in: Michael Katz, William P. Marsh and Gail Gordon Thompson (Eds.), *Earth's Answer: Exploration of Planetary Culture at the Lindisfarne Conferences* (New York: Lindisfarne Books, 1977): 59–70.

[2]Brother David Stenidle-Rast, "The Monk in Us", in: Michael Katz, William P. Marsh and Gail Gordon Thompson (Eds.), *Earth's Answer: Exploration of Planetary Culture at the Lindisfarne Conferences* (New York: Lindisfarne Books, 1977): 15–30.

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sounds that are humanly generated. The companionship that comes out of solitude is very different from the companionship that comes out of human relatedness. For each person who lives in solitude, that companionship will take on the characteristics of what that person can receive, but I suppose one way I would describe it would be as a kind of a God-saturatedness. And so, perhaps, the theme, which I understand has been the continual dialectic during the conference, of contemplation versus activism is very relevant for me to speak to.

I have found by my withdrawal a sense of connectedness with the planetary society that I never had before, a commitment to action in a different sense, perhaps, than I understood action before, and a kind of resolution of the need for attention to inner space and the attention outward, the need for society.

In a way, this isn't something that just happened recently. My earliest childhood memories certainly are of this moving back and forth between experiencing God's presence and doing things such as visiting old people's homes at Christmas and Easter, and, as I got into the teen years, doing surveys of housing in the slum areas of the town where I lived. Then gradually I moved into the householder's role and the whole range of community activism, always weaving back and forth between times of prayer and profound experiences of God's presence—and with a sense, always, that this had to be translated. The process of translation has been the continual theme; the peaks and the troughs which Brother David spoke of so illuminatingly yesterday were a part of that pattern of life.

But in one of those periods that come to all of us, and which came to me when I was fifty-one, I got ripped apart, you might say, from head to foot. And all of the kinds of syntheses and integrations and weaving in and out of a prayer life and the activist life were not working any more. Perhaps part of the problem was that I lost the sense of boundary between myself and society; every problem was my problem, every problem demanded my attention. There was no point at which to say, "Yes, this. No, not that." And so this total involvement gradually became clear; I had a total lack of discernment. I suppose this lack of boundaries, this need to rediscover discernment, set the stage for my year of withdrawal. I know all resolutions are provisional in this life, but for the time being I feel that I have a new perception of the importance of discernment and of time spent in the act of discernment.

Before moving directly to a discussion of communities in relation to this, I'd like to say something about the relation of psychic phenomena to the problems of social change and to religious development. We had yesterday a very moving account of this realm of human experience and its relevance for community life. The value of the psychic realm in religious experience and in increasing one's capacity to deal with the environment was pointed out last night; you get a much more multi-dimensional understanding. David Spangler gave a beautiful and delightfully humorous presentation about the plants teaching the people in the Findhorn community, about the forty pound cabbages, and about the money that turns up through

manifestation when you've started a building.[3] It reminded me very much of the evangelical fundamentalist environment I was in as a child in the Ocean Grove community; men and women would stand up and testify to these miraculous things that had happened to their businesses through prayer. We smile at these stories but they also have some kind of validity. When you have been touched by them, they affect how you respond to life. There is an expansion of awareness that goes through this and it should not be denied. The kind of teaching that our environment does for us is my daily experience in my own hermitage. So I'm personally grateful that these things were brought in here. They are precious and it's certainly time that we introduced them as a part of human formation.

But David also spoke of the limitations of the psychic realm. There is perhaps the problem of the fallacy of misplaced concreteness because of undue attention to this area without any perception of its limitations. The limitations of psychic phenomena are that they do not deal with the problem of discernment; and there is still the need to discern, the need to analyze, the need to make judgments and the need to find applications.

This problem of teaching discernment and developing discernment in communities is I think one of the most challenging tasks that face us. Religious communities, or communities with some re1igious orientation, have not always done well with children. In fact, I have observed many people in the years since my own adulthood, adults of my own age and younger, who were products of the previous generation of communities and had been damaged in various ways. I see the problem of human formation as much more complex than do most communitarians. Just as the experimental and open-minded teacher in the classroom simplifies in one way, the experimental and open-minded person in the community simplifies the product, the child, in another way. Maybe you have to be fifty-four to have seen enough children growing up and what they're able to do as adults to realize the depth of the problem, how difficult it is to help human beings become whole and function as whole persons through an adult life.

So, I'll discuss communities (and not just the Lindisfarne type, but try to put it in the context of all the different kinds of communities we have) in terms of two things, the human formation, the creation of a new kind of a human product, and the creation of working models for the future of the sociosphere. I think those are the twin concerns that most communities address themselves to.

I do not share the general optimism about this being a great time for the creation of the new planetary community. I did share that optimism up until about a year ago, when I started becoming more and more aware of what I consider the special handicaps we have in the twentieth century in terms of facing that creation. We

[3]David Spangler "The Role of the Esoteric in Planetary Culture", *Earth's Answer: Exploration of Planetary Culture at the Lindisfarne Conferences* (New York: Lindisfarne Books, 1977): 191–204.

certainly are standing at thresholds. If we speak in terms of axial periods in human history, this is the threshold. Nobody's going to deny that. But we have certain handicaps that perhaps did not exist in the past.

One is the thinness of the mankind concept. It's thin for a variety of reasons. Both Saul Mendlovitz and Dick Falk spoke about the fact that we are a very privileged majority/minority here; we're a majority in our use of the world's resources and so on.[4] When people first began talking about planetary community—from 1850 to 1900 was the first modern statement—they had no conception of the blacks or the third world. All that has now entered consciousness. So when we now say "mankind," we at least know that it comes in different colors and that it speaks different languages, which people didn't know in 1900—they didn't know it in that sense of knowing it with their full, conscious, attentive minds, although in some rational corner they obviously knew that people were of different kinds.

But what we still do not know in that sense relates very much to the use of the words "man" and "mankind." And the language which has been used here this week, "planetary man," the future of "man" and "mankind," has to do with a kind of a crippling of our capacity to conceptualize the nature of the human being and the human condition because of our linguistic practices. The generic use of the word "man" simply cripples our minds, and I'm not just making a political statement, although it has definite political implications. In the Sociological Association, we have spent a lot of time trying to teach our male colleagues to understand what the use of the word "man" in sociology has done to distort sociology. And I'm saying that exactly that kind of thing happens among futurists and among people who are concerned with spiritual dimensions and development; this is the worst place for it to remain so firmly entrenched. So, I invite you to remove the words "man" and "mankind" from your vocabulary and to struggle with using the alternatives. Maybe someday we can use "man" and it won't matter, but not in this century, friends—so, "human," the "human being," the "human person," "humankind." There's another approach that helps us uncripple our minds, and it has to do with thinking in terms of the sisterhood of humankind instead of the brotherhood, or the Motherhood of God instead of the Fatherhood. The church has been severely crippled for two thousand years, the Christian Church, by the entirely male concepts of Divinity. That's why I say we arrive crippled at the point of creating the new person, the new era, the new stage in social evolution. We just may not be the ones to do it, because we have all these fatherhood and brotherhood concepts.

Now, all community formation has to do, among other things, with problems of scale. The population of the planet has been steadily increasing for a long time, so periodically we arrive at new critical densities. Just where you say a critical breaking point is depends on how you want to cut up history, but we do recognize that we arrive at new points of critical density; then we have problems of scale.

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[4]Saul Mendlovitz "Global Political Alternatives", *Earth's Answer: Exploration of Planetary Culture at the Lindisfarne Conferences* (New York: Lindisfarne Books, 1977): 123–133; Dick Falk did not have a chapter in the published version.

How do you organize society, given these new densities? How do you redistribute resources? This was not a problem in hunting and gathering societies; it was not a problem in the earliest subsistence agriculture. But after these stages this problem of social organization and redistribution arose. There were problems of social bonding which didn't exist before in a familistic or a totally enclosed village life. There was now the problem of how to relate to people. What are the skills and methods and alliance mechanisms in everything from friendship (when friends aren't simply the people that grew up together) to marriage and the formation of special purpose organizations? (Of course the religious societies were the first special purpose organizations.) So, every community deals with these issues, new forms of social organization, new ways of social bonding and new ways of developing human beings.

Now let's look at the history of communities. Taking the period roughly from 50,000 to 2,000 B.C., the first communities were, in fact, literally sisterhoods, sibylline communities, sibylline priestesshoods—all of the earliest experiences of community formation, that is, outside the family, were by women. By 500 B.C. a new point of critical density had been passed. The Jainists and the Buddhists and a whole proliferation of religious orders that were communities grew. They had to deal with problems of scale because there was already runaway urbanization in 500 B.C. So all the problems of bondedness and of redistribution of resources that were being held by powerful military elites had to be faced. Most of these communities were elitist; some were esoteric. The sibylline sisterhoods continued, there were Pythagorean communities, and so on.

The Christian era introduced a new kind of community, because the earliest Christian communities had both women and men and were not esoteric. There was an initiation rite, because there was baptism, but the unusual quality of these communities was that they were for working people, not just for the elite. And they followed the trade routes. One of the strengths of early Christianity was its women traders; they cut their hair and dressed as men, and they travelled. When women are actively involved in international trade, a whole set of bonding capacities and of spiritual potentialities exist side by side. So the rapid spread of Christianity had to do with the role of women traders. The apostles, women like Secla, very dynamic people of deep, powerful spiritual awareness with a gift of teaching and of creating communities, went from one place to another helping set up new Christian communities. There were many women like her, working side by side with men. On the one hand were the apostles, both women and men apostles; on the other hand were the traders, who were friends of the apostles, and threw open their houses in all the towns where they had trading centers. This allowed a very interesting interaction that drew in the scholars of the time, creating a crosscutting or intersecting of the scholarly and scientific community, the trade community and the religious community. The explosion of Christianity around 100 A.D. was a function of the interaction of the three and of the important role of women in all three of them.

Now in the 1200's, again there was a new set of social densities because of a fantastic population, explosion, and so again there was the need to find new ways of bonding, new ways of redistributing the resources. (I'm speaking especially of

Europe now.) Almost every kind of community that's been founded in the last hundred years was also founded in the 1200's and 1300's—fantastic proliferation of every conceivable kind. And in the Middle Ages again, women were very much involved. There were great women religious teachers like Julian of Norwich. Twenty-five percent of the landed estates of Europe were administered by women in the 1200's because of the evacuation migrations related to the crusades. Women were very active at the heart of the trade network and at the heart of each major sector of life. So, again all these things were interrelating and intersecting, providing a terrific capability; the post-bureaucratic age was almost entered in the 1300's, the Joachim de Fiorie Age of the Holy Spirit with the dismantling of all bureaucratic structures. But we didn't make it; we slid back.

Many parallels can be drawn between that period and our own. But the one thing we don't have now, as I pointed out before, is the involvement of women. We don't have women in the trade networks of the world, and we have very few religious women of stature that we can really draw on as spiritual resources of the planet. They're there, but they're not in a position where they're not in a position where they're audible and visible. So we enter this era, where we have many other enabling mechanisms, many other new understandings, crippled in that respect, and also crippled in the sense that most of our social innovations still derive pretty much from the 1200's and 1300's. I think Francis figured out a lot of things to do with large scale populations and redistribution that we have not particularly improved on. The decentralist theory of today isn't that much of an advance. So we still have a lot of work to Then what have we, in fact, been creating in the way of communities that will develop new forms of organization suitable for transition to a future planetary society and will develop the kind of people who can function in it? How are our communities dealing with new ways of human formation, new forms of bonding people who otherwise would have difficulty finding places in the social organization? Almost every type of community that we have today has a residential base. Lindisfarne, in a way, is a residential community; you have a core here. At the other end are all the people who like to come to Lindisfarne, and all the other associations that are supportive of communities. So each type of community has a residential core and then various voluntary associations that support it and act on behalf of it, with people moving back and forth. The residential commitment uses the oldest model we have of human bonding, which is the family, deriving its strength from some familistic commitments. The people who support that structure and move in and out of it are providing the other ingredient which the human being has had as a part of his life in our entire history on the planet—fluidity, migration and movement. One thing we have done very well in the twentieth century is to find ways to have centers. We know where they are and we know how to find them and we know how to move in and out of them. Sometimes we're insecure about how central we are, how much we belong, what our identity is. I think our challenge lies precisely in this fluidity. And that, as I understand it, is what this new community that David is working with in California is trying to do, using the troubadour principle.

The contemplatives and the apostolics are today very much at the forefront of the creation of an understanding of new modes of living. The troubadour principle,

interestingly enough, is the one that's being considered by all the women apostolic orders that I'm familiar with; they are organizing themselves into small fluid groups that can move around. Yet they have a commitment to a very deeply centered prayer life, and they are at one and the same time studying new methods of spiritual formation and new methods of moving about in community. They are also very much committed to organizing the empowerment of local community. In local empowerment, they're helping people figure out how to use what they have in their local community, instead of dealing with bureaucratic structures of the church or of the government. So there is an enormous resource there which goes far beyond anything that we're aware of; they're helping build new localist t type infrastructures. The contemplatives, at the same time that the apostolics are studying spiritual formation, are taking the action dimension of how far prayer reaches. Brother David is one of the best examples I know of a contemplative relating to the world of action, so I don't need to say anything more about that.

The complex of communities that Lindisfarne represents and that the community in Scotland and the other new consciousness communities represent takes human formation, the formation of the new person, as almost the central point. And one of the things that I'm most interested in is seeing how there can be more interaction between those and the political communities like the Movement for a New Society, where you have people coming together out of the same depth of commitment to the New World. People who enter the Movement for a New Society, just as people entering religious orders, leave behind private property—in effect, they take a vow of poverty. Their vow of obedience is an interesting one because it's obedience to the political needs of society, a rather different concept of obedience than the one we're used to. So they're committing their total lives in an almost monastic way to a new discovery of the political potentialities of the twentieth century. In the places where I have seen them at work, in Denver, in Philadelphia and at a new one in the Rocky Mountains of Colorado, they are reading maps and creating new kinds of maps on the social terrain. They come into a community and create a map, put things on a map that nobody knew were there—the resources, people who can help each other. Then they teach the community, while they themselves are learning, what these resources are—the old self-sufficiency thing. But it has a new meaning because it's done with a very heightened political consciousness and a sense of a knowledge of what's happening in Europe, what's happening in Africa, what's happening in Asia. There is active communication and a full use of the mechanism of travel. So there really is a creation of a new political infrastructure which has network capabilities. You have people like Tony Judge sitting in Brussels designing a computer information system that you and I can use to communication with whomever we want to anywhere. Now this is localism using the most highly developed technology. But these New Society communities are also familistic, with a very intimate daily life and responsibility for human formation; they're raising children. The residents are of all ages, but they all worry about their lack of time for inner growth. If you could just perform an operation and link together a Lindisfarne and a Life Center of the Movement for a New Society, then you would be relating all these very skilled political infrastructure things with these very new and

insightful understandings about inner growth. It's a challenge; I think it's one of the things we really have to relate to do.

The New Town movement should not be ignored as we think about communities. A lot of people are putting their energies into New Towns and they do represent an interesting intermediate level. Having participated in the formation of a New Town in Colorado, I'm intimately aware of the possibilities for sticking in a whole new political conception of local development and of bringing together, at the very start, people of all kinds of different socioeconomic and ethnic backgrounds. New Towns try to create and design spaces for the formation of the spirit as well as to amplify people's social skills. They try to keep a spiritual dimension. The kind of alliance you get when you're building a New Town is fantastic—local business magnates and their bankers, people from the churches, commune and counter-culture people, and all the ethnic minorities (if you are skillful in making your contacts). Women are given a very fine opportunity to do a lot of community design work. The communities that have actually developed have all fallen so far short of this vision of a new system of alliances in contemporary society that it's tragic. But the possibilities are still there.

The one kind of community that didn't exist in the 1200's (there were lots of New Towns in the Middle Ages) is the Gay Liberation commune. This particular phenomenon is new to our time. I think it's a transition phenomenon, but it is a very significant mobilization of human potentials that crosscuts the religious and political in a very interesting way. I don't know how to put that into the broader picture except to say that it's a transition type of community, but a very, very important one.

For every one of the communities I've talked about, there are counterparts, network counterparts, people not living in the community but working in the networks that link the communities. Networking is where it's at for the twentieth century. So how do we take advantage of our networking capacities and our new understandings of the possibilities of fluidity and relationship to centers and still find enough time to work on that problem of human formation? I came here because I see this as the problem that keeps eluding us. We get everything else set up—we set up all these potentials—and then we lose the whole thing because we haven't dealt adequately with formation. But formation cannot be separated from the problem of social structure. In the formation process there must be a linking to a continued training in sharp analytic work—to get fuzzy minded because you feel spiritual is one of the greatest dangers. Touchy-feely spirituality is another very great danger.

I think I've begun to understand a way of linking the training of the intuitive capacity with the training of the analytic capacity that I'm hoping to explore further in a teaching situation. It has to do with taking any phenomenon (I started this in teaching about ecosystems) and having students conceptualize, choose one ecosystem. They chose things like the rooms they lived in on campus, or the State Legislature. Then they had to conceptualize that in a series of different modes. First they did it verbal-analytic. (Our entire education is linked to verbal-analytic conceptualizations; our examinations are couched in those terms. So everybody,

through his entire school career, has to reduce everything there is in reality to verbal-analytic.) After the verbal-analytic they were asked to transform it into metaphor, the same ecosystem in a metaphor. Third assignment, turn it into color; fourth assignment, turn it into music; fifth assignment, turn it into a mathematical equation; next, turn it into poetry. By the time each person had conceptualized his ecosystem in each of these different modes, all kinds of perceptions had been generated, and understandings of the multi-dimensionality of phenomena. I could have lectured until I was blue in the face and they would not have understood in that way.

I think you come closer in places like Lindisfarne than anywhere else to making these perceptions a whole. It would be a fantastic contribution for communities to make this a part of the formation process for children growing up, so that they wouldn't go through this destroying process of rendering everything into the verbal-analytic mode. Along with this linking of the intuitive and the analytic, communities could also teach the skills of familism. Many church parishes are developing extended family programs now. For example, twenty people sign up and are put together in a family. Then for a year they spend a day together every week. These groups don't work unless they have a nuclear family or two in them. Unless a couple of the people have all the disciplines of a family formed by a sustained family relationship, the groups can't continue the bonding. They simply break apart before the program year is over. So there are certain kinds of mutual accommodation, mutual self-discipline, and so on, that people learn in families, which we shouldn't despise. We say a lot about how the family is breaking up, but it's an empirical fact that certain kinds of skills develop in nuclear families that very much need to be introduced into communities.

So the linking of the intellectual-analytic and the spiritual-intuitive through one set of devices, and the introduction of the skills of familistic bonding into a context of being full of the love of God and glorifying His creation, while being a part of its evolution, is possible in our century. It may not be probable, but it's possible.

Chapter 2
Women and Social Violence (1981)

This article presents a comprehensive view of the way women are affected by violence, from the overarching structural violence created by patriarchal social structures, and the behavioral violence women experience at the personal level. As is typical of Elise Boulding's breadth of perspective, she does not focus exclusively on women as victims, but also on the way women may consciously and unconsciously support the patriarchal structures that oppress them.[1]

2.1 Introduction: The Structure of Social Violence

The image of man the warrior, the conquering hero, has evolved together with the image of the conquering god as humanity has moved from the simpler modes of relationship of hunting and gathering peoples and early horticultural societies[2] to the increasingly complex patterns of social dominance we know today. Zeus the all-powerful, ruling over a pantheon of heroic rapists, has been the inspiring model for the male sex.[3] The model for the woman out of the same mythology has been submission to rape.

[1]This text was originally published as "Women and Social Violence", in: Alain Joxe (Ed.), *Violence and Its Causes: Theoretical and Methodological Aspects of Recent Research on Violence* (Paris: UNESCO, 1981): 239–251.

[2]The mingling of the more mystically-oriented mother-goddess religions of the Mediterranean with the heroic father-god religions brought to Greece by the Achaean warriors storied by Homer creates some interesting anomalies in Greek mythology. The conquering warrior automatically has the right to rape, but rape becomes euphemistically redefined in many of the Greek myths, for example in the story of Leda and the Swan, or Europa and the Bull. Cf. Colin Turnbull, *The Forest People* (New York, Simon and Schuster, 1968); Richard B. Lee and Irven DeVore (Eds.), *Man the Hunter* (Chicago, Aldine, 1968).

[3]James Robertson, *Money, Power and Sex* (London, Marion Boyars, 1976).

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An end to that type of submission is necessary for the fuller development of the humanity of both men and women. Do we therefore conclude that giving women equal opportunity with men to do all the things that men now do would make the world more peaceful and just? One extreme view is that, by replacing male dominance with female dominance and by making all rulers and legislators women would bring world peace.

The battle of the sexes, present as a theme from earliest historical records, is that each sex feels victimized and oppressed by the other. This sense of victimization is an ever-fresh source of further structural arrangements and behavioral contortions that disfigure the body social and impede the self-actualization of individual women and men. The same ugly act of violent rape that shatters the woman victim physically and psychically can be seen as the frantic effort of an infantile male, beset by intolerable, gnawing incompleteness,[4] to assert wholeness and humanity. The effort to "look inside" both victim and victimizer leads us to view the issue of social violence differently. We are not yet even at the threshold of understanding the processes by which children, essentially bisexual in the pre-pubertal stage, might achieve mature non-pathological adult role integration of their bisexual and their distinctive one-sex characteristics. However, if violence-inducing sex-role pathologies are widespread in settled societies as we have known them for the past 12,000 years, beginning with primitive communities, then this must be taken into account in efforts to reduce levels of societal violence.

The ideal of the androgynous human being, partaking of both the assertive characteristics ordinarily associated with the male and of the nurturant characteristics associated with the female has been present in the historical records at least since the time of the universal religions, as witness the personalities of Buddha and Jesus. In a fumbling and round-about way, it is this role model that is being rediscovered by contemporary movements of transsexual and lesbian liberation. Each group is seeking wholeness in its own sex. The more peaceful and just society sought by both reformist and radical political movements will certainly require androgynous personalities to make it work. The politics of dominance, however radical politically, will always give us more of what we already have—asymmetrical and mutually hurtful exercises of power in all its forms.

The same socialization strategies that prepare boys to be soldiers and policemen also co-opt women as mothers, wives and sisters into that preparation process. The concept of structural violence, that which frames behavioral violence, refers to the organized institutional and structural patterning of the family and the economic, cultural and political systems that determine that some individuals shall be victimized through a withholding of society's benefits, and be rendered more vulnerable to suffering and death than others. That structural patterning also determines

[4]The nature of the conceptual problem is reflected in such studies as Bruno Bettelheim's *Symbolic Wounds* and Mary Jane Sherfey's *Nature and Evolution of Female Sexuality*, reflecting respectively male and female perspectives on human sexuality. Bettelheim, *Symbolic Wounds: Puberty Rites and the Envious Male* (Glencoe, IL, The Free Press, 1954); Sherfey, *The Nature and Evolution of Female Sexuality* (New York, Random House, 1972).

the socialization practices that induce individuals to inflict or to endure according to their roles. This latter aspect of structural violence is conceptually related to the fact that structural violence establishes the culturally accepted threshold for physical violence in a society.

Women experience both structural and behavioral violence more sharply than men because social definitions of their biological equipment assign them to a special secondary descriptor (female) as a limitation on their social status at every level in a given social hierarchy. The effects of this are to ensure that the unequal distribution of resources, which is hierarchically determined in all but the simplest societies, becomes "extra unequal" for women. When food, tools and supplies are short, women do without before men do. Pregnant and lactating women and adolescent girls are culturally assigned less food than their bodies need in many societies.[5] They face recurring risks of death in childbirth. At the same time, in all but the most industrialized and wealthy societies, women carry a heavier work load than men, responsible for the triple production roles of breeder, feeder and producer for the family unit, where men have only a single production role.[6] In addition, they must be ready at any time to render sexual service to men, often involuntarily. Concomitantly, they are excluded from decision-making roles, both domestically and in public affairs. Socialized into the same culture of violence as men, though with different role specifications, women themselves use violence when and where they can to protect and enhance their status.

In the remainder of this essay, I will present an analysis of women as victims, and women as aggressors, under specified conditions of structural and behavioral violence, concluding with an examination of women's initiatives for overcoming the victim-victimizer trap.

2.2 Women as Victims

2.2.1 How the Institutional Structures of Society Victimize Women

While there are many differences in social structure between First, Second and Third World societies, there are some common features of patriarchal family structure that inflict deprivation on women in all these societies. One aspect is the patriarchal household itself, in which the male head of the household has the power of life and death over the women and children of his family. The patriarch will protect his women from other men, but there is little or no protection from the patriarch. Court intervention to protect abused women (or children) has always been very limited, the practice of such intervention being even more limited than the

[5]Alan Berg, *The Nutrition Factor* (Washington, D.C., The Brookings Institution, 1973).

[6]Ester Boserup, *Woman's Role in Economic Development* (New York, St Martin's Press, 1970).

concept. Therefore the vulnerability of women to the vicissitudes of the male temperament within the household is one aspect of the structural violence inherent in the institution of the patriarchal family. Mushanga[7] has dramatically documented this for some African societies, and also provides a useful survey of contemporary research on women as domestic victims in all societies. Another face of this structural violence shows itself in the situation of the one-third or more women of child-bearing age in every society who are unpartnered (never married, widowed, deserted or divorced).[8] Many of these women maintain single-parent households unaided, and are totally vulnerable to rape and economic exploitation; they have neither patriarch nor court to protect them.

By the inverted logic of the rules of patriarchy, prostitution and rape and the auxiliary institution of pornography are seen as safeguards to the institution of the family. By providing men with sexual satisfaction outside the family, they protect wives from "unreasonable demands". The underlying perception of women on the part of men that makes pornography, rape and prostitution possible is that of objects varyingly available for erotic stimulation. Generally it is the one-third of women outside the patriarchal family who are considered "available"; the penalties in most cultures for being discovered using another man's property for erotic stimulation are high.

Increasingly, rape is being presented as a central theme in the oppression of women.[9] The definition of woman-as-object on which the institution of rape is based is the enabling dynamic that supports prostitution and pornography on the one hand, and the woman as non-person in political and economic roles on the other. Oddly, the diminution of the woman-as-property theme currently being achieved, as law courts evolve a definition of women as individuals with rights of their own, is having practically no effect on the underlying social perception of woman-as-object. Instead, the same pseudo-libertarian ethic that leads to support of the pornographic industry has led to a rhetoric of sexual liberation that has convinced many women that the traditional woman's modest behavior is prudish, old-fashioned and self-destructive. Through this liberation rhetoric a "large new reservoir of available females was created to expand the tight supply of sexual goods available for traditional exploitation, disarming women of even the little protection they had so painfully acquired".[10]

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[7]Tibamanya Mwene Mushanga, "The Victimization and Victimology of Wife in Some of the East and Central African Communities", paper prepared for the Second International Symposium on Victimology, Boston, MA, September 1976.

[8]Elise Boulding, *Women in the Twentieth Century World* (New York, Sage Publications/Halstead Press Division John Wiley & Sons, 1977); and *The Underside of History: A View of Women Through Time*, Boulder, CO, Westview Press, 1976). Boulding (1977), op. cit.

[9]Susan Brownmiller, *Against Our Will: Men, Women and Rape* (New York, Simon and Schuster, 1975).

[10]Shumalith Firestone, *Dialectic of Sex: The Case for Feminist Revolution* (New York, Morrow Company, 1970).

More broadly speaking, the patriarchal imprint keeps women from sharing in economic, cultural and political roles according to their abilities, because of stereotypic notions about what is appropriate for women. This form of structural violence is closely linked with the rape-prostitution-pornography syndrome of treating women as objects, systematically preventing their full participation in the society to which they render so many forms of forced service.

The two-thirds of women inside male-headed households are not necessarily more structurally protected than unpartnered women. In historically recurring times of economic depression and social stress the individual household (whether male- or female-headed) bears the ultimate burden of that stress through having fewer resources with which to feed and care for family members. There is considerable evidence[11] that the less resources a family has available to meet needs, the more violence will take place within the family.[12] Periods of unemployment are thus likely to be periods of increased woman-beating.

Another worldwide depression such as that of the 1930s will certainly increase woman-beating around the world, and not only in the lower classes. Levinger's United States study of divorce applicants found that nearly one out of four middle-class wives cited physical abuse as the reason.[13] While the actual beating experienced by women is behavioral violence, the patterns of socio-economic and political organization that make women easy victims of their husbands are examples of structural violence.

2.2.2 *Women as Victims of Behavioral Violence*

Because women are "easy" victims, they experience a great deal of direct behavioral violence in every society. One of the major breakthroughs of the contemporary women's movement is found in its success in getting rape defined as a criminal, punishable offence against the woman raped, rather than against her husband or her family. Brownmiller's[14] definition of the criminal act of rape ("If a women chooses not to have intercourse with a specific man and the man chooses to proceed against her will") represents a substantially new definition of woman as person in relation to the sexual act. Though it will be slow to be accepted, it will have far-reaching consequences. The documentation on the extent to which women have suffered rape

[11]See Suzanne K. Steinmetz and Murray A. Straus (Eds.), *Violence in the Family* (New York, Dodd, Mead & Company, 1974); and especially Morton Bard, "The Study and Modification of Intra-Familial Violence", ibid., pp. 127–39.

[12]J. Dollard et al., *Frustration and Aggression* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1939).

[13]Steinmetz and Straus. op. cit., p. 7.

[14]Brownmiller, op. cit.

historically and in the present is only beginning.[15] Since "no more than half of all reported rapes are the work of strangers",[16] a great deal of rape happens in family and familiar community settings. Rape of young children by fathers, male relatives and family friends is being increasingly reported to the authorities in American cities. Every investigation of rape undertaken so far is uncovering far more rape experience than expected among women who range from toddlers to old women. When comparable investigative and reporting procedures are established in all countries, it may turn out that rape is an almost universal experience for females.

While increasing attention is being given to rape as a criminal act, and new bills updating and rationalizing sections of the criminal law codes dealing with rape and other sexual offences are now pending in several countries, including Canada, the United Kingdom and the United States, there appears to be a general increase in the level of sexual assault in major cities around the world in this century, along with a general increase in urban crime rates, after a decline in urban violence towards the end of the last century.[17]

Wife-beating appears to be only a little less prevalent than rape as a phenomenon experienced by women. Every society has proverbs on wife-beating similar to the Russian: "A wife may love a husband who never beats her, but she does not respect him." It is not clear whether men ever had absolutely unlimited rights to beat their wives, but there are many folk and quasi-legal traditions as to the size of the whip that may be used,[18] and how much physical damage it is reasonable to inflict.

A certain amount of prostitution is practiced under conditions of near or absolute slavery for the woman. The international white-slave traffic still persists today after three-quarters of a century of effort to eradicate it. There were International Agreements for the Suppression of the White Slave Trade in 1904, 1910, 1921 and 1933. The United Nations General Assembly adopted a Convention for the Suppression of Traffic in Persons and Exploitation of the Prostitution of Others in 1949, followed by a resolution in 1959. A United Nations background paper prepared for International Women's Year points out that the international traffic in women for prostitution continues on a much larger scale than is reported to or controllable by INTERPOL, and frequently involves very young girls and women

[15]Statistics on rape in the societies that report them are almost meaningless because the taboos against reporting are so strong, and the experience of those who do report are so punishing. See the United States studies by Diana E. J. Russell, *The Politics of Rape: The Victim's Perspective* (New York, Stein and Day, 1975); Andra Medea and Kathleen Thompson, *Against Rape* (New York, Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1974); and John M. MacDonald, *Rape: Offenders and Their Victims* (Springfield, IL, Charles C. Thomas, 1971).

[16]Brownmiller, op. cit., p. 400.

[17]Ted Robert Gurr, *Rogues, Rebels and Reformers: A Political History of Urban Crime and Conflict*, Beverly Hills, Calif., Sage Publications, 1976.

[18]Robert Calvert, "Criminal and Civil Liability in Husband-Wife Assaults", in Steinmetz and Straus, *op. cit.,* pp. 88–91.

lured abroad by false job promises. Women migrant workers are particularly vulnerable to exploitation.[19]

In times of war and civil rebellion women endure capture and torture, regardless of whether they have themselves been active in the fighting, simply because they are the wives, mothers or daughters of activists. Amnesty International reports regularly on the imprisonment and torture of dissidents in countries around the world. It appears that women often get particularly brutal treatment. An Uruguayan army officer sent an open letter to Amnesty International denouncing torture in his own country:

> practically all prisoners, irrespective of age or sex, are beaten and tortured…. The women are a separate category: the officers, non-commissioned officers and the troops greet the arrival of young women detainees with delight. I personally witnessed the worst aberrations committed with women, in front of other prisoners, by many interrogators. Many of the women prisoners are only held for the purpose of discovering the whereabouts of their husband, father or son, that is, they themselves have been accused of nothing.[20]

Gruesome details have appeared on the torture of Vietnamese women during the war in Indo-China. A sobering account of torture borne during the French-Algerian war by Algerian women reared in seclusion can be read in Tillion.[21]

The torture of women always includes some variant of rape. That rape is such a prominent theme in the physical abuse of women brings us back to the basic fact of the structurally ensured position of women as erotic object-cum-victim in contemporary societies, modernized or not The resulting pathologies display themselves at every level of human interaction from the neighborhood to the international community.

2.3 Women as Aggressors

No matter how victimized, human beings are subjects as well as objects, and help to maintain the very structures that victimize them. Thus women in their roles as wives and mothers give vital reinforcement to military structures by socializing battle-ready sons and docile daughters. Since boys spend much of their pre-pubertal life with their mothers, it is impossible to minimize the role of mothers in creating the aggressive, fight-happy, rape-ready male. By forcing male children to repress

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[19]United Nations, "Current Trends and Changes in the Status and Roles of Women and Major Obstacles to be Overcome in the Achievement of Equal Rights, Opportunities and Responsibilities", a conference paper for IWY, (New York: United Nations E/CONF.66/3/Add, 1975), United Nations, "Exploitation of Labor through Illicit and Clandestine Trafficking: Note by the Secretary General" (New York: United Nations E/CN.6/5821, 1973).

[20]"Uruguayan Army Officer Denounces Torture", in: *Amnesty Action*, Amnesty International, 2119 Broadway, Room 309, New York 10023, Vol. 3, No. 2, April 1976.

[21]Germaine Tillion, "Prehistoric Origins of the Condition of Women in 'Civilized' Societies", in: *International Social Science Journal*, Vol. XXIX, No. 4, 1979.

tears and expressions of emotion and of pain, mothers directly contribute to the emotional infantilism of the adult male, who has grown up without adequate techniques for working through his feelings.[22] Techniques for "hardening" boy children exist in every society. Newspaper accounts in the autumn of 1976 of Lebanese mothers taking their children to the Bridge of Death in Beirut to watch soldiers dropping bodies and burning them give a little glimpse of an age-old practice. A Beirut pediatrician tells of parents bringing their hospitalized children, wounded by sniper bullets and shrapnel, wooden Kalashnikov rifles and toy pistols as toys during their recuperation. The anti-war-toy movement started by mothers in Europe and North American in the 1960s[23] has almost disappeared.

The pressures put on women by their own position as objects have historically been translated by women into practices of treating children as objects. De Mause's *History of Childhood*[24] documents the widespread cruelty of mothers (and fathers) to children from ancient times. Infanticide is a crime usually committed by women. Women may turn on their husbands as well as on their children, when a husband's behavior becomes intolerable. There are cases of husband beating reported from time to time that seem to be an inversion of the usual wife-beating story.[25]

On the whole, however. women endure their lot without resorting to physical violence. (Other forms of violence. especially tongue-lashing, are well known as women's "special" techniques. So are forms of "nonviolent" manipulation, trickery and deceit.) There are far fewer women criminals in every society than men, and many countries have so few women prisoners that they have no special prison facilities for women, thus leaving them vulnerable to many unscheduled punishments by male fellow prisoners. Just as rising crime rates are considered an index of "development" for Third World countries,[26] so crime rates may be considered an index of liberation for women.[27]

The same observation on women's propensities for violence crime could be made about women's performance as fighters: they are not normally given the opportunity, but when they are, they perform well. There have been a number of

[22]For an enlightening discussion of marianismo, the complementary institution to machismo in Latin society, see Cornelia Flora, "The Passive Female and Social Change: a Cross-Cultural Comparison of Women's Magazine Fiction", in: Ann Pescatello (Ed.), *Female and Male In Latin America: Essays* (Pittsburgh, PA, University of Pittsburgh Press, 1973): 59–85.

[23]Among the leading international women's organizations promoting such a movement were the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom and Women's Strike for Peace.

[24]Lloyd de Manse, "The Evolution of Childhood", in: Lloyd de Manse (Ed.), *The History of Childhood* (New York, Psychohistory Press, 1974): 1–74.

[25]Valerie Solanis, "Excerpts from the SCUM (Society for Cutting Up Men) Manifesto", in: Robin Morgan (Ed.), *Sisterhood is Powerful: An Anthology of Writings from the Women's Liberation Movement* (New York, Vintage Books, 1970): 514–18.

[26]Marshall Clinard and Daniel Abbott, *Crime In Developing Countries* (New York, Wiley and Sons, 1973).

[27]Rita James Simon, *Women and Crime* (Lexington, MA, Lexington Books, 1975).

successful, empire-expanding warrior queens in history.[28] Every army has had its quota of women who dressed as men and fought like men. Most freedom fighters in recent and current wars of liberation in the Third World have included women in their ranks. Tania,[29] the guerrilla who died with Che Guevara in Bolivia, was a notable example. Le Thi Rieng, who led the women's commando group that occupied the United States Embassy during the Tet offensive, killed two hundred United States personnel and left the National Liberation Front flag flying over the building, is a military heroine in every sense of the word. As a role model, Le Thi Rieng conveys many conflicting messages. So does Madam (General) Dinh, Deputy Commander of the PLAF, after her leadership in the 1960 En Tre uprising.[30] Forty per cent of the PLAF fighters were women. In the United States, women are receiving grueling combat training at the Air Force Academy in Colorado, and like many men they have mixed feelings about this training.[31] Currently thirty-six countries and territories report to the United Nations on women in military service, with participation levels from a high of 6% (New Zealand) to a low of less than 1% (Malaysia). Israel, Guinea and Mali conscript women. Women also serve in the civilian police forces of a number of countries.

In spite of increasing levels of physical training and prowess, women are still far more the victims than the victimizers when it comes to violence. Brownmiller is convinced "that the battle to achieve parity with men in the critical area of law enforcement will be the ultimate testing ground on which full equality for women will be won or lost".[32] Since skill, not size and strength, are now the prime factors in law enforcement, and very probably in military action also, we might look ahead with Brownmiller to the time when women will make up 50% of all armies, national guards, state and local police, and the judiciary.

2.4 An End to Victimization and Violence?

Increasing economic opportunities, improved medical technologies for birth control and abortion, and increased legal protection for women leave them less dependent on a patriarchal system and more in control of their procreative, socio-economic and civic behavior. Their own initiatives in redefining their social roles and the

[28]Cf. Boulding, 1976, op. cit.

[29]Marta Rojas and Marta Rodriguez Calderon (Eds.), *Tania: the Unforgettable Guerrilla* (New York, Random House, 1971).

[30]Cf. Boulding, 1977, op. cit., Chap. 7; see also Viet Nam Women's Union 39, *Women of Vietnam* (Hang Chuoi-Hanoi, Socialist Republic of Viet Nam), No. 1, 1976; Fall also writes in detail of the tradition of heroism of women in Indo-China, Bernard B. Fall, *Street without Joy* (Harrisburg, PA, The Stockpole Company, 1961): 131–43.

[31]Grace Lichtenstein, "Kill, Hate, Mutilate!", in: *New York Times Magazine*, 5 September 1976, pp. 10, 37–42.

[32]Brownmiller, op. cit., p. 388.

institutional constraints on those roles are breaking down centuries-old traditions about appropriate behavior for both sexes.

The International Tribunal on Crimes Against Women, for example, was conceived at Fem, an international feminist camp in Denmark, in 1974 as a feminist response to International Women's Year. It was timed to close on 8 March, International Woman's Day. Simone de Beauvoir greeted the 2,000 women from thirty-two countries who were present.[33] Conducted along highly participatory lines, the Tribunal was organized around testimony about crimes against women. Workshops planned action in relation to different categories of crimes, and produced resolutions defining goals and strategies.

The pace of the Tribunal initiatives is certainly faster than the pace of United Nations initiatives in regard to women, born of the International Women's Year. As the entire United Nations program is geared to long-run structural changes, it does little to ease the pressure of immediate inequalities and suffering. More training and job opportunities, better health and welfare facilities and the promotion of rights to a range of public goods including credit are all important aspects of United Nations programs for women. The closest the United Nations comes to dealing with women as immediate victims of direct violence, however, is in a statement of proposed future projects "if funds become available" from the Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice Section of the Center for Social Development and Humanitarian Affairs in the United Nations Secretariat. The proposed projects are: (a) reducing female criminality, (b) equal participation of men and women in the administration of criminal justice, and (c) combating prostitution and the illicit traffic of women.[34]

2.5 Conclusion

In the short run, we will probably see an increase in the violent behavior of women as they test out their new opportunities, Simon's figures on crime rates tell us that this is already happening. I would interpret these figures as a transition phenomenon. Where the transition will lead is up to us. It could lead towards a new era of justice and peace. Continuing expansion of the co-participation of women and men in every field will be necessary for this to happen, and it can only happen if we are prepared to

[33]They came from Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Chile, Denmark, the United Kingdom, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Greece, the Netherlands, India, Iran, Iceland, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, the Republic of Korea, Luxembourg, Mexico, Norway, Portugal, Puerto Rico, Saudi Arabia, Scotland, South Africa (including a black woman), Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, the Syrian Arab Republic and the United States. The American and Australian delegations included "aboriginal" women's testimony.

[34]United Nations, "Summary of Research Activities Related to Women Being Undertaken by the United Nations System of Organizations", Background Paper No. 3, Expert Group Meeting on the Establishment of an International Institute on Research and Training for the Advancement of Women, New York, United Nations, 17–23 February 1976.

engage in a type of self-conscious valuing and choosing such as human beings have embarked on only in the great axial periods of human history. We did it at the time of the birth of the universal religions, when women and men both experienced a great loosening of traditional ties and the emergence of new social roles. We did it again in the nineteenth century, when movements of social reform and spiritual regeneration swept all continents. The medieval women's movement, a key part of that reform and regeneration, was but one of many heralds of a new style of human relationships. The androgynous role model is still available as a reference, however implausible it may seem for the development of new forms of human relations in which human males and females will be less frustrated, more self-actualizing and gentler than they are now, closer to the true essence of our humanity.

Chapter 3
Ethnicity and New Constitutive Orders (1993)

This article does not have an explicitly feminist focus, but Elise Boulding's concern with oppression of, and conflicts between, ethnic groupings within the framework of nation states was informed by her perspective as a feminist. Her analysis broadly includes ethnic groups and linguistic and religiously-based identify groups which may feel marginalized by the dominant culture, yet are storehouses of social and environmental problem-solving skills that are necessary for the creation of a diverse and sustainable planetary culture.[1]

In the closing decades of the 20th century there has been an increasing unease in the relationship between the "10,000 societies"[2]—ethnically-, linguistically-, or religiously-based identity groups spread over the 168 nation-states of the contemporary world—and the states which they inhabit. Modernization theory assumes that ethnic groups will be assimilated into modern nation-states. Yet supposedly extinct ethnicities are reappearing at a rapid rate, and new ones are created as migrant streams from the Third World settle in First World societies and create new hybrid cultural identities, distinct from those of the society in which they have settled.

[1]This text was published as "Ethnicity and the New Constitutive Orders", in: Jeremy Brecher, John Brown Childs, and Jill Cutler (Eds.), *Global Visions: Beyond the New World Order* (Boston: South End Press, 1993):213–231. Reprint permission was received from the editors of the volume 10 July, 2015. An earlier version was published in Japanese with the title "Ethnicity and New Constitutive Orders: An Approach to Peace in the Twenty-First Century", in: Esakazu Usiu and Takeo Uchida (Eds.), *From Chaos to Order, Vol. 1 Crisis and Renaissance of the World Society* (Tokyo: Yuahindo Publishers, 1990).

[2]The "10,000 societies" is a term loosely used by some anthropologists. According to Nietschmann, quoted in Gurr, Ted/James Scarritt (1989): "Minorities Rights at Risk: A Global Survey," in: *Human Rights Quarterly*, 11:375, there are "5,000 distinct communities in the contemporary world [that] might claim that they are national peoples on grounds that they share common ancestry, institutions, beliefs, language and territory. In a 1979 study, I identified 6,276 significant ethnic groups in 159 countries (Boulding 1979: "Ethnic Separation and World Development," in: *Research in Social Movements, Conflicts and Change*, 2:276. How many groups you find obviously depends on how you count them.

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Identity groups are to varying degrees storehouses of folk wisdom and technical problem-solving skills that increase the chances of survival for their members within polities where they are disadvantaged. These skills include conflict resolution skills for use with group members and with outsiders, and knowledge of how to use environmental resources, rural or urban. That wisdom/skill complex may undergo distortion and even degeneration in interaction with an indifferent or hostile state. If this is true, a viable political future for the 21st century may depend on a new constitutive order substantially modified from the present nation–state system, one that permits much wider participation of identity groups in shaping the polities of which they are a part. The intense and continuing efforts to evolve new constitutional formats in countries with strong identity groups like Canada, Switzerland, Belgium, Spain, the former Soviet Union, and other Eastern European countries, as well as in a number of countries of the South, including Nigeria, Sudan, Malaysia, and India, may be harbingers of a new, more democratic, and more peaceful constitutive order of the 21st century.[3]

Ethnic groups are usually studied as oppressed minorities, or sometimes as oppressing elites. They may also be referred to as nationalities, cultures, or linguistic groupings. Sometimes the ethnicity is in fact a religiously-based cultural form. I will use the term identity group to refer to all groups that have some sense of common history and common fate, recognizing that the common history may be at least in part mythical. Identity groups may or may not be territorially based, and most of them spill over the boundaries of several states. Historically the best known non-territorial identity groups have been Gypsies and]ews, who can be found on all continents, but now more and more identity groups have subgroup settlements in both hemispheres. The boundaries of identity groups are fluid and change over time, as the consciousness of historical roots and common fate heighten or fade according to social conditions.

3.1 Identity Groups: Problem-Solving and Conflict Resolution

Identity groups can be thought of as trust groups, mini-societies in which there is mutual respect, some degree of social equality, mutual aid, and regular intergenerational communication. Group practices celebrate a shared history, strengthen

[3]See Boulding (1979); Brown, David, 1989: "Ethnic Revival: Perspectives on State and Society," in: *Third World Quarterly*, (October): 1–17; Clay, Jason, 1989: "Epilogue: The Ethnic Future of Nations," in: *Third World Quarterly*, (October): 223–233; and Ra'anan, Uri, 1989: "The Nation State Fallacy," in: Montville (1989): 5–20.

communal identity, and provide meaning for life as lived in the present, as well as some degree of predictability for the future. Most identity groups provide the opportunity for regular sharing in neighborhood and locality to their members, although some groups may have members living in widely scattered locations.

Kin relations, actual or fictive, and the family unit, however defined (it may be single-sexed, as in monasteries or lesbian/gay communities; it may be one-, two-, or three-generational), are important to identity groups. The commitment to nurturance and support across generations, the recognition of the individuality of each person and their special place in the family unit, the care taken of children, and the ever-present necessity for conflict resolution whenever human beings live in close proximity to each other, produce in each culture unique patterns of intra-familial and community interaction. Except under conditions of great threat and hardship, and sometimes even then, these patterns have certain characteristics of peaceableness. Challenges from the larger environment, when they are not overwhelming, generate creative problem-solving behavior.

The matter of scale is critical here. The intimate knowledge of local terrains possessed by members of folk societies has been discovered by modern science only recently. Today there are intensive efforts to study the folk agricultural practices, aquaculture, pisciculture, sylviculture, medicinal knowledge, and varieties of traditional crafts, all representing more or less sophisticated knowledge systems developed in some cases over thousands of years. It is not just traditional technologies that are important, however. Wherever identity groups are located, whether in forests, mountains, deserts, islands, or modern cities, they develop adaptive practices that not only enable the group to survive but contribute to the functioning of the larger society. This adaptiveness and creativity is released within a setting small enough to give feedback about how its members are doing, in a setting that supports people economically and psychologically through failures as well as successes. The nation-state does not do this for its citizens. In theory every state provides a safety net, but the holes are so large, both in market and centrally planned economies, that non-mainstream populations fall through the net to sink or swim. Identity groups help their members to swim.

Every identity group has its wise elders, its peacemakers, its negotiators. It also has its troublemakers and violence-prone elements. When an identity group is healthy and in some kind of balance with the larger society, it contains aggression and violence within limits, since violence is clearly self-damaging. But oppression of identity groups is increasing, injustice piles on injustice, to the point where the 20th century has been called “the bloody century.” Violence cannot always be contained in the face of escalating wrongs. That is why it is time to explore a new constitutive order, with a place for identity groups as co-shapers of their polity.

One of the most difficult aspects of contemporary life is that individuals and groups are continually having to interact with others who are strangers to them in contexts where little or no possibility of the development of trust arises. Barkun (1968) describes how acephalous or leaderless societies are able to live at peace with one another without formal structures to facilitate that peace. He points out that interactions with neighboring groups develop slowly over time, so that

familiar routines can be established with the stranger, and the necessary minimum of trust is created. If societies are thrown too rapidly into too close a contact with neighboring societies, new habits of interaction cannot be developed fast enough and violence results. That is the plight of every modern society, industrial or not. When Tönnies (1976) wrote about the transition from the *Gemeinschaft*, or community-based society, to the *Gesellschaft*, or contract society, he warned that it would be necessary to continue to develop *Gemeinschaft* relationships within the contract society—that contractual relations could not bear the full weight of human needs for recognition and support.

Identity groups, to the extent that they are able, still practice the traditional trust-establishing ways of dealing with the stranger, and there is no reason why these should not be more widely recognized and accommodated. The Bedouin, meeting a stranger in the desert, feeds her first and asks no questions until an interpersonal relationship has been established through conversation. Some tribes have the practice, when a stranger looms on the horizon, of sending one person out to greet her, and to engage in a dialogue about places and people until some contact point through mutual knowledge of a person, place, or event has been established. If none can be discovered, the two in dialogue create a fictive point of contact. The point of contact established, the greeter brings the stranger back to the group and introduces her; she can then be welcomed as a distant relative, a member of the tribal family. Anyone who has been welcomed as a stranger into an ethnic enclave community in any city anywhere in the world knows the warmth of this type of welcome. Such practices are an important resource in an anomic world.

The point here is not to romanticize ethnic communities. Many have fled them, feeling smothered in their embrace. They practice their own cruelties, and women in particular may be very downtrodden—a situation that does not only happen in modernization-distorted traditional societies. Creative interaction with the larger society limits, modifies, and will eventually erase these cruelties. That is what the worldwide human rights movement is about. But increasingly it is being realized that human rights include group rights, and the right of identity groups to evolve and change *as groups*.

Having considered identity groups within countries, let us look at what has happened to the modern state itself, examining the problems to which identity groups possibly can contribute a solution.

3.2 The Modern State: A Vision of Peace and Justice?

The Hague Peace Conference that ushered in the 20th century affirmed a world in which nation-states would no longer use war as an instrument of diplomacy. Not only was war to be abolished, but poverty and disease as well, as Andrew Carnegie optimistically instructed his board of directors when the Carnegie Foundation for Enduring Peace was established in 1911. World War I was a regrettable error, but the vision in the 1920s was once again of a world of peace and justice for all,

specifically affirming the self-determination of nationalities. The problem was that for the Eurocentric world holding this vision, the world of the South was a vast blur of land to be colonized, resources to be used for the advancement of (European) prosperity, and peoples to be eventually civilized. There was no recognition of the existence of autonomous nationalities, cultures, and civilizations. The universalism of that era was a false universalism.

The second "mistake" of European culture, World War II, was fought to a not insignificant degree on the peripheries of Europe by the soldiers of the colonized South for the European masters. In its aftermath there was a discovery of the South as peoples with their own agendas. New human rights concepts delegitimized colonialism, so the old colonies were turned into nation-states by definition, regardless of the crazy patchwork of nationalities inhabiting each former colony. Given a voice and the forum of the United Nations, coalitions from the South including the Nonaligned movement and the Group of 77 (now 120 states) kept calling attention to more and more peoples who should be liberated—the island colonies, the trust territories—even while holding on to their own patchwork of nationalities as now legitimate states. The last liberated African trust territory, Namibia, gained independence in 1990; several nations, including the United States and France, however, hold on to island trust territories in the Pacific.

Conventional political theory declares that the long journey from primitive, fractious tribalism to the highly evolved modern nation-state in which tribalism has been absorbed into a new type of citizenship guaranteeing rights, security, and welfare for all, has essentially been completed, in Euro-North America at least. True, the newer states of the South are still troubled by tribalism, but in time they will assimilate their populations as the industrial democracies have done. The emerging modern world system, already at peace in a temperate zone triangle including Australia, Japan, North America, and Western Europe[4] will be able to relinquish a highly technologized national military alliance system once the former communist states have been absorbed into the world market economy. We are moving toward a world at peace.

The reality that shadows this optimistic picture is that there have been more wars in the 20th century than in the 18th and the 19th centuries combined. As Sivard (1989) has documented, there have been 127 wars since World War II, compared to 88 in the 40 years before that war. Only two of these have been in Europe; most of the other 125 have involved ethnic disputes exacerbated by great power involvement. This means that the world political map has been in more or less constant upheaval during this period. The Eurocentric triangle never was really free of it, but now the struggles are physically entering home territory with the breakdown of the artificial distinction between East and West Europe.

[4]Boulding, Kenneth, 1978: *Stable Peace* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press) [Editor's note: Kenneth Boulding is cited here because he was the first to point out this zone of stable peace. However he was not a proponent of the conventional political view described in this paragraph.].

Not only has the modern nation-state system been unable to reduce the havoc caused by war, but it also has been unable to close the poverty gap. The 25% of the global population estimated by Gurr and Scarritt (1989) to be minorities at risk,[5] peoples experiencing serious deprivation in relation to fellow citizens of a given state, provide a rough indicator of the failure of the nation-state to reduce poverty, victimization, and oppression within its borders. When we learn that 44.9% of the population of Africa south of the Sahara are minorities at risk, no one is surprised—these are not yet "developed" states. But what of the 21 minorities in 13 West European countries, 7.8% of the total population, who are at risk? What of the eight minorities in four North American countries, 15.8% of the population, who are at risk?

As migrant populations move from one region to another trying to escape poverty, and as the 30-million-strong (and growing) refugee stream seeks to escape ethnic and political victimization, the number of identity groups needing accommodation on the planet will increase, Lance Clark (1989) argues. Referring to them as minority groups can be misleading, as it suggests they are groups that happen not yet to have been successfully assimilated, but will eventually be absorbed into the national societies where they are settled. It also suggests that there are ethnic groups as opposed to non-ethnic mainstream populations. A more realistic approach would be to think of "minority" groups as differentially treated communal groups in a universe of 10,000 communal groups—recognizing that everyone belongs to an identity group (sometimes more than one). Majority or mainstream communal groups such as Anglo Saxons are ethnics too, with various subcultures (such as WASP, a categorization used mainly by non-Anglos), but no longer identify their own ethnicity because they think of themselves as "the people" of their country.

The fluidity, shifting character, and sheer numbers of identity groups make it difficult to discuss them in well-defined analytic categories. To a considerable extent they are self-defined, and most of them are primarily oriented toward cultural identity and the protection of their rights as a group to share in the benefits of the state in which they live. However an increasing number are seeking various forms of political recognition and political autonomy as the state fails to respond to their needs. Whether it is the nationalist movements in the Celtic fringe of Great Britain—Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland,[6] or the Celtic fringe in France and Spain—Breton and Basque—or the Sardinians of Italy, the Sami (Lapps) in Norway, the native peoples in the Americas, the French in Canada, or the host of dissatisfied ethnic groups in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, the story is always the same: each group is being denied some of the economic, social, and cultural opportunities available to other populations in the state in question. If the trend were toward a diminution of the number and activity levels of alienated identity groups,

[5]The term "minorities at risk" comes from the Gurr and Scarritt (1989) study of 261 non-sovereign peoples who are both numerically significant and accorded separate and unequal treatment.

[6]Hechter, Michael, 1975: *Internal Colonialism: The Celtic Fringe in British National Development, 1536–1966* (Berkeley: University of California Press).

one could say that the state is evolving in the direction of more effective functioning to provide more equal opportunity for its member populations. The trend, however, is in the opposite direction, toward an increase in the number and intensity of these groups.

3.3 The Search for a New Constitutive Order and Local Autonomy

What is not generally recognized is that a number of states, both old and new, are realizing the impossibility of effective administration at the national level of very heterogeneous populations, cultures, and ethnicities. These countries are engaged in various efforts to modify their constitutional structures to maintain the boundaries of the existing state while recognizing the right of certain numerically significant member populations to make decisions concerning resource allocation and social welfare of their own people. This means shifting the locus of authority downward to regional and local units, following the principle of "subsidiarity." Subsidiarity calls for decision-making to be exercised as close to the locus of the actual activity being decided as possible. Some examples will be given of these constitutional explorations. An enormous amount of effort is required to achieve modifications of this kind, involving protracted negotiation and continuing conflict resolution. There are no easy alternatives to dispute settlement by military force. Yet to achieve the high goals set for the world by leaders of nation-states at the beginning of this century, this path of protracted negotiation is the most likely path to a peaceful world order.

3.3.1 Constitutional Status of Nationalities in Europe

The examples that follow include political entities that were once old states or empires and became modernizing states that were to merge older ethnic identities in a new state identity in the 19th century. They have been chosen because each has subsequently undertaken some constitutional modification to deal with communal entities within their borders. They are only examples, not a complete listing. The United Kingdom, which is struggling mightily with the issue of the necessary constitutional modifications to deal with Northern Ireland, is, for example, not included. Those European countries that have differentiated communal groups but have not as yet needed to utilize constitutional modification in relating to them are not discussed. Neither are two other categories of differentiated communal groups, migrant workers and refugees; their situation would require another paper.

The most glaring omission is the states of the former Soviet Union. The original version of this chapter, written in 1989, contained a section on the national territorial formations representing a few of the 128 ethnic groups in the USSR as it still

existed in 1989, and a discussion of Valerii Tishkov's thinking about creative constitutive formats for ethnic-cultural and political autonomy (Tishkov 1989). Given the extreme complexity of the present situation, with ethnicities asserting themselves at a rate and with a vigor that defies the problem-solving capacities of the new states, no attempt could be made to briefly update that section.

Consociational democracy,[7] as contrasted to majority rule democracy, depends on the segmentation of society into vertical groups which are thus not constantly rubbing shoulders over issues that could generate conflict. Only the leaders of the different groups interact, on the basis of an overarching consensus. Power sharing and divisions of jurisdiction are key characteristics of the consociational model.

Switzerland is often referred to as the prototype of this model. The Swiss Confederation of 23 sovereign cantons of which three are divided into six half-cantons, with four official languages, has its origins in the Middle Ages. It took centuries of warfare and ethnic hostility to achieve the present federation, which has limited powers in relation to the cantons and fairly frequent national referenda, yet has played a very important role as a neutral country in this century. The level of negotiation required to make the federation work, village by village and canton by canton, is very high, but is something in which the Swiss take pride. Equality of economic status has been a continuing issue, and one which has been dealt with more or less successfully through regional specialization. Currently the French-speaking Jura district within the bilingual Bern canton is asking for its own canton, feeling discriminated against by the German majority, so the process of building the Swiss constitutive order still goes on.

Belgium, an independent country since 1830, has struggled for a century with ethnic separatism, stemming from Flemish economic deprivation compared to the French-speaking Walloons. Three cultural community regions have been created over the past 20 years through constitutional engineering, altering profoundly the institutions, jurisdictions, and responsibilities of the state. Each citizen must now be a member of a Dutch, French, or minority German-speaking community; regional governments function in Flanders, Wallonia, and Brussels. Current ethnic power-sharing agreements of a very complex nature require constant negotiation, bilingual Dutch-French conduct of all government affairs and a careful respect for each identity group's needs. The fact that Belgium has had 32 governments since World War II indicates how difficult the coalition process is. A recent reversal of previous economic advantage as between the Flamands and the Walloons is currently requiring a whole new set of negotiations to redress new imbalances.

In *Spain*, whose predominant identity groups are Spanish, Basque, Catalan, and Galician, the Basques and the Catalans have had autonomous regions since 1979.

[7]For recent analysis of the consociational democracies discussion, see *Catalonia Culture*, (Barcelona), 15 (September 1989) on Linguistic Normalization, and 16 (November 1989) on Territorial Planning and Public Works; Eyck, F. Gunther, "South Tyrol and Multi-ethnic Relationships" in: Montville (1989): 219–238; Heisler, Martin, "Hyphenating Belgium: Changing State and Regime to Cope with Cultural Division," in: Montville (1989): 177–196; and Steiner, Jurg, "Power-Sharing: Another Swiss Export?" in: Montville (1989): 107–114.

This was the result of long and, for the Basques, violent autonomy struggles. Economic difficulties have been met by intense educational and cultural development in each province in its national language. Catalonia in particular has a very advanced economic, social, and cultural planning and development process under way, and publishes an English-Catalan magazine, *Catalonia*, to describe the autonomous region's achievements. It will be interesting to see whether these efforts, accompanied by increasing regional pride and economic initiatives, will solve the problems that the central government of Spain failed to solve. Success depends, in fact, on the cooperation of the central government with the region's development plans. How cooperative the central government will be is not yet clear.[8]

Italy, dealing with a well-organized autonomy movement in the South Tyrol, first created an autonomous region in 1947. In the face of vigorous local campaigns including terrorism, the national government repaired the inadequacies of the 1947 arrangement with a revised autonomy statute in 1972. The economic provisions of the revised statute, bolstered by educational and judicial autonomy, have been particularly important in freeing local initiatives for economic development. Full bilingualism has not yet been achieved, however, and the long process of negotiation between the autonomous province and the Italian government continues.

In each of the examples mentioned, the constitutional modifications to meet the needs of communal groups within the country's borders have been undertaken in a context of increasing the viability of the state itself. The state has been able to maintain the allegiance of these communal groups through providing them with the means to take more initiatives to shape their life conditions. Far from heralding a regression into communal warfare, these modifications have made it possible for a diverse society to establish some minimal common identity while giving space for the diversity of its members.

3.3.2 South Asia

The states to be discussed here were all colonies of modernizing European states in the 19th century. The new states' horror of communalism as a basis for political organization is based to a significant degree on the doctrines of the European colonizers. Communalism and tribalism were seen as the great enemies of modernization and political maturity. As the colonies became independent, each state tried to establish a national identity based on colonial borders into which communal identities could be assimilated, regardless of the pre-existing geographical distribution of the communal groups. The complexities of the political situations that followed can barely be touched on here. In the worst cases, all-out communal

[8]France, which has overlapping ethnic groups with Spain, has so far been able to avoid the issue of autonomous regions and to deal with its ethnics primarily at the cultural level by recognizing four regional languages for instructional purposes in the schools: Breton, Basque, Catalan, and Occitan.

warfare has replaced earlier patterns of coexistence and is threatening to destroy the post-colonial states. In the best cases, older patterns of coexistence have been translated into negotiated inter-communal political coalitions with some promise of stability. It is useful to remember that, in general, the European states have had much longer to negotiate their coalitions. (It took centuries for Switzerland.)

Sri Lanka,[9] it has often been noted, was thought to have the best prospects of any Asian nation for developing a peaceful, prosperous civil order at the time of its independence from Great Britain in 1948. Hindu and Muslim Tamils predominated in certain areas, Buddhist Sinhalese in other areas. With vastly different languages and cultures, there was nevertheless enough mutual respect to make the prospect of peaceful coexistence in the new state likely. Minority northern Tamils through the advantages of missionary education in the English language represented the majority of the Western-oriented elite of the country, and the Buddhists were a 75% non-Western demographic majority. The Tamils were nervous about the Sinhalese majority, and indeed the first election after independence brought precisely the feared majority into power. The new government promptly made Sinhalese (which most Tamils do not speak) the official language of the state, and the percentage of Tamils allowed in the universities was reduced. In general, the Sinhalese sought to eradicate the colonial heritage, which meant eradicating what advantages the English-speaking Tamils had. The 1972 constitution exacerbated Tamil fears by mandating special protection for the Buddhist religion. The Sinhalese government, recognizing the problem for Tamils, had indeed tried to address their concerns by devolving state power to the provinces (Tamils were the majority in the northern and eastern provinces). But Sinhalese public opinion and powerful Buddhist groups strongly opposed these efforts. Ethnic hostilities increased to the point that by the early 1980s a full-blown war of secession was going on that has so far resisted all attempts at outside mediation and internal negotiation. There has been such a fractioning of Tamil groups, and such a hardening of positions on all sides, that experienced negotiators do not see any resolution of this conflict in the near future.

Malaysia[10] came to independence as Malaya in 1957 (and later as the Federation of Malaysia in 1963) as a deeply divided multi-ethnic society with 50% Malay, 37% Chinese, 11% Indian, and 2% "other." Ethnic cleavages are compounded by

[9]For recent analysis of Sri Lanka, see Horowitz, Donald, 1989: "Incentive and Behavior in the Ethnic Politics of Sri Lanka and Malaysia", in: *Third World Quarterly*, (October): 18–35; also, Horowitz, Donald, 1989: "Making Moderation Pay: The Comparative Politics of Ethnic Conflict Management," in: Montville (1989): 451–476; Pfaffenberger, Bryan, (1989): "Sri Lanka: The Social Origins of Tamil Separation," in: Montville (1989): 214–258; Singer, Marshall, (1989): "Prospects for Conflict Management in the Sri Lankan Ethnic Crisis," in: Montville (1989): 259–286.

[10]For a recent analysis of Malaysia, see Horowitz, Donald, 1989: "Incentive and Behavior in the Ethnic Politics of Sri Lanka and Malaysia", in: *Third World Quarterly*, (October): 18–35; Stubbs, Richard, 1989: "Malaysia: Avoiding Ethnic Strife in a Deeply Divided Society," in: Montville (1989): 287–300; and Sundarem, Jomo, 1989: "Malaysia's New Economic Policy and National Unity," in: *Third World Quarterly*, (October): 36–53.

language, religious, and cultural differences. The Malays consider themselves the indigenous inhabitants, and the Chinese have traditionally dominated major sectors of the economy. There has been communal violence at regular intervals since 1945. However, an expanding economy brought a degree of prosperity from the 1950s on, and there has been room for Malays to do well without making inroads on Chinese economic turf. Wise management of ethnic confrontations in the 1950s and emphasis by the British on educating an indigenous administration to manage health, education, and community services left the newly independent country with competent administrators in 1963, and a lot of experience in inter-ethnic compromise. While the Malays had the numerical majority, the Chinese were a significant part of the electorate—and a permanent multi-ethnic coalition was developed even before independence. The Malays, the economically disadvantaged group, realized very early that they could not get what they wanted without the help of the Chinese, and vice versa. Unlike the Sinhalese, who wrote Tamil participation out of political life, the Malays drafted a language act providing for continued use of English, Chinese, and Tamil. The Chinese in turn were willing to support an augmentation of Malay economic resources. A combination of luck and some good negotiating skills created a direction that led from ethnic violence to relative ethnic peace. Continued negotiation is very important in maintaining the present political stability. Pressures and hostilities are not absent, but they are contained in a skillful political coalition.

3.3.3 India, Pakistan, Bangladesh

Nowhere in the world has the colonial imprint on traditional multi-ethnic societies created a more continuously contentious situation than in the region of pre-World War II British India—now the three states of India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh. The initial partition of India into India and Pakistan in 1947 was bathed in blood from the start, and at the time of this writing another war looms between these states over the disputed area of Kashmir.

Independent *India* was a determined modernizer. It reorganized the 560 native states that came into the new India, either merging them with adjacent provinces, converting them into centrally administered areas, or grouping them into unions of states. By 1956 another reorganization abolished the unions of states and merged all formerly native states either into one of 15 states, or into one of eight centrally administered areas. In 1962 a sixteenth state was created, and in 1966 the Punjab was partitioned in two states, making a total of 18 states; the annexation of Sikkim in 1975 made 19 states. These arbitrary reorganizations disadvantaged economically, socially, and politically the majority of communal groupings thus swallowed up. The religious divisions, 83% Hindu, 11% Islam, 3% Christian, and 2% Sikh, don't even scratch the surface of India's ethnic, linguistic, and cultural identity groups. The forced assimilations did not succeed. India's commitment to liberating East Pakistanis from West Pakistan by military might (in what is now Bangladesh)

destroyed the possibility of a solid negotiating relationship with Pakistan. Thus the land of Gandhi has, since his death, a poor track record in the negotiation of internal and external differences, and faces more or less continuous communal rioting at the beginning of the 1990s. Grassroots movements to resolve communal differences may in the long run succeed where the government so far has failed.

Pakistan has an even worse track record, but has only three major communal groups challenging the domination of the majority Punjabis. The problem is that these three communal groups (Baluchi, Sindhi, Pushtun), while only 30% of the population, claim 72% of the land as historically theirs for the past 5,000 to 10,000 years.[11] So far the claims are simply dismissed: for the Punjabis, there can only be one unitary state. Only the Baluchi, however, are considering a war of secession. The other two groups would settle for substantial political and economic autonomy. At issue for these minorities is the need for a larger share of the royalties on natural resources extracted from "their" land, and control over outside entrepreneurial and governmental economic enterprises.

The only hope for either of these two states, and for impoverished Bangladesh as well, is much more constitutional compromise within each state, and a rejection of the current win-lose stance in bilateral relations. This must be replaced by a willingness to negotiate outcomes that will advantage all parties instead of only some.

It is not that bargaining cultures do not exist in these societies, but rather that they never had a chance politically in the particular historical context of the India-Pakistan partition.

3.3.4 Africa

Nigeria is an instructive example of a multi-ethnic society that went through civil war and came out the other side determined to arrange a constitutive order that would keep the state together within its colonial–defined borders.[12] This most populous state of black Africa is a "nation of nations," with from 200 to 400 ethnic groups, depending on how one counts them, with 10 major groups accounting for 90% of the population. Since independence in 1960 it has developed structurally from three regions to the present 21 states, alternating between centralized military rule and decentralized civilian rule. A three-year civil war ended in 1970 with the successful reintegration of the secessionist Ibos into the federal republic. Because of the strength of the traditional emirate subculture, there is a remarkably effective capacity for local government linked to federal structures in a complex linkage system with both vertical and horizontal components. There is much political

[11]Harrison, Selig, 1989: "Ethnic Conflict in Pakistan: The Baluchi, Pushtun, and Sindhis," in: Montville (1989): 301–326.

[12]Nolutshungu, Sam, 1990: "Fragments of a Democracy: Reflections on Class and Politics in Nigeria," in: *Third World Quarterly*, (January): 86–115; and Paden, John, 1989: "National System Development and Conflict Resolution in Nigeria," in: Montville (1989): 411–432.

creativity in Nigerian society, as well as much conflict. The current stage in the new constitutive order, being prepared for with a return to civilian government, has involved the election of 301 local governmental authorities in the transition period.

In Nigeria a Westernized elite and traditional tribal leaders have mingled in ways that they have not in other former colonies. Traditional tribal leaders have been given a share in the national economic pie, and Westernized elites consider traditional tribal titles a valuable asset, so there are many cross-ties between ethnic groups and between federal and local authority-holders based on access to a combination of traditional and modern statuses and roles. The role of tribal elders in conflict resolution, widely recognized locally and nationally, has played a key part in Nigeria's continuity as a nation of nations through a succession of military and civilian governments. Multiple legal systems flexibly administered and flexibly available to requesting citizens supplement the informal tribal elder system of conflict resolution. There is no lack of tension and conflict in the society, but the social resources for dealing with them are sufficiently abundant that Nigeria looks like a model multi-ethnic society worth studying in considerable detail.

Sudan, the largest country on the African continent, rich in resources and traditions, has been in the throes of civil war for most of the years since its independence in 1955.[13] A superficial look suggests an industrialized Arab North exploiting an undeveloped tribal South, but the reality is much more complex. The exploitation is real enough: the mineral resources from the South fuel the factories of the North. However, populations of both North and South are highly diverse. There are 100 languages and about 40 different cultures, with an Arab admixture in both regions. The educational level in the English-speaking South is as high or higher than in the Arab-speaking North. The South, which had been "protected" from Arab incursions during the colonial era, entered independence expecting equal power sharing with the North under a new constitution. However, the earlier period of protectionism left the North looking down on the South and unwilling to share power on an equal basis. Efforts on the part of an authoritarian northern leader, Nimeiry, to enforce Islamic law on the entire nation was not in fact a true northern issue, since many northerners rejected the Islamicization of the Sudan, preferring a secular state.

The war being waged by the South is for a unified Sudan, and for the long-promised constitutional convention, while the governing powers in the North prefer separate states—an unusual twist in ethnic relations. Because the range of ethnic diversity is similar in North and South, and there are educated elites with common interests in both North and South (contrary to appearances), it has been suggested that serious negotiations would reveal those common interests and enable the construction of a constitution which provided for multi-ethnic power sharing. However, the sheer dynamics of protracted conflict may weaken the negotiating

[13]Deng, Francis, 1989: "The Identity Factor in the Sudanese Conflict," in: Montville (1989): 342–362); and Kasfir, Nelson 1989: "Peacemaking and Social Cleavages in Sudan," in: Montville (1989): 363–388.

capacities of the society so that it gradually fractionates and loses its potential as a viable multi-ethnic society.

In the Asian and African countries we have examined, we have seen that a plurality of cultures need not impede the formation of a stable nation-state if these cultures are recognized, respected, and brought into active power sharing, on the basis of continual negotiation. When historical circumstances erode mutual respect and when negotiating relationships to achieve an appropriate constitutive order cannot be maintained, the state is not viable.

3.3.5 The Americas

Since the importance of negotiating skills, mutual respect, and creativity in modifying the constitutive order has been established in our examples from Europe, Asia, and Africa, I will here only comment briefly on the American scene. A very instructive effort to create a new constitutive order is going on among the ten states in the Canadian Federation at the present time.[14] The principle of the multi-ethnic state was affirmed some years ago with the establishment of a ministry for multicultural affairs. However, the formula for the constitutive order, whether in relation to native peoples or French-speaking Quebec, continues to elude lawmakers. Considering how many years of negotiation have been required to work out similar types of arrangements in European plural societies, and how much negotiation is required to sustain new arrangements once agreed upon, it was probably unrealistic of Canadians to think they could romp through the process of a constitutional amendment as quickly as they originally had planned.

The *United States* is still characterized by a melting-pot outlook, and is a long way from being prepared to modify the constitutive order to allow, for example, for bilingual instruction in bilingual states (such as the Southwest with its substantial Hispanic minorities). Only Louisiana, with its French Acadian heritage, has recognized a second language, French, as a mandatory language in the state elementary and secondary schools. The Bureau of Indian Affairs, while it deals with the rights of native peoples, is hardly an example of power sharing. Treaty rights negotiated by native peoples with the U.S. government in the previous century are being continually abrogated or ignored, and are the subject of more or less continuous litigation.[15]

The native peoples of *Central* and *Latin America* are in very early stages of negotiation with governments about their communal rights. Power sharing is a long way off. Unless negotiation with communal groups is undertaken seriously, on the

[14]Maly, Stephen, 1990: "In a State of Ambiguity," letter 504-7 (Hanover, NH: Institute of Current World Affairs, 26 January 1990); and McRae, Kenneth D., 1989: Canada: Reflections of Two Conflicts, in: Montville (1989): 197–218.

[15]Deloria, Vine, 1970: *We Talk, You Listen, New Tribes, New Turf* (New York: Macmillan).

basis of respect for the negotiating partner, relations between ethnicities in the Americas may deteriorate in the coming decades as certain communal groups become increasingly aware of missed opportunities.

3.4 Plural Societies in the 21st Century

Pluralism and diversity and accompanying political manifestations will increase, not decrease, in the 21st century. They will increase partly for the following reasons: communal groups provide identity, meaning, and a sense of self-worth to their members; they offer a more manageable scale of management of human affairs; the knowledge of local terrains makes such groups more effective in problem solving; and their cultural knowledge stock and special skills offer problem solving and conflict resolution capabilities that are not available at the national level.

This increasing pluralism will be furthered by the continuing development of human rights concepts and norms, including group rights, and the heightened levels of awareness—associated with the 1990s United Nations Decade for World Cultural Development—of the diverse cultural patterns that give meaning to people's lives. The Decade's research, teaching, and human exploration of the "10,000 societies" will give further positive meaning to communal identities as sources of cultural enrichment for the world society of the future.

One to-be-hoped-for outcome of the research will be greater awareness of the variety of constitutional arrangements for power sharing to be found in pluralistic societies. All of the arrangements we have examined have involved either territorial federations, or a variety of formulae for proportional representation which give opportunities for the political participation of all parties/communal groups of a specified minimum size within the state. A parliamentary system facilitates power sharing in a way that presidential, majority-rule systems do not. However, not all pluralistic societies have formal power-sharing arrangements. Some arrangements are informal, and seem to work. Sometimes the demands for participation by communal groups are met by cultural councils, such as territorial councils for guest workers in certain European countries.

No one set of conditions or arrangements guarantees successful power-sharing. Economic prosperity may help, but is not critical; the absence of a strong dominant group helps, but is also not critical. What does seem to be critical is the willingness to negotiate, to respect the other. Patience and the willingness to take the long view, to spend lots of time on process, is a key factor.[16] Industrial societies do not have much of a culture of patience, and the other set of major actors on the world stage not discussed in this chapter, the multinational corporations, do not contribute much patience either.

[16]Horowitz; Lijphart, Arend, 1989: "The Power Sharing Approach," in: Montville (1989): 491–511.

There is one encouraging aspect to the contemporary scene, however. The roles of nation-state and corporation alike are being increasingly modified by the growth of international nongovernmental organizations—NGOs—which have multiplied from 200 at the beginning of the century to 18,000 today. They offer both horizontal and vertical linkages within and between countries, independent of the action of the states they span. They act in the human interest, on a human scale, and are already actively engaged in community education, dialogue, and negotiation in many areas where there are serious communal conflicts. In fact, a 1978 count (Boulding 1979) indicated that there were 65 NGOs with branches in 44 countries whose primary purpose was to support separatist or cultural autonomy movements. If there were 65 in 1978, there are many more now. The World Conference of Indigenous Peoples is a good example of an NGO that provides a global network to support native peoples in their local settings around the world. It might be said that the world's polities are coming full circle from tribal-local to global–local formations.

In conclusion, the nation-states of the 21st century will not only be characterized by a greater variety of constitutional arrangements for participation of diverse identity groups within their borders, they also will work more interactively with NGOs and with inter-governmental organizations (IGOs) and the many UN bodies that also crisscross national boundaries. With more vertical and horizontal linkages across borders, and more emphasis on local initiative, one could hope for a gradual transformation of the state from an instrument of military force to a facilitating partner in global networks pursuing an unimaginable variety of peaceable human adventures.

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Chapter 4
Women's Movements for Social Change: Social Feminism and Equity Feminism (1994)

This article presents the most comprehensive available view of Elise Boulding's perspective on feminism, which broadly includes movements to challenge and change larger patriarchal structures (social feminism) and the women's equal rights movement. It was written during the activist phase of her life, nine years after she retired from Dartmouth, yet is presented in a way that speaks to both academics and activists.[1]

The political and economic modernization processes of the last two centuries, paralleled by rising levels of militarization and social violence, have impacted women's status in varying ways—some for the better, and many for the worse. Prospects for the fundamental systems transformation required to end patriarchy seem far off. Yet women are today, as they have always been, both victims and shapers of the societies of which they are a part. Much of the activity of women's movements in the twentieth century has been (correctly) focused on ending the victim role and establishing gender equity, a necessary condition for and concomitant of the removal of all forms of structural and behavioral oppression and violence. However, the other persisting focus in women's culture historically and in the present has been on women as agents of social transformation, as creators of the future (Figs. 4.1 and 4.2).

There is a special reason for giving more attention to the transformational role today, considering the growing doubt and despair about the possibility of any significant human betterment. There is a widening gap between the rhetoric of equity feminism and the actual life conditions of women and men in both the Two-Thirds World and the One-Third World.

What Naomi Black (1989) calls social feminism, which might also be thought of as feminist humanism (Johnson 1994), focuses on the broader social malformations that produce the oppression of both genders and all ages. It is a distinctive form of

[1]This is the text of a paper presented at a session on Gender and Social Transformation at International Sociological Association Symposium No. 3 on Old and New Forms of Solidarity and Identify, Bielefeld, Germany, July 1994. A much abbreviated version was published with the same title in: *WILPF International Peace Update* 61(1), February, 1995. This is the first publication of the full text of the paper.

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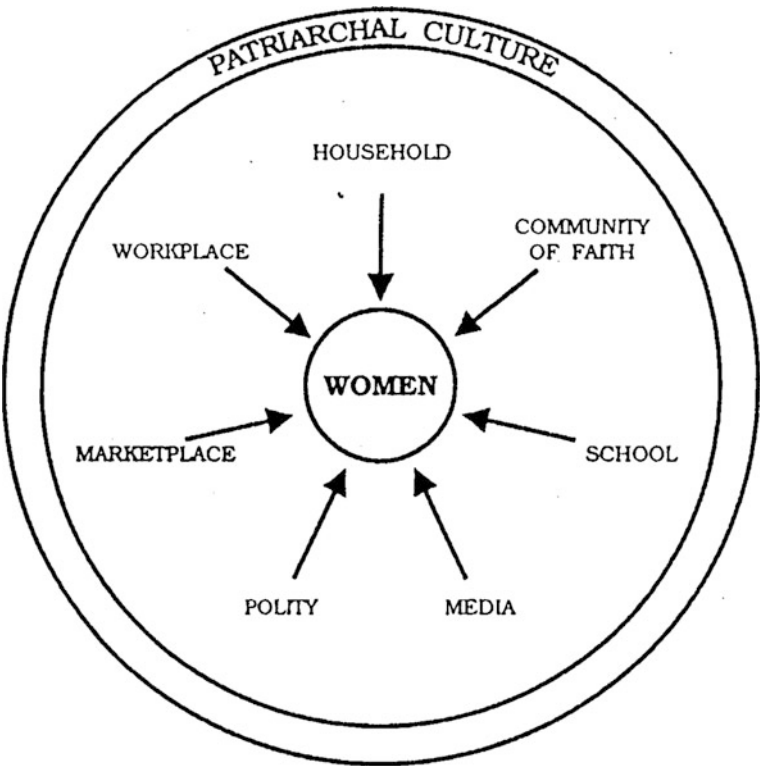

Fig. 4.1 The agents of oppression for women (from Boulding 1992a)

feminism that brings the experience worlds of women to bear on the conceptualization of total social systems. The central role of the knowledge/experience worlds of women to this type of analysis is not, however, an invocation of essentialism, or women's biological nature. It is rather an acknowledgement of women's culture as a resource for human survival, growth and development throughout human history, even though historically that culture has often been an "underside" culture (Boulding 1992a).

Each particular women's culture, whatever its historical moment, contains a significant perspective on the total social system of which it is a part, and a storehouse of experience and skills in three basic activity domains: (1) the domain of reproduction and nurture of the human species; (2) the domain of production of food, clothing, shelter and related necessities; and (3) the domain of the civil society, involving the integrative work of the social order including maintaining communication networks, systems of mutual aid, new household formation, practicing mediation and conflict resolution and systems change as needed, all in the framework of managing recurring celebrations of community life. Although the term, civil society, is a relatively recent one, the concept of voluntary work by

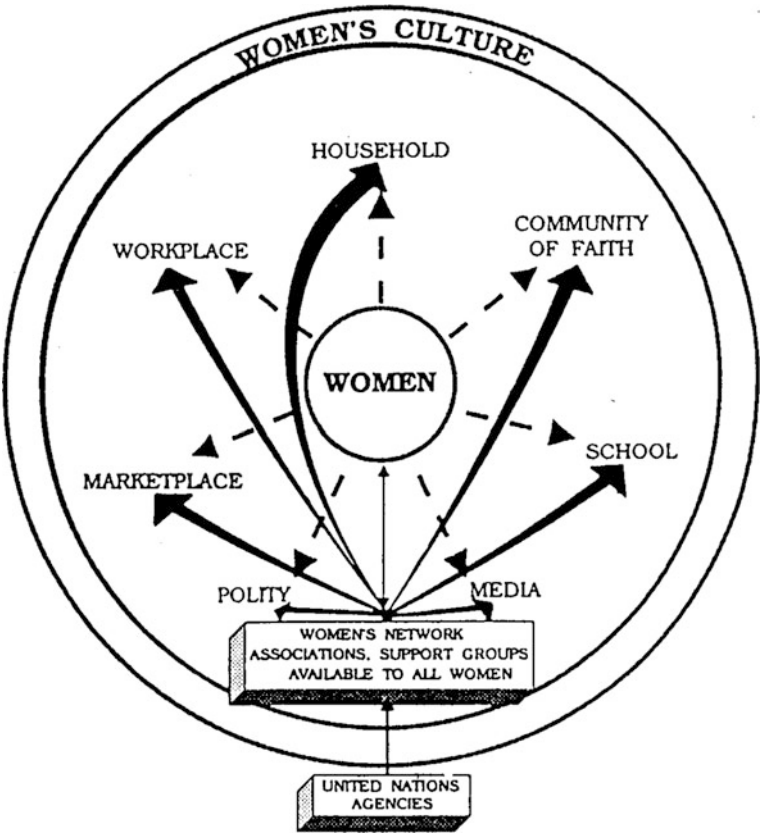

Fig. 4.2 The agents of social transformation to the post-patriarchal order (from Boulding 1992a)

women (as well as men) for the public good has always existed as an identifiable set of activities distinct from production and reproduction roles.

In societies where women have intact use rights in relation to natural resources, including land, as has in the past been true of pre-industrial peoples on each continent, the three domains have been the subject of para-contractual arrangements regarding the division of labor between the sexes. A relatively localist scale of social organization, true of pre-industrial cities as well as of rural areas and of nomadic peoples, meant that women developed a fairly comprehensive social systems understanding of their bio-social environments and had a substantial repertoire of adaptive and rebuilding behaviors for recurring crisis of drought, flood and situations of inter-group hostilities. Women had support networks shielded by ceremonial and ritual activities that operated independently of the support networks of men and were always available in times of need.

These feminist support and rebuilding systems were particularly important during population migrations and during and after wars. They provided food,

healing and transmission of the knowledge stock to the next generation. Women's communities survived the rise and fall of empires but did not survive industrialization and the loss of land use rights (except in the upper classes). The contractual nature of the gendered division of labor faded as women lost their access to resources. In their new dependency women's mutual aid cultures were weakened but did not disappear, as any survey of poverty neighborhoods in contemporary urban areas makes clear. There was however often less opportunity for dependent women to grasp the complex nature of the new systems they were thrust into, and the structures of patriarchy took on new and more violent dimensions in the centuries of European colonialist expansion.

By the nineteenth century industrialization had produced a new middle class of educated and dependent women whose leisure enabled them to join elite women in an awakening to the victimage and oppression of the poor. Their systems analysis was incomplete, but they quickly identified dangerous working conditions, bad housing, low wages, low skills, poor health and the anodyne of alcohol as creating a vicious cycle of poverty for urban and rural poor, and war as an overriding destroyer of the quality of life for all. It was only as women began spending time in poverty neighborhoods that they came to realize how unevenly the burdens of poverty fell on women and children. (The few feminist voices that called attention in earlier centuries to the particular entrapment of women had been generally ignored.) It took some decades of activity on behalf of the urban poor for middle class women to realize that they too were helpless, that they could not act independently to remove economic and social injustice because they had no civil status, no decision making power. The sense of sisterhood that emerged from this realization, though real, was limited in scope, and has yet to transcend barriers of race, class and culture.

The rise of the suffrage movement In the One-Third World of the North meant for many women a narrowing of the focus on social ills to the wrongs suffered by women. This left standing in the wings, so to speak, the women reformers who had been galvanized by the evil effects of war, colonialism and unbridled capitalism on the world as a whole. Children came to be seen as part of the social burden unfairly born by women rather than as small human beings to be liberated from the double trap of patriarchal violence and maternal exhaustion.

It is important to realize, however, that social or humanist feminism, with its commitment to a more holistic view of social pathologies, preceded the development of the narrower equity feminism. Social feminism's roots were secure in a more transcontinental soil. It did not fade away. Social feminists were busy in the last decades of the nineteenth century helping to invent a new social form within their traditional sphere of maintaining the civil society: the international non-governmental organization, or INGO. The new phenomenon of transboundary networks of citizens' groups concerned with human welfare on a planetary scale had already given rise to a number of women's transnational groups in the 1880s and the 1890s. The World Young Women's Christian Association, the World Women's Christian Temperance Union, the International Council of Nurses and the International Council of Women were already formed and at work in Asia, Africa

and the Americas as well as Europe before the twentieth century. Their members worked for the education and welfare of women and children as part of a larger effort to bring an end to arms races and wars as a condition for the creation of a peaceful and just international order.

Each decade brought new internationally-oriented groups into existence. During World War I there was a gathering at The Hague of activist and professional women from the countries then at war. These women issued a proposal for continuing mediation among the warring states until the war could be brought to an end. They also began exploring designs for a post-war organization of states. These early promoters of what was to become the League of Nations formed the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, an INGO that has never ceased to explore structures and strategies for peace building (Addams et al. 1915). By the 1930s, farm women, midwives, doctors, lawyers and a number of other interest groups had formed INGOs, and their numbers continued to expand. Tables 4.1 and 4.2 give the founding dates for women's INGOs formed between 1880 and 1970, with the number of national sections for each organization in parenthesis, to give an indication of their transnational, intercontinental character.

These organizations all saw addressing the oppression of women as a critical part of building a better world. A new level of effort became possible after World War II when the Economic and Social Council of the UN established a Committee on the Status of Women, and the UN Declaration of Human Rights included gender as a protected category. From that time on the UN, itself a notorious foot-dragger in establishing equity for women in the UN system, nevertheless provided a world platform for women through its continuing series of world conferences, UN Years and UN Decades on population, development, disarmament, the environment, human rights and the status and participation of women. Strategies for being present as INGOs at every UN event were developed very early. Since the 1975 UN World Conference on Women in Mexico City, these strategies have moved from ad hoc activities to formal inputs to UN programs. Policy makers can no longer ignore the gender dimension whatever the global problem being addressed. Women's transnational networks are now multiplying so rapidly that it is impossible to come up with an accurate count of them at this time.

Addressing women's victimage remains of critical importance but so does the context of that victimage, the nature of the ideologies, structures and practices that give rise to the oppression of minorities within countries, and to the oppression of the Two-Thirds World of the South by the One-Third World of the North. Patriarchy, the domination of the weak by the strong, particularly in its archetypal form of war-making, is widely seen as the template for all these oppressions. However our capacity for systemic analysis that can pinpoint effective intersection points for ending the harmful feedback loops that maintain war/patriarchy and for initiating system change, is not nearly well enough developed. We are a long way from our pre-industrial village sisters who understood very well the structures and

Table 4.1 Founding dates for women's INGOs and number of section memberships (from Boulding 1977)

Organization category	1880–1899	1900–1915	1916–1930	1931–1945	1946–1970
Religious	WYWCA (81) WWCTU (59)	GB (40) ICJW (21) IULCW (9) SJIA (12) WUCWO (82)		WFMW (20)	IFMW (27)
International relations		IAW[a] (45) ICSDW[b] (34) WILPF (21)	ACWW (67) PPSAWA (14) WIZO (51)	WIDF (97)	AAWC (35) EUW (12) FAWA (11)
Professional	ICN (74)	IFHE (63)	ICM (42) IFBPW(52) IFUW (56) IFWLC (39) MWIA (37) NNF (5) ODI (12) SIA (48) ZI (44)	IFWL (68) WAWE (11)	IAWHPJ (22) ICWES (11) IUWA (32) PAMWA (13) WEGN (12)
Educational	GFWC (50) ICW (64)	IALC (13)	AI (12) IIW (42) WAGGGS (101)		WMM (46)
Sports			IFWHA (34)		IAPESGW (58) IWCC (8)

Source Elise Boulding, *Women in the Twentieth Century* (Beverly Hills, CA: Sage, 1977), 190–91. Information taken from *Yearbook of International Organizations* (Brussels: Union of International Associations, 1973, 1974)

[a]The original name for IAW was International Women Suffrage Alliance

[b]The original name for ICSDW was International Socialist Women's Secretariat

resource systems within which they operated. One of the greatest dangers of our time is despair, and feelings of helplessness in the face of macro-level social forces. The possibility is there that the human race will self-destruct. It is precisely at this historical moment that it can be useful to reflect on the accumulated experience of women's cultures over the centuries in the work of feeding, rearing and healing humans, building their social and physical environments, and then rebuilding them after destruction. It was the need for that kind of reflection that led me to take a year of solitude in 1974 and begin the mental journey that led to the writing of *The Underside of History: A View of Women Through Time* (1992a).

Today, twenty years later, this process of feminist reflection on the social order and its workings is more urgent than ever. Also, more of us are doing it. I want to celebrate that development by exploring how some women think about the future and the action models they generate to bring these futures into being.

Table 4.2 Key to initials of women's INGOSs[a] (from Boulding 1977)

Initials	Organization name
AAWC	All African Women's Conference
ACWW	Associated Country Women of the World
AI	Altrusa International
EUW	European Union of Women
FAWA	Federation of Asian Women's Associations
GB	Girls' Brigade
GFWC	General Federation of Women's Clubs
IA	International Association of Lyceum Clubs
IAPESGW	International Association of Physical Education and Sports for Girls and Women
IAW	International Alliance of Women
IAWHPJ	International Association of Women and Home Page Journalists
ICJW	International Council of Jewish Women
ICM	International Confederation of Midwives
ICN	International Council of Nurses
ICSDW	International Council of Social Democratic Women
ICW	International Council of Women
ICWES	International Conference of Women Engineers and Scientists
IFBPW	International Federation of Business and Professional Women
IFHE	International Federation for Home Economics
IFMW	International Federation of Mazdaznan Women
IFWHA	International Federation of Women Hockey Associations
IFWL	International Federation of Women Lawyers
IFWLC	International Federation of Women in Legal Careers
IFUW	International Federation of University Women
IIW	International Inner Wheel
IULCW	International Union of Liberal Christian Women
IUWA	International Union of Women Architects
IWCA	International Women's Cricket Association
MWIA	Medical Women's International Association
NNF	Northern Nurses Federation
ODI	Open Door International
PAMWA	Pan-American Medical Women's Alliance
PPSAWA	Pan Pacific and Southeast Asia Women's Association
SIA	Soroptimist International Association
SJIA	St. Joan's International Alliance
WAGGGS	World Association of Girl Guides and Girl Scouts
WAWE	World Association of Women Executives
WEGN	West European Group of Nurses
WFMW	World Federation of Methodist Women
WIDF	Women's International Democratic Federation

(continued)

Table 4.2 (continued)

Initials	Organization name
WILPF	Women's International League for Peace and Freedom
WIZO	Women's International Zionist Organization
WMM	World Movement of Mothers
WUCWO	World Union of Catholic Women's Organizations
WWCTU	World's Women's Christian Temperance Union
WYWCA	World Young Women's Christian Association
ZI	Zonta International

[a]From Yearbook of International Organizations, 1973 and 1974

4.1 Women Imaging the Future

Precisely because women are marginal to decision-making about the present social order, they are freer to image radically other futures. They have few vested interests to protect. For nearly fifteen years I have been conducting futures-imaging workshops (Boulding 1988a: Chap. 6) with a variety of participants, women and men from different countries, cultures, and occupational backgrounds. This type of workshop begins with each participant making a list of things they want to find in a future world, based on their hopes, not their fears. Next they enter a world three decades hence, in fantasy, to explore as a time traveler what it is like to live in such a world. After the individual fantasying, participants form groups to construct composite worlds from individual imagery, and then in the analytic mode conceptualize the institutional infrastructure, values and behavioral patterns that would make the fantasied world a sustainable, continually evolving one. Next an imagined history is constructed, working back from the future to the present, and finally strategies are examined for action in the present to bring about the desired future. (The three-decades times pan is a heuristic device giving enough time for changes to have occurred but close enough to the present to seem relevant to the participants.)[2]

In general, women enter into the fantasying mode more easily than men, suggesting an already well-developed imagination. As compared with the more organized, easily diagrammed images of men, women's futurism is the futurism of the Tao, the way, rather than the end-state.

> It is not a heroic futurism, overcoming all obstacles, but a gentle listening futurism, moving with the sun, the moon, the tides and seasons of the human heart. Although it appears effortless, however, the imaging process is a highly developed one, based on lifelong discipline in the skills of listening, watching, attunement to the realities of the physical and social environment and in the skills of representation of the path. (Boulding 1983)

[2]See PAHSEP 07 Chaps. 7 and 13 for more in-depth discussion of the futures-imaging workshops.

Women's images have a strongly commensalist character, and they discover villages or towns rather than cities. Dwellings all have open doors, and people of all ages mingle comfortably. Children are very visible, but families are infrequently identified as such. It is a "flexitime" world with work and leisure interpenetrating, a green world where food is grown locally, a world with time for music, poetry and dance. There are also computer centers, however, and information highways for sharing knowledge from one locality to another. Some report that money has disappeared, to be replaced by the practice of barter.

Most of the imaging workshops involve mixed groups, and it not infrequently happens that women participants revolt against working with the men once the analytic stage is reached, withdrawing to all-women's groups to "protect" the special character of their future. In writing the history of how the future came about they perceive a gradual change in human consciousness, and their strategies for the present involve consciousness-raising activities.

While I am emphasizing the nurturant, ecofeminist themes of women's futures, in fact the men's images are in the same direction but more "organized", and with more emphasis on new developments in technology and reformed urbanism. The men are more apt to enter a planning mode, the women an experiential, process mode. Over time, in mixed groups that stay together, there can be convergence toward the freer style of the women. There is nothing particularly surprising about the feminist imagery I have described. It is what we find in the androgynous worlds of Ursula LeGuin and the gentler school of science fiction (1972, 1985).

The peaceableness of the imagery, it must be noted, has at least partly to do with the bias toward nonviolence of many who come into these workshops. Interestingly enough, participants themselves tend to be surprised, both women and men, by their own imagery. They don't expect to visualize a localist, commensalist world, and yet that is what they find. Sometimes they wonder if they have unwittingly stepped into the past instead of the future. Helen Norberg-Hodge, author of Ancient Futures (1991), would tell them that the past may indeed hold our best hopes for the future.

It would be false to describe all feminist imagery of social change as nonviolent, however. Another component of women's experience includes the roles of explorer, pathfinder, adventurer, warrior, arising from the basic human experience of being on the move, whether out of sheer love of the unknown, or as refugees, or as overcrowded groups needing new terrains to feed their people. The history of such population movements is full of stories of women pioneers who travelled alone, or with children but partnerless, to find and settle new lands for themselves and their people. The woman warrior tradition is poorly recorded in mainstream history. The red haired Celtic Queen Boudicca, who fell in battle trying to repel Roman invaders of Britain; warrior Queen Isabel, who led her troops on horseback in a war to unite the Spanish kingdom; Rani Lakshmi Bai of Jhansi, a Maratha warrior who led her troops in battle against the British in India—and Joan of Arc, defender of France—these women are among legions of unsung women soldiers of every century.

The Amazon school of science fiction as in Marion Zimmer Bradley's *Free Amazons of Darkover* represents the current version of this spirit of adventure (Bradley 1985).

Women do appear briefly as heroines in the French and Russian revolutions, and in the twentieth century liberation struggles on every colonized continent. The hand that rocks the cradle can also aim a rifle (Boulding 1988b). These are not empire builders, however. They are fighting for a social and physical space for their people, their children. They too, like the women in my imaging workshops, have localist and commensalist visions. It is perhaps more accurate to think of women system-changers as women with larger social energies, larger imaginations, who work for the local human condition on a larger canvas.

The widespread recurrence of localism and commensalism in women's thinking about the future in both violent and nonviolent traditions, particularly in the twenty-first century, may represent a deep subconscious longing for more nurturant social relationships and for more bonding with the natural world than is easily available in this century, whatever the continent. Such longings deserve to be taken seriously as we reflect on the possibilities, of a post-patriarchal world. The imaging workshops referred to above were developed as an action technique based on Fred Polak's theory (Polak 1973) that each society develops toward, is magnetically drawn by, its own culturally expressed images of the future—a more complex version of the theory of self-fulfilling expectations. Social transformation thus requires imagery about the desired future as part of the dynamics for achieving it.

However, futures don't come about by fantasy alone. The resistance of many women whether in workshops, or in real life, to going into an analytic mode to discover what makes their imaged society sustainable is a problem to be overcome. Fortunately we have the historical example of a century of experience of transnational women's organizations finding specific ways to work on their visions of a more just and peaceful world including their lively functioning in this pre-twenty first century decade. In addition, we have a growing number of role models among women in the social and biological sciences whose work combines holistic imagery, rigorous analysis, and action in the present moment. In fact, it was to give further momentum to this development that the International Sociological Association (ISA) Working group on the Study of Sex Roles in Society was formed in 1970, with Andre Michel and myself acting as co-chairs—a group that became an ISA Research Committee in 1973. By reflecting on the work of some of our sisters in several different disciplines, we can be reminded once again, in our era of frustrating complexities, of the need to make appropriate translations for our own times of the holistic understandings—what we might call systems modelling skills of the women's cultures of pre-industrial societies, skills so important to women's continuing work of maintaining the civil society. Let us examine some examples of these image-to-action processes.

4.2 Systems Modeling, Interdependence and the Web of Life

4.2.1 Perspectives from the Biosphere

We will begin with the Buddhist feminist general system theorist Joanna Macy, who is also active in the *sarvodaya shramadana* movement, a community self-help movement with origins in India and Sri Lanka, based on spiritual insight into interconnectedness and with links to the international environmental and peace movements (Macy 1983a). Shramadana participants are empowered to move beyond despair into social action to bring about the post-nuclear age (Macy 1983b, 1991). Systems analysis is basic to the approach:

> … interconnectedness with life and all other beings … is the living web out of which our individual, separate existences have risen, and in which we are interwoven. Our lives extend beyond our skins, in radical interdependence with the rest of the world. …every system—be it a cell, a tree or a mind— is like a transformer, changing the very stuff that flows through it (Macy 1983a: 25–26).

Macy goes on to say that central to the principles by which systems evolve is openness to the environment, openness to feedback. "Thus do form and intelligence flower. For it is by interaction that life forms are sustained." Image, social system analysis and action strategy are at the heart of each of her books. An important part of her work is helping people identify from the inside with the phenomenon to be changed, to have experiential knowledge of it, in order then to step outside and chart the course for change to a post-patriarchal, post-nuclear world. She suggests some practical steps toward that world through the establishment of guardian sites at decommissioned reactors and waste facilities, for site monitoring, research, nuclear education "and disciplines of mindfulness and devotion to the well-being of future generations" (Macy 1989).

In the biological sciences we find women who have pioneered systems thinking in ways that have powerful implications for decision-making from the Individual to the global level. Donella Meadows, senior author of *Limits to Growth* (Meadows et al. 1972), the book that so dramatically brought the problems generated by economic goals of unlimited growth into public discussion, has been working ever since on improving the theory and practice of modeling system dynamics so that this method (1) can more accurately reflect the reality of everyday life so that It can be used to understand what goes wrong with existing policy practice in the real world, (2) to set more humane and sustainable goals and (3) to design policies to advance those goals (Meadows and Robinson 1985).

Meadows's passion is to address the near-catastrophic situation of today's world, and to point to alternative courses of action. In her chapter on the transformation of modeling she reminds us of high death rates by starvation, leveling of forests, species extinctions, nuclear weapons accumulation (Meadows 1977). "All of these systems problems, and more, are persistent. They go on in spite of the most sophisticated scientific establishments, communication systems, satellites, models,

and databases the world has ever known" (Meadows and Robinson 1985: 414). And modeling as presently practiced, she says, makes things worse! Meadows uses the term transformative modeling not to refer to "massive effort that forces a lot of people to do difficult things against their nature" but to such a subtle restructuring of the system that constructive behavior will follow naturally. "A transformation is a release of possibilities and capabilities already within the system." It is not imported from outside and it does not follow a plan made in advance. This is in fact the Tao again. Meadows has been able to evolve and teach transformative systems modeling through a profound study of and identification with the on-the-ground real-life phenomena represented in the elements of her models. (Modelers must know the real world, she says repeatedly.) That knowledge enables the modeler to identify with the living, interacting elements in the more abstract model that appears on the blackboard or in the book. The model itself comes alive. Meadows happens to be a sheep farmer. She knows the rhythm of sowing and reaping, the rhythm of birthing and shearing. As a farmer-teacher-scholar-computer modeler who travels the world's airways to meet with other modelers, and a journalist with her own column on environmental issues, she practices systems transformation daily.

We find another kind of systems analysis in the work of Lynn Margulis with equally profound implications for how we live on the planet. Margulis has studied the origins of life, demonstrating how the first anaerobic bacteria created the oxygen that made other life forms possible, requiring in turn major adaptation by the anaerobes who could not breathe the oxygen they produced. By tracing the importance of symbiosis, the cooperation of free-living cells, as a primary factor in evolution, she has opened up a vista of the evolution of the planet itself that is full of messages for human populations on how to live symbiotically and adaptively with other life forms—and with each other (Margulis 1981). "Each species modifies its environment" says Margulis. Gaia is the sum total of all these individual modifications and in Gaia all species are connected, in the production of gases, food and waste removal (however circuitously), to all others (Lovelock 1979). In short, we are part of the planetary process, sharing in and shaped by it. Reading her descriptions of the activities of micro-organisms that led to her broader findings we see once again a process of identification with the phenomenon in order to understand it. This identification process took Margulis all the way from bacteria to Gaia. She was able to combine intuition and analysis to create operational knowledge of how each subsystem worked, and how it connected with other subsystems. That knowledge can now help us work with rather than against the planet's symbiotic processes in developing a sustainable niche for humans. (A humbling and humorous perspective: humans are really just convenient homes for huge colonies of the anaerobic bacteria that started life in the first place.)

We have so many role models! There is the anonymous "Anna" in June Goodfield's dramatic story of scientific discovery in a Cancer Research Institute in *An Imagined World* (1981). The fact that Anna made the decision to remain anonymous in order not to arouse professional jealousy in a highly competitive research field is a sad indictment of patriarchal science, but Anna's way of doing science is a beautiful example of feminist humanism, of becoming the phenomenon

studied and thus discovering critical intervention points in a disease process that will result in the saving of many lives. If you want to understand a tumor, says Anna, you've got to be a tumor. Her way of looking through a microscope hour after hour, actually seeing cell traffic in the immune system of patients with Hodgins disease; her experiences of deep intellection in the course of developing an intuitive sense of what was happening, and then doing the painstaking analytic work, endlessly repeating trials to verify her intuitions and to identify therapeutic interventions, is a stunning example of transformative systems modeling. Anna not only became the system she studied, she also created a warm and supportive community spirit among her research team colleagues, and wove music, poetry and laughter into the doing of science.

In Kenya we find Wangari Maathai, university administrator and professor of biology, not only studying desertification in her country, but experiencing the whole system of land deprivation, poverty and victimage of women as part of the phenomenon of desertification. As analysis followed perception, she identified the transforming intervention point—rural women. Working with the National Council of Women of Kenya, she and her sisters launched the Green Belt Movement: a community tree planting project that is transforming deteriorating ecosystems across the country and revitalizing women's farming and community life. Maathai sees this activity as part of a global process of changing how humans live on the earth (Jones and Maathai 1983).

In India, physicist Vandana Shiva, directs the Research Foundation for Science, Technology and Natural Resource Policy at Dehradun, and is herself a practitioner of transformative systems modeling for the deteriorating ecosystems of the vast subcontinent of India. Shiva first and foremost points to the traditional ecological wisdom of local peoples. A strong example is the Chipko (hug the trees) movement, begun in March 1974 when a group of Himalayan village women went out to challenge the sawyers hired by a sports-goods company to cut down trees. "Saw us alive first!" the women said as they hugged the trees. "The illiterate women of the hill villages did not need professional forest hydrologists to tell them of the role of forests in protecting the land and water stability of mountain watersheds, they had drunk this knowledge with their mothers' milk, and had it reinforced as they grew with religion, myths and folklore" (Shiva 1987: 257).

The implications of these women's movements now spreading on the continents of the Two-Thirds World, based on ecosystem understanding rooted in centuries of human experience, are global and strike at the heart of the modernization process.

> Ecology movements like the Chipko call into question the dominant paradigm of thinking and living in all its aspects: ontological, epistemological, scientific, technological, social, economic. In effect they call for a redefinition of science and rationality, of technological choice and economic development. Above all, they call for a reconceptualization of what is meant by the good life (Shiva 1987: 259; note also Shiva 1993).

This is the integrative social maintenance work of the women's culture at its best.

4.2.2 *Perspectives from the Sociosphere*

Feminist humanist social scientists, like their sisters in the physical sciences, have an organic awareness of social systems as wholes, a concept expressed in the term sociosphere. This term, not widely used, was very useful for a teaching project. Kenneth Boulding and I undertook together in the mid-1970s resulting in the book, *The Social System of the Planet Earth* (Boulding et al. 1977). Our goal was to help students assimilate quantities of social science data condensed into indicators in order to develop a "feel" for the totality of interconnected subsystems that make up the sociosphere, and to find potential intervention points that might tilt that sphere from war-proneness to peace-proneness. (To help out we invented an extra-terrestrial being named Exoc, who was studying human society from outer space.)

The social scientists involved with transformative modeling are as varied as the physical scientists in their approaches, even within the same discipline. Ester Boserup, for example, the Danish development economist, revolutionized thinking about development policy by discovering that it was women, not men, who did most of the farming in Africa (Boserup 1970). Agricultural aid programs originating in the One-Third World and directed to men, therefore, turned out to be singularly useless. These findings came through an analysis of the total farming system including the women and children of the farm household. A more theoretical but even more holistic type of systems modeling is practiced by the self-taught British-born economist/ecologist Hazel Henderson, who has devoted her career to alerting the world to the new post-Cartesian paradigm for sustainable development. The principles on which her organic model is based are: interconnectedness, redistribution, heterarchy, complementarity, uncertainty and change. Her *Paradigms in Progress: Life Beyond Economics* (1991) is addressed as much to the grassroots, where she sees that the politics of reconceptualization has already begun, as to policy makers. A very inventive feminist, she has facilitated the creation of innumerable citizen's bodies for women and for men directed to radical social change, each one aimed at a different entry point into the policy-making process.

In Latin America feminist social scientists have modeled the transition from agrarian to agro-industrialized society and its impact on women using both macrosystem models and case studies of individual communities. The combination of macro and microanalysis and quantitative and qualitative data has led to a more differentiated analysis of what happens to women at different stages of industrialization and at different stages in their own lifespan, and of the role of patriarchal structures in these processes. Neuma Aguiar of Brazil, who is presenting a paper in this series, has been a leader in this type of analysis and in its application to actual on-the-ground development choices for women through the organization DAWN, Development Alternatives for Women. The UN University's Household Gender and Age Project, established specifically to call attention to women's roles in development processes in a way non-threatening to male planners by utilizing a holistic concept of household, has drawn heavily on the work of Aguiar and her colleagues (Masini and Stratigos 1991).

Still another approach to systems modeling, using the tools of the anthropologist, was developed by Margaret Mead. Her interest in the variety of patternings of gender roles from society to society, and in the dynamics of human development for females and males from birth to adulthood that help shape that patterning, have provided many new insights about women's roles for feminists. Studying microsocieties is an ideal way to get inside the dynamics of social process and Mead made the most of her opportunities. She was always asking: What makes things change? What makes things stay the same?

Her keen sense of human life cycles and the phenomenon of continuities and discontinuities between generations as technological developments keep speeding up rates of change, has given her a unique role as a futurist. Since it is no longer possible for adults to know their own children, and even less to know the future, Mead proposes a pre-figurative culture, "consciously, delightedly, and industriously, rearing unknown children for an unknown world" (Mead 1970). Margaret cared deeply about the state of the world as a whole, in all its diversity. Her *Cooperation and Competition among Primitive Peoples* (1937) was a very early contribution to the new field of peace research, and after World War II she worked hard to convince her colleagues to do more work on the dynamics of cooperation and peacefulness. She also encouraged early curriculum developments in peace education for elementary and secondary schools.

Mead also played a special role in the early initiatives for what became the Women's Decades by vigorously speaking on behalf of an early 1960s "housewives project" that became International Cooperation Year in 1965. The Year was originally conceived as a project of women visiting women around the world to see the different ways in which basic tasks of caring for families and communities were carried out. This was a period of transitional consciousness-raising for women, and Mead encouraged them to think of themselves as the "world's housekeepers"—a big step in those days. International Cooperation Year was the precursor of International Women's Year and all that has followed, and Mead's global vision enabled her to be one of the first to see the possibilities in the housewives project. Because she herself lived in a web of global interconnectedness, there is hardly a social movement of the post-world War II decades that she did not personally touch—available to be enthusiastically nurturant—but also penetratingly critical when critical discernment was needed.

Alva Myrdal, Swedish family sociologist, child development specialist and leading disarmament expert, understood social systems "from inside" as she struggled with the demanding triple task of rearing three children while partnering a world reknowned economist and both researching and actually creating the kind of local institutions and services that a society would need in order to produce peaceful and productive citizens in a just and humane world. The unique contributions that both Mead and Myrdal have made through their own sharing of their experiences of weaving child rearing into professional life, supplemented by the vivid accounts of that process shared with the world by their respective daughters (Bateson 1984; Bok 1991), makes it possible for us to translate the concepts of tranformative systems change into the dailiness of "growing up human".

Over time Myrdal's systems analysis expanded in complexity from child, family and nation to the international realm of diplomacy, first as Ambassador to India and then as Swedish Minister of Disarmament (MyrdaI 1976). Her analysis grew ever more multidimensional without ever losing its organic character. She kept finding new entry points for social change even as the world continued to become more dangerous. Her words in 1980 were "Giving up is not worthy of a human being". She founded new organizations right and left both governmental and nongovernmental. One noteworthy and enduring one was the Swedish International Peace Research Institute. Her main hope for change, however, lay in civil society and nongovernmental institutions.

Both Mead and Myrdal understood the centrality of children to society and social process. Starting from the child development perspective, British Penelope Leach put children directly into tranformative systems analysis. She introduced a disconcerting analytic device of tracing the actual movements of women with small children, going through their normal round of child care, home-making, shopping and community activity on a typical day. What is disconcerting is the realization that the urban environment that is so much taken for granted is utterly inhospitable to these tasks when one has small children in tow. For mothers of preschoolers—and for the preschoolers themselves, daily life becomes a succession of impossibilities (Leach 1983). When Leach claims that a Children's Community Rights Act would be at least as important as a Sex Discrimination or Race Relations Act she is bravely stepping into a large void in human rights concepts. The truth is that children are missing from systems analysis as well as from human rights thinking, the efforts of Mead, Myrdal, Leach herself and other prophetic voices notwithstanding. My own efforts at depicting the social roles of children and the elderly in contemporary societies from the local to the global level, using both UN and anthropological data, sank almost without a trace in the widely ignored International Year of the Child (Boulding 1979). The view taken in that book is that children are co-shapers of the society in which they live. In short, children are practicing futurists.

The few women I have mentioned in these pages can of course not begin to do justice to the role of women in creating new understandings of the social systems in which they live in order to open up these systems to transformative change. The role of feminist thinking in the environmental field, in ecology, and in the social movement known as ecofeminism—note for example the work of Petra Kelly; Ekins (1992); (Parkin 1995) and Charlene Spretnak (1984)—could be gone into much more deeply. Similarly with the role of feminist thinking in the field of peace studies. Here the feminist analysis of power as power *with* or *empowerment*, rather than power *over*, provides the key to the transformational modeling of the post-patriarchal system in which violence has no place (Brock-Utne 1985, 1989). At the same time it points to a primary intervention point in the patriarchal system for achieving system change: the daily practice of violence against women and children in the family. This violence stunts the growth in problem-solving and conflict resolution capability in adults and children, infecting human relationships in every other part of society and increasing male dependence on the very capacity for dominance that cripples men as human beings. Paradoxically this dependency generates military-forcing systems in

modern states that drive societies helplessly to war out of sheer inability to engage in sustained problem-solving behavior (Boulding 1992b).

The futures field as a discipline is a way of systems modelling on the far side of tomorrow. This field, and the World Futures Studies Federation as its transnational professional organization, owes its present state of development to a significant degree to the Italian sociologist Eleanora Masini. Her own skill in combining imagery and analysis, and her own down-to-earth sense of the needs of a war-weary continent, gave a feminist focus to the work of the major European futurists of the post-war decades (Masini 1983). It was her skill in networking and the facilitation of dialogue across deep cultural differences that made it possible for the widely differing conceptions of the future as process held by futurists from East and West Europe, Africa, Asia, the Middle East and the Americas to coexist in one Federation.

4.3 The Challenge of Complexity

4.3.1 Uses of the Imagination

Each of the scholars/practitioners/activists mentioned so far has struggled with the problem of developing process models sufficiently complex to cover interactions within the system that account for the empirical phenomena addressed, and yet are accessible to comprehension at the intuitive level. It is that intuitive capability that differentiates the organic from the mechanical model. If we say that this represents feminist ways of knowing (Belenky et al. 1986), this does not exclude male cognition, only its more mechanistic, rationalistic forms.

Metaphor is our most valuable tool in conceptualizing complex systems. In teaching about the sociology of the international system the human body can be used as a metaphor for complexity. One can point out that our bodies contain hundreds of interconnected cyclic processes and rhythms of unimaginable complexity (Luce 1971), and that we can live comfortably with that complexity knowing only the most general of facts concerning our own physiology. Would-be systems changers can be invited to spend a few moments "experiencing" their bodies, and then to treat that body, in imagination, as the boundary or envelope for a series of social systems beginning with their own family, then the town they grew up in, then the entire country and finally the planet itself. Each step in this imagining process adds orders of magnitude to the complexities of the system they are "containing", and in each case the imaginer becomes the observer of the system they are encompassing. This process does not add data to the model, but it provides a way of ordering whatever levels of data are already present without resorting to a mechanical simplification. Participants report that they have a different understanding of these systems after the exercise than before. Finding ways to handle complexity while "preserving the phenomenon" is a constant problem in the modern world.

4.3.2 Systems Approaches to the Future Through Networking

Although networking at the local level is the oldest tool of the human sisterhood, self-conscious networking among women across political and cultural boundaries basically developed in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, during the period when the women's INGOs listed in Tables 4.1 and 4.2 took shape. The new phase in this networking began, as already indicated, with the establishment by ECOSOC of the UN Committee on the Status of Women. It was, however, the woman-to-woman contacts between continents that took place during International Cooperation Year that spurred the formation of new, less formal, non-hierarchical women's groups. It was at this time that women came to realize that the patriarchal structures of the UN and its member states was imposing development strategies on the Two-Thirds World that were appropriating and destroying the natural resources that were the traditional means of subsistence for rural populations. Women saw that urban industrial wastelands were being created that pushed previously self-sufficient populations into unprecedented poverty and dependency. Information and action networks began proliferating, linked both to traditional women's groups at the village level, and to the more formally structured INGOs, but with a life and purpose of their own. Table 4.3 lists a few of these newer networks, formed between 1974 and 1987.

Three of these new networks will be examined here, chosen because they are networks of networks. Two of them first came into existence in relation to preparations for the 1975 International Women's Year Conference in Mexico City: Isis International, which prepared for the Mexico Conference by holding an International Tribunal on Crimes Against Women In Brussels in 1974, and the International Women's Tribune Center (IWTC), which came into being to facilitate communication among INGOs during the Mexico City Conference. The third network, GROOTS (Grass Roots Organizations Operating Together in Sisterhood), developed during the Nairobi Women's Conference, concentrating entirely on grassroots low-income rural and urban women.

Isis International, founded by European women and with its first offices in Rome and Geneva, soon moved to its present coordinating centers in Manila and Santiago (http://www.isiswomen.org/). It networks with over 50,000 individuals and organizations in 150 countries, from grassroots groups to policy makers. Its purpose is empowerment of women to shape their lives and their societies through networking, information and skill-sharing in every arena in which women need to work. In recent years, having noted poor health as one of women's major hazards, Isis International has developed strong regional women's health networks in the countries of the Two-Thirds World. Its two main resource centers maintain libraries, bibliographies, information on human resources and data bases.

Table 4.3 Some international women's networks founded between 1974 and 1987

Network	Year founded	Category	Founding event	Coordinating site (1987)
IFN (International Feminist Network)	1974	=, HR	International Tribunal on Crimes Against Women, Brussels, Belgium	Rome, Italy
Isis International	1974	=, D	International Tribunal on Crimes Against Women, Brussels, Belgium	Santiago, Chile; Rome, Italy; The Philippines
IWTC (International Women's Tribune Centre)	1975	=, D	International Women's Year Nongovernmental Tribune, Mexico City, Mexico	New York, NY, USA
AAWORD (Association of African Women for Research & Development)	1976	R, D	Meeting of Swedish Research Agency with Developing Countries, Lusaka, Zambia	In country where the president resides
GASAT (Girls and Science and Technology)	1979	D	Informal meeting to assist access of girls and women to careers in scientific & technological fields	Ann Arbor, Michigan, USA
WWB (Women's World Banking)	1979	D	Dutch foundation formed to promote women entrepreneurs around the world	New York, NY, USA
Women and Peace Study Group of the International Peace Research Association	1979	P	Special meeting of IPRA women members on sexism in the conduct of peace research	Santiago, Chile
IIC (International Interdisciplinary Congress on Women)	1980	R	First IIC on Women held in Israel	Dublin, Ireland
ILIS (International Lesbian Information Service)	1981	=, HR	Offshoot of International Gay Association to strengthen lesbian identity	Helsinki, Finland
AWID (Association for Women in Development)	1982	D	Created by a group of scholars, practitioners, and policymakers	Manhattan, Kansas, USA
CAW (Committee for Asian Women)	1982	=, D	Decision to support Asian women workers began in 1977 in Malaysia at the Christian Conference of Asia-Urban Rural Mission	Kowloon, Hong Kong (as of 1985)
WLD (Women, Law Development Program)	1983	=, D	OEF International decided to support a number of Women's groups working toward women's rights	Washington, DC, USA

(continued)

Table 4.3 (continued)

Network	Year founded	Category	Founding event	Coordinating site (1987)
Sisterhood Global Institute	1983	=, D	Project of compiling reports and data for Sisterhood is Global	New York, NY, USA
International Feminist Book Fair	1984	D, M	London, 1984	New Delhi, India (as of 1988)
WICS (International Women's Information & Communication Service)	1984	D, M	Grew out of Isis International	Rome, Italy, & Santiago, Chile
Latin American & Caribbean Women and Health Network	1984	D, H	Organized by the Corporation Regional para el desarrollo Integral de la Mujer y la Familia (Bogota, Colombia)	Santiago, Chile
Women Living Under Muslim Laws	1984	=, HR	Muslim women in Europe met to discuss misinterpretation of Islam by men in Islamic states to suppress women's human rights	Combaillaux, France
DAWN (Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era)	1985	R, D	NGO Forum at U.N. World Women's Conference in Nairobi	Botafago, Brazil (region changes every two years)
GROOTS (Grass Roots Organizations Operating Together for Sisterhood)	1985	D	Network began in Nairobi among low-income rural and urban women workers	Mylapore, Madras, India
IWDA (International Women's Development Agency)	I985	D	Grew from the Australian Women and Development Network	Victoria, Australia
World Women Parliamentarians for Peace	1985	P	Meeting to support initiatives of superpowers toward disarmament	New Delhi, India
Women for a Meaningful Summit, International Liaison Office	1985	P	Began as ad hoc coalition of women & organizations active in arms control	Athens, Greece
CAFRA (Caribbean Association for Feminist Research and Action)	1986	R, D	Seminar, sponsored by University of Sussex, on women and social production in the Caribbean	St. Augustine, Trinidad, and Tobago

(continued)

Table 4.3 (continued)

Network	Year founded	Category	Founding event	Coordinating site (1987)
Two Thirds World Movement Against the Exploitation of Women	1986	=, HR	Women's campaign launched against Military Prostitution, Camp International	Manila, Philippines
Arab Women's Solidarity Association	1986	=, HR	Created by women professionals in the Middle East	Cairo, Egypt
Asia Pacific Women's Action Network	1986	=, HR	Bangkok training by the Asian Cultural Forum on Development	Bangkok, Thailand
WINGS (Women's International News Gathering Service)	1986	D, M	Sponsored by Western Public Radio, a nonprofit audio production and training facility	San Francisco, California, USA
Women, Environment and Sustainable Development Network	1986	D, Env	Nairobi NGO Forum established network of women's environmental groups	Amsterdam, The Netherlands
Womenwealth	1986	=, D	After Nairobi in response to calls for North-South cooperation among women	London, England
Feminist Futures International Network	1987	D	Symposium at Siuntio Baths, Finland on "Women and the Military System"	Network by mail, no coordinating center
Global Fund for Women	1987	D	Foundation established in response to the Nairobi Conference call for groups to take specific steps to improve the status of women	California

Note Category Code Key: D—development; =, D—equality and development; =, HR—equality and human rights; R, D—research, development, D, M—development, media; D, H—development, health; D, Env—development, environment, P—peace

Up-to-date information is shared through monthly bulletins, a quarterly journal, *Women in Action*, and a women's *Health Journal*; all are published in Spanish and English. The centers also offer hands-on assistance in networking, and training in the use of new information technologies. *Women Envision* is a new publication oriented towards informing all constituencies about preparations for the Beijing 1995 Women's Forum, also providing comprehensive information about all other conferences and campaigns of potential interest to women.

The International Women's Tribune Center (http://www.iwtc.org/), located across the street from the UN in New York, performs a similar function with more emphasis on UN resources, activities and special agendas affecting women, with how-to information on the utilization of INGO mechanisms to achieve specific goals. It has the same commitment to grassroots and Two-Thirds World women as Isis International. It publishes the *Tribune: A Women and Development Quarterly*, with analyses and case histories of women's development activities around the world. It also puts out special Bulletins which are Calls to Action on specific issues such as the successful campaign to place violence against women on the agenda of the 1993 UN World Conference on Human Rights. The IWTC also publishes periodic conference calendars with information for local groups on how to get involved in decision-making sessions of importance to them. All these publications are brimming over with strategies for using UN and other gatherings to further women's issues. They are also tool-kits for undertaking projects in social and economic development; they give instructions in the use of new technologies, and in media development; they offer strategies for human rights campaigns.

GROOTS International Network News (http://www.groots.org/index.html, http://huairou.org/groots-international) is more specifically directed to local grassroots organizations and provides contact information about activities in each of 8 world regions so local women can communicate with each other directly across regions.

All the bulletins and newsletters published by Isis International, IWTC and GROOTS are in fact full of contact information. They contain names and addresses (and sometimes fax and emails) and project summaries that enable women to know as never before what is going on in the new international sisterhood. It is difficult to convey the excitement and sense of empowerment that comes from tapping into this information and activity flow, into this worldwide process of reflection, envisioning, analysis and concrete action for change. It is almost like a new life-form, encapsulating everything that the scholar-practitioner-activist women described earlier have worked to achieve, in an actual systems transformation. What is brought together here is the best of women's traditional ecosystem knowledge and the best of new science and technology woven into social structures and relationships that model the feminist post-patriarchal world, complete with well-marked entry points for system change.

The overall systems change will take several centuries—if we have that long—but some subsystems are changing faster than that. A striking example of transformative modeling in a subsystem appears in the February 1993 issue of *The International Women's Tribune Center Newsletter*, with the presentation side by side of women's agricultural activity under the old male development policy model and under the new participatory feminist model, as shown in Figs. 4.3 and 4.4 (with some adaptation for the purpose of this paper). That this model will be equally understandable to Two-Thirds World women farmers and to university-based systems modelers is strong confirmation of the vitality of the new networking process, and of the organic validity of the model.

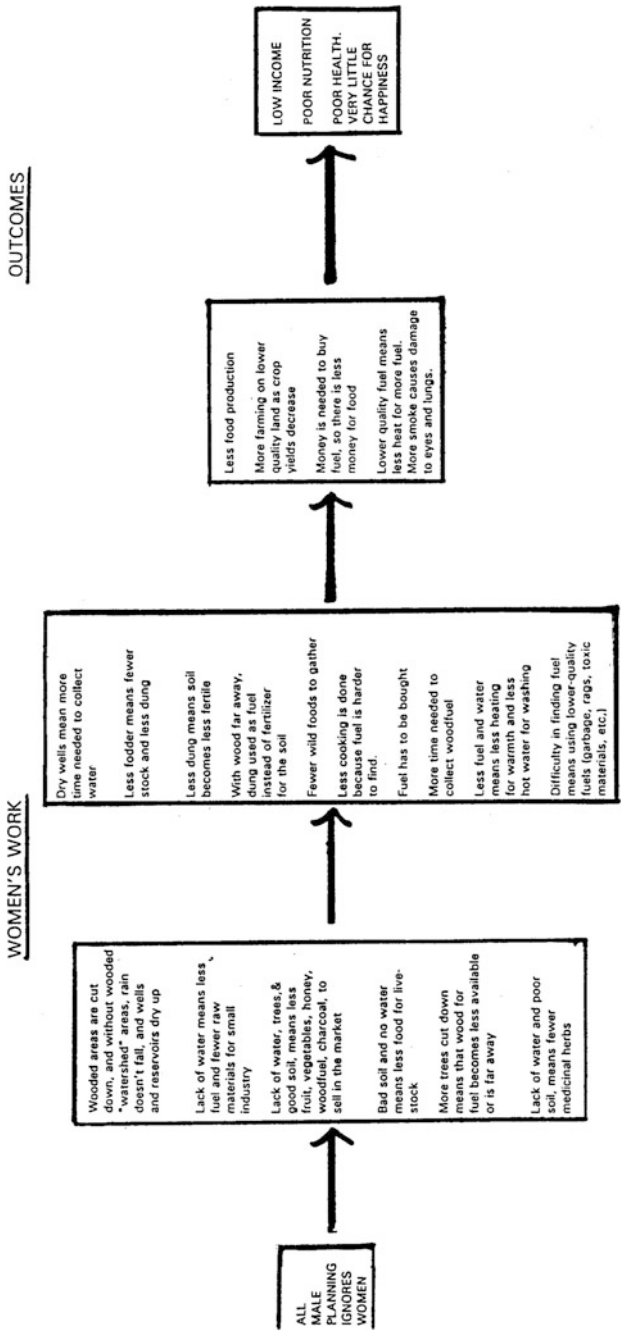

Fig. 4.3 2/3 world women farms as victims (adapted from "Women, Environmental and Development, Part II," *International Women's Tribune Center Newsletter 49, 1993*)

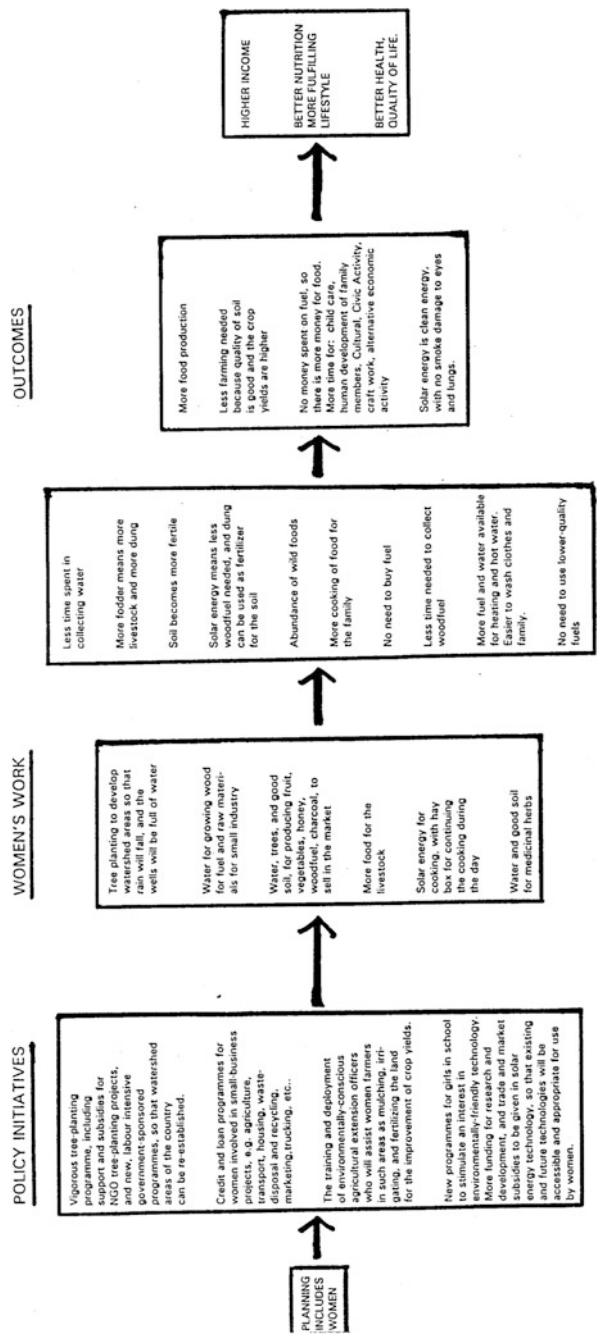

Fig. 4.4 2/3 world women farms as shapers (adapted from "Women, Environmental and Development, Part II," *International Women's Tribune Center Newsletter 49, 1993*)

4.4 Continuity and Change

In this overview of women as shapers of the societies in which they live, both continuity and change have been emphasized. Continuity in the sense that women have always had to grasp the larger picture of the socio-environmental reality in which they function because of their responsibility for maintaining, adapting and changing the physical and social life-support systems of the community of which they are a part, from early hunting and gathering times to the present. Change because as that socio-environmental reality has grown ever more complex, particularly in the last two centuries, it has become harder to grasp, and the cultural distortions of human relations and social structures by the workings of patriarchy have become gradually more severe.

Awareness of the crippling of women's freedom for social action in the patriarchal system in recent historical times has been a necessary precondition for the work of social reconstruction that is now under way. At the same time the severity of current social pathologies calls for transformation rather than reconstruction of the social order. For women to engage fully in that work of transformation, the goals of equity feminism have to be absorbed into the more encompassing goals of reshaping social values, structures and behaviors away from a world-destroying militarism toward a humane and creative peaceableness.

By looking at the ways of thinking and working of a few selected women activists trained in the social and natural sciences, we have seen how complex systems can be understood "from the inside", both intuitively and analytically, and how entry-points for social change can be identified. We have also looked at the new feminist networks, to see how they are providing maps of the information and decision highways used by the old patriarchal system of male development to maintain itself—the UN, intergovernmental bodies and national governments. The women's networks are also identifying entry points into the old system for transformation-oriented INGOs and women's groups that will lead to new action sequences in the civil society, freed of the restraints of a domination mentality. The short-term goals of the new transnational feminist networks are for basic recognition of what women already do, an easing of their work load and protection from the extremes of family and community rape and violence. The intermediate goal, is for equal participation in the social, economic and political processes of the civil society. This translates in the more immediate future into one-third representation of women in every decision-making body in every society, and in the UN itself. (In the long run, nothing less than 50% will do.) Even the one-third representation may well take a century, although the effectiveness of women's networking may speed up the process. The long-term goal is for a world in which love of the planet and the life it supports animates a careful use and sharing of resources by men and women, young and old; and individuality-in-community in the civil society is a continuously evolving creative process of social learning and learning from Gaia herself.

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Part II
Elise Boulding on the Family from a Sociological Perspective

Chapter 5
The Family as a Way Into the Future (1978)

This article, written in the middle of the academic/teacher phase of Elise Boulding's life, covers many of the themes about family life that are addressed in the following chapters, yet in a refreshingly poetic way.[1]

The future of the family is a subject often approached with great anxiety in these times. I propose to strike a new tone of inquiry, and to ask what discoveries lie before us about the family. Since family-type togetherness is the oldest and longest-continuing human experience, it is not unlikely that what lies ahead for us as members of the human race will be arrived at in the context of having been formed as persons in family-type settings in the past and in the present. As a futurist I have long been convinced that families are the primary agents of social change in any society. It is in this setting that individuals first become aware that the passage of time means growth and change, that tomorrow is never like yesterday. It is in this setting that one's first daydreams about a different future take place. I have come to find the phrase "the Tao of family" meaningful, because it reflects the special nature of family as directioned movement. Tao means the way, and the Tao of family is the Way of Family into the future. In this view the family is not a barrier between us and a better society, but a path to that better society.

The present ambivalence about whether the family is basically a good institution for human beings stands in sharp contrast to earlier idealization of the family. There is a social myth that there was some golden age in the past when families were totally devoted to one another, totally sufficient to each others' needs, with the extended family hovering benignly in the background to shore up any possible weaknesses in time of trouble. One extreme reaction at present to that myth is to say

[1]The text was first published as "The Family as a Way Into the Future", *Pendle Hill Pamphlet No. 222* (Wallingford, PA: Pendle Hill Publications, 1978). Copyright © 1978 by Pendle Hill Publications. Reprint permission granted 9 July, 2015.

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that in our era family life is all pain and no devotion, producing an essential, tragic loneliness in each of its members. The truth lies somewhere between these two extreme positions. It is useful to call attention to the fact that family life is a difficult, demanding way of life. However, the "new realism" offers no key to understanding the mysterious wants, impulses and interdependencies that have brought humans together in family-type groupings as far back as we can go in archaeological and paleontological search. Do present soaring divorce rates, escalating intra-familial violence, and substantial increases among youth in rates of drug abuse, alcoholism, suicide and flight from home signal some great historic change in how humans will deal with the most intimate as well as the most public of wants and needs? Is there really some better set of arrangements than the family almost within sight that will produce better human beings, more economic justice, and peace instead of war?

It is tempting to think that we could design structural arrangements for the nurture of human beings that would be proof against eruptions of folly and violence in thought and deed, arrangements that would guarantee the production of individual and social goodness. And indeed there are many structural modifications that can be made in social arrangements to make life more peaceful and just for communities and nations. The art of social design is at least 10,000 years old—as old as the oldest town. But social design always misses the uniqueness of the individual human being. Art and religion alike spring from the basic clash between social prescription as bodied forth in law, custom and culture, and the living throbbing human being whose case does not fit the prescription. Social prescriptions never fit. If we have the illusion that they do it is because all of us, with a practiced skill that makes the effort invisible to other eyes, are continually modifying our milieu to suit our own ways of being and doing. We push at the edges of custom daily by performing our various roles in our special way, with our elaborations, our omissions, and our own inner reservations. If each of us had to push continuously at the edges of custom alone and unaided, it would be an exhausting task. People who are really alone in a society, both socially and spiritually, give up on that basic task of individuation-in-community. They are the anomic, the alienated ones.

The family is an ancient social invention that provides support for the individuation process. Whether one is surrounded by the bureaucratic webs of ancient empires or modern governments, or simply by tribal councils and village mores, there are spaces inside those public webs taken up by family-type formations, sheltering their members against the harshness of social prescription. There are forms of the Tao—the inner structure of all being—that can never be found in the web itself, but only in these spaces.

In times of rapid social change such as at present, the shelters do not function very well, and many individuals flee them as if they were prisons instead of shelters.

Entering the web itself, the would-be flee-ers may come to feel trapped in the mazes of professional human services provided by social workers, therapists and correctional workers trying to do what the family failed to do. There has always been a third way, however, in all societies undergoing rapid change, and that has been the experimental creation of new family forms or the modification of existing ones. The commune as an alternative family form has been invented over and over again, bringing persons together to live as a household who are not otherwise related. Some such communes, such as the monastic communities of the Hindu, Buddhist, Christian and Moslem faiths, have lasted for nearly two thousand years, each generation taking in young children born outside the community to rear as members. Secular communes, often born of war and depression, are usually more short-lived. They frequently involve the merging of several previously separate groupings, as was the case with the *frèrêches*, a kind of extended-family household in medieval Europe. All-women's communes, such as those run by the religiously oriented laywomen of the Beguine movement, eased the rural to urban movement of single women in the later middle ages. Some took in children, some did not. In European history, there has been a steady stream of experimental communes for men and women in alternatives-to-marriage types of arrangements, side by side with chaster experiments with celibate communes, from the time of the millennial peasant uprisings associated with the end of feudalism to the present. The history of these experiments puts the experiments of our own times into proper perspective.[2]

Most experimental communes, then as now—particularly those not based on deep religious conviction—tended to be short-lived. The reason is not far to seek. A commune is even more demanding than a "kinship" family in terms of skill in social relations and the need for continuous sensitivity to others; relations can never be taken for granted. They must be exhaustingly re-created each day, and most people are not prepared for that kind of effort. Much writing about the family today implies that for the first time in history there are a lot of alternative life styles available to people which are (a) easier than family living and (b) more exciting than anything ever known before. Nothing could be further from the truth. First, the experiments are demanding, and second, industrialization and modern urbanization have, if anything, narrowed the range of available variations in lifestyles. The experiments generated by the vast uprootings in Europe brought about by a combination of the crusades and the end of feudalism, by bad harvests lasting over decades with resulting food shortages, illness, and plague, and the simultaneous rise of a new urban craft technology offering new employments for the rural unemployed, are a rich part of our heritage unrecorded in the standard histories of western civilization.

[2]Readers interested in this aspect of history and in more detailed studies of individual experiments can find some account of them in Elise Boulding, 1992: *The Underside of History: A View of Women Through Time, Revised Edition, 2 vols.* (Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications).

Even in more settled times, there have been many variations of household patterning. While a certain proportion of any population lives in households which are standard for that society, whether the matrilineal households of Kerala, India, the two-to-three-wife multihouseholds of rural Nigeria, or the patrilineal single-residence households of Euro-North America, more sophisticated demographic analysis is showing us that fewer people lived in these standard households than had been thought. Up to one-third of women are either never-married or widowed, many of them with children, in most societies, and their needs contribute to the creation of alternative patterns. Because alternative arrangements are harder to maintain, they are often short-lived. They nevertheless involve an effort to sustain long-term involvement in nurturance between adults and children.

During times of trouble, ad hoc arrangements multiply. In quieter times, the range of alternative solutions narrows, and a larger proportion of the population once more lives in simpler family-type households. This happens because the alternatives are costly. We are getting signals of discontent with the costs of alternatives right now in our own society. One such signal is found in the number of couples with no mutual legal commitments who are suing each other in courts of law, presumably for not honoring the very commitments the non-legal relationship was to keep them free from in the first place. Commitment always crops up as a fundamental human yearning. It is hard for true individuality to flourish in a milieu that lacks attentive others, who can mirror back the growth of one's individuality over time. Families seem to provide a remarkably effective instrument for that mirroring back, and thus for the production of sustainable individuality in human beings.

We worry far too much about the form of the family, as if, in spite of all the variation present in history, there should be one optimum pattern answering the human condition. We underestimate people's capacities to respond to their own social experience. Today many people who are finding the single-parent household a very difficult form of family life are trying to do something about it. Neighborhood and community-level inventions directed to creating extended-family type support networks for these hard pressed adults are a logical development, and one that Friends Meetings should take care to support. The single parent family, as I have already pointed out, is not new. There have always been widows, widowers and unmarried women rearing children. What is new is that the concepts of neighborhood and community have been weakened, and the physical proximity of extended family made less probable, because of greater geographical mobility. Yet the history of this country has been one long history of migration. The re-creation of neighborhood and adoption of a new extended family is only what every migrant family has always had to do.

The two parent family is also being inventive, moving away from a cramping "woman-in-the-home-only" image that was, in fact, merely a temporary adaptation to industrialization and the termination of old preindustrial partnerships of women and men in family workshops or on family farms. The return of women to the workforce in the current phase of the industrial era, however, has required a redefinition of family roles. Parenting and household maintenance are now male-female responsibilities. Different concepts of male and female personhood are required. The personhood of the young and the old have also had to be redefined as we gain a better understanding of human capacity and social needs over the life span. One of the hardest new social learnings is that ageism is as cramping to human beings as sexism or racism. The family upheavals we see today are part and parcel of this tremendously accelerated learning process, and should not be simplistically labelled symptoms of social decay.

Still the nagging doubt remains for many people: is it all over with the family, or is it still a significant human enterprise? And will it continue to be so in the future? I have already suggested, in my remarks about history, that household forms have been resilient in the past in response to changing conditions. Now I would like to show what households will continue to be uniquely equipped to do for the human condition if we grasp the vision of the family as a special form of continuous creation in society. Whether I use the term family or familistic household, it should be understood that I refer to any household grouping which involves adults and children in continuing commitment to each other over time. There may be one, two or more adults, in couples or singly or a combination of the two. They may be heterosexual, gay or celibate, with from zero to many children. (The possibility of children is important to the concept of family, but a certain percentage of households remain childless in every society.) What makes the household a family is that each member will care about each other member and be available in time of need with no expiration date on that availability. This includes a commitment to sharing the experience of facing death, something we do not talk enough about as a family commitment. In the case of divorced and remarried combinations, the concept of continued availability to past spouses and children now living in other families to meet the crises of life and death still holds in principle. While the bitterness surrounding divorce sometimes makes this impossible, in fact most divorced persons do continue in some way to be helpful to one another. Single person households can also be included under the rubric "family," particularly if the individual makes home a center for a network of nonresident friends and relatives, and defines these relationships in terms of long-run commitment. Not infrequently, single persons contribute more to family-type bonding than a family indifferent to its own being, because they care, and spend time showing that they care.

The unifying theme of all that I have to say is that family life is an act of continuous creation of human beings and of the society in which they live. Creation is at once a solemn and a reckless thought, and it can easily mislead us. Creation is

both a reflection of the divine order and a uniquely individual act. The concept of the Tao embodies this contradiction better than any word we have in our own language, which is why I like the concept of the Tao of the Family. Tao is the divine order, yet it is also a way. It is stillness, and non-action, a standing in the light, yet it is also all movement, all action. It is God the Creator, and God the Uncreated. Family life, on the other hand, seems by its very nature to be action, movement, shaping. This equating of the family with action causes us much trouble. We think we must be "doing" the right things. There are few voices to speak to family "being." The seeming effortlessness of the fulfilled family (only seeming, mind you!) is based on a rootedness in being which infuses all doing. Quaker family culture is richly blessed with opportunities for rootedness because of very basic teachings within the Quaker tradition on silent waiting, on shared stillness, on developing an at-homeness with others that does not depend on verbal communication. These are family traditions, not just Meeting traditions, and no Meeting silence can be any deeper than the family silences that it draws upon. Beyond the shared quiet is, of course, the individual quiet, and in a spiritually alive community there is a still seepage of the spirit from individual to family to Meeting and back again.

Now I will speak of my understanding of family life as creation and being.

5.1 The Dance of Growth

The family is a dance of growth. Each member is one day older each day, moving a different body, seeing with different eyes, think/feeling with a new mind/heart, from infant to grandparent. For the dance to go on, each member must be daily attuned to the differentness in body signals of each other member. There is a lot of humor in the dance. Clothes never quite fit, feet grow too big, voices squeak, middle-aged bodies sway uncertainly, stiffness makes marionette-walking part of the dance for the elderly. Part of the humor lies in that each of us is dancing as if everyone else were yesterday's person, knowing all the while that we are today's. Belatedly, daily, each of us makes lightning-quick adjustments because, after all, no one is yesterday's person. A world has happened since yesterday, and left its traces on each mind and body. How does anyone ever recognize anyone else in a family? In the outside world we can get by with projecting and responding to stereotypes, ritualized versions of the self that vary by decades rather than by days. Not so in the family. It is the only setting in which we must be close-in with others far apart from us in temperament and age.

THE FAMILY DANCE © HELEN BARCHILON REDMAN '78

And yet, for all the irritation, scorn, and derision over the acting-up (always seen as exaggeration in the others, but never, of course, in ourselves) the magic of the dance still creates its own understandings. We make room for the big feet, the theatrical gesture, new sad limps. Family interaction is a dialectic of drooping shoulders and whooping new identities. New furniture changes the physical staging of family life; so does the continuous process of acquiring new clothes in new sizes. So does setting the table with different foods as nutrition requirements change in the growth process. Different spaces for sleep and rest must be left for each family member as bodily needs for dream and dreamlessness change. "Rights" to physical and social space subtly alter and are traded around the family over time. Sometimes the dance is punctuated by explosions; the staging doesn't change fast enough, or someone refuses to go along with this particular day's reality. Mother has gone back to school, or has a new job. Sister has her first newspaper route. Father has been laid off at work. There are so many forcible intrusions on the family ballet. Rude as the jolts may be, if new rhythms can be improvised in time, much

bitterness dissolves in the sheer movement of the dance. Sometimes the dance breaks down entirely. But for the most part, this incredible person-creating dance of family life goes on. Each creates the other in the family ballet. No one may sit it out (as we can elsewhere).

I am using the dance as a metaphor, and yet it is more than a metaphor. If one translated what Carol Murphy has so movingly written about her experience with the dancing of T'ai Chi in the Pendle Hill Pamphlet, *The Sound of Silence*, to the family level, this could be a profound shared experience.[3] More families than we suspect do impromptu dancing for sheer joy. Folk dancing makes a wonderful form of family ballet. In my own childhood doing Swedish gymnastics with the family by the sea or lakeside on early summer mornings, led exuberantly by my mother, was a much-loved form of family ballet. Yet all movement is dance, if we but see it that way. We may have more joy of the task of growing human in the family when we recognize the ballet.

Sometimes the dance is pure play—the tumbling of puppies, the sudden "let's pretend," or the more sedate play with boundaries and rules. Sometimes it is wary. Sometimes it is agonizing.

The use of choreography by family therapists to enable deeply alienated married couples to see the dynamics of their own disrupted relationships illustrates in the profoundest possible way the significance of the attempt to mirror the divine order. In the choreography of conflict, the discrepancies between conscious and unconscious intent become blinding illuminations. Mostly, however, the family dance is just the choreography of the reserved life, of all the left-over inexpressibles from hours of duty out there in the social web. Always it is the Tao, the mirroring of the divine order, however imperfectly, as we teeter back and forth between the created and the uncreated in the task of family growth.

5.2 Time-Binding

When all is changing, where to take hold? Only the present is secure. Tomorrow is scary. But the family binds tomorrows to the present and the past, for there is usually more than one generation. For a child, a parent is tomorrow, and a grandparent is day-after tomorrow, even while telling the stories of yesterday and day-before-yesterday. For a parent, a child is both yesterday and tomorrow—the remembered past and the hoped-for future. The family is the living embodiment of the great Wheel of Life, and birth and death are never far apart.

[3]Carol Murphy, 1976: *The Sounds of Silence: Moving with T'ai Chi*, Pendle Hill Pamphlet 205 (Wallingford, PA: Pendle Hill Publications).

Each of us relearns all the roles of the entire lifespan each day. In the larger society we can often escape acknowledgement of the fact that those older and younger than ourselves have entered the time stream at a different point than ourselves, and see different realities. In the family, we cannot ignore the vastly different memory stocks of each member, and the differences in forecasts and images of possible futures. Families cannot live in the present alone, as societies sometimes pretend to do. Past and future sit daily at the dinner table.

When life spaces are shared, when the I-remember and the I-hope enter into dialogue, each person gains a sense of ongoing social process, and of anchoring in larger purposes. When three generations are present in a family, one of them is bound to be revolutionary. Story-telling bridges the generational gaps in ideology. Without storytelling, there can be no time-binding, no coherence between past and future. The social movement of women's liberation would not have had to be recreated in the 1960s if there had been better intergenerational transmission of the women's movement of 100 years ago. Similarly, the strategies of the world peace movement would not have had to be reinvented in each generation since the 1820s if the stories had been better told from parent to child.

Birth and death are time-binding too. The new infant commits the family to the next century. Parental imagination must sometimes play there. Meeting death with a loved one, we travel both ways. We take meaning from their own final encounter —"the last of life, for which the first was made." Past and future become one.

5.3 Family Healing

Family acts of healing are also time-binding, as they give glimpses into the most inward of our lifespaces across generations. The child or teenager who comforts a distraught mother in a deep sorrow, or helps a defeated father face despair—these role reversals are rarely noted but occur almost universally in families. We expect parents to nurture children, but forget that children also nurture parents. Even the fact that children often nurse sick and temporarily bedridden parents is by a pathological twist of the social memory simply forgotten. Each act of healing becomes a part of the personality of both healer and healed, a part of each person's future. Oriented to medical technology as we have been, we overlook the fact that the most significant experiences with illness and healing are family experiences, with son or daughter, brother or sister, mother or father, as the caregiver. The medical profession is now belatedly noting that healing is more in the hands of the person who is ill, and that person's family, than it is the hands of doctors, nurses, and hospitals. Yet restoring to families a sense of their own healing functions will not be easy, since they have so long been taught to distrust their capacities to handle illness. Confidence in one's ability to heal in the family is confidence in one's capacity for social healing.

5.4 Conflict Maturing

If the family is the space in the social web where individuality can be nurtured, then the family must also be the site of intense conflict, for individualities infringe on one another in intimate settings. We all know from our own experience that this is so. Maturing in the capacity to handle conflict between clashing individualities is one of the most discussed and least understood aspects of family life. We give a lot of lip-service to conflict management, and conflict avoidance, and have workshops in how to "fight fair," but have little understanding of conflict maturing. The consequence is that in a husband-wife conflict the norm is either that the conflict be "managed" (usually through communication) or avoided; if neither is possible, it is often considered that the marriage should be ended. It is not thinkable to live with deep-seated unsolvable conflicts. Similarly with parent-child relations. Differences are to be handled through communication skills, and are supposed to be manageable if enough skill is exercised.

While conflict avoidance, conflict management, "fighting" skills and communication skills are all very important and legitimate approaches to family conflict, they must not substitute for an understanding of the basic process of conflict maturing. Precisely because family life at its best enhances the process of individuation in each member, profound differences in attitudes, values and life perspectives may develop over time between adults, and between adults and children. Such differences should not be considered as an attack on family wholeness, but as an affirmation of the individuality of the members of the whole. There is a terrible paradox in the love of husband and wife for each other, and the love of parents and children for each other. The more the love, and the more that has been shared in the past, the more intolerable can differences appear precisely because we have been used to seeing things in the same way in the past. Some terrible betrayal must have taken place! What has happened to the cherished common values! Rarely have they completely disappeared. More often, they may appear to be interpreted so differently that their surface commonality disappears.

The metaphor that has been most helpful to me in understanding this phenomenon between husband and wife has been that of two young trees planted close together in common soil at marriage. They send down roots together, and feed on many of the same nutrients. But as they grow taller and older some of the roots shoot out in different directions, away from each other, seeking mutually alien soil. Nevertheless the older, original roots stay intertwined. Similarly with the branches above ground. Many of the branches intertwine and shape each other in the happy entrance of shared space. Heaven continues to beckon, for a tree must "lift its leafy arms above," and a sense of lifting and reaching is shared. But these trees are not only growing in one direction, toward each other, they are growing in all directions. Like the roots, some of the branches stretch far away from the common center, and breathe a mutually alien air. Each tree is in itself whole and individual and growing according to its inner design, yet shaped on the one side by its partner, on the other by the outside world.

As women, like men enter into work roles and spaces in the social web that their partners do not know, the differentiation increases. The roots and branches shoot still further out, away from the center.

In a profound sense the two trees are one yet separate. Uprooting and transplanting would be excruciatingly difficult; it might kill one or both trees. Seen by an outsider, the trees can be admired both in their togetherness and their separateness.

I will not push that metaphor further. Each one of you must make of it what you will. I shall simply add that a family is a small grove of trees planted close together, so each new young tree that grows from parent seed also experiences this mingling of roots and branches, and the separateness of new growth away from the center.

THE ROOTS OF CONFLICT © HELEN REDMAN '78

The more we are faithful to both our togetherness and our separateness, which is what the inherent contradictions of the family Tao ensure, the more pain we feel. Pain can either be seen as something to be avoided, which is what our society generally teaches, or it can be seen as a signal of growth. It is seeing pain as a signal

of growth that makes the conflict-maturing process possible. The maturing of conflict means letting each element of the conflict take its own shape, and then stepping back to see this impossible, warring configuration as an embodiment of creation. What stands there is in the hand of God. The letting be of the other is crucial. In the facing of contradiction is growth. In fleeing it—though there are times when we do flee, and perhaps should flee—we shrink at least a little.

While we must acknowledge and face contradictions, we do not have to flagellate ourselves with them. Contradictions are gulfs, and most gulfs can be bridged for purposes of daily life. The bridge of shared memories of the past is always available. It may seem like a flimsy bridge, but it is not. We pull it out all the time in family life.

The "remember-when" sessions of family reunions are but the intensified versions of what we do daily with our stranger-loved ones in word, glance, and gesture, evoking the familiar to smooth over the unfamiliar.

Nevertheless, the hard edges of contradictions remain, and for all our skill and good will we will trip on them again and again. This is why the capacity for conflict maturing between adults, and between adults and children, is as necessary an ingredient for family well-being as is the capacity to love. The maturing of differences is one of the most important things the family is about, since the family provides, as I have said earlier, the only space in the social web for the fostering of the unique seed of individuality in each of us. Outside the family we are accepted and supported in parts and pieces, but mainly we must trim our edges to fit each social situation. When the family functions as I have been suggesting here, the *dance* permits each person to grow without trimming the edges. The choreography of movement ensures a minimum of bumping. But oh, the discipline of learning to dance! It is not the free-flowing spontaneous movement you or I might break into alone on a meadow, although sometimes it is indeed that. It is the development of all kinds of muscles in order to be able to move the body in ways that it cannot move spontaneously. In family interaction, we must be able to move in all kinds of ways that are *not* spontaneous to us. The "Love God and do as you please" of St. Augustine, the effortlessness of non-doing of Chuang Tzu, is based on a lifetime of disciplining unaccustomed muscles.

Taoist stories are full of hints about this kind of discipline. From one of my favorites, "Cutting Up an Ox"[4];

> Prince Wen Hui's cook
> Was cutting up an ox.
> Out went a hand,
> Down went a shoulder,
> He planted a foot,
> He pressed with a knee,
> The ox fell apart

[4]Thomas Merton, 1969: *The Way of Chuang Tzu* (New York: New Directions): 45–47.

With a whisper,
The bright cleaver murmured Like a gentle wind.
Rhythm! Timing!
Like a sacred dance,
Like "The Mulberry Grove,"
Like ancient harmonies!

The cook explains to the Prince that:

A good cook needs a new chopper
Once a year—he cuts.
A poor cook needs a new one
Every month—he hacks!
"I have used this same cleaver
Nineteen years.
It has cut up
A thousand oxen.
Its edge is as keen
As if newly sharpened.
"There are spaces in the joints;
The blade is thin and keen:
When this thinness
Finds that space
There is all the room you need!
It goes like a breeze!"

A lifetime of training has enabled him to find the secret opening, the hidden space, between the resisting body joints. "I cut through no joint, chop no bone," says the cook. The cook's unerring feel for the secret openings in that apparently tightly constructed animal, the ox, symbolizes for me the skill of disciplined yet relaxed interaction that makes family togetherness an experience of tenderness and ease rather than of pain. We have so much tension and tightness in the family joints, yet the spaces to pass through are there if we know how to find them.

I have not found Taoist stories that apply this teaching directly to family life. When Confucius writes of the Tao of the family, he is talking about very traditionalist views of "how to be a wife," "how to be a husband," "how to be a son/daughter." The free flow of the dance of the Tao is missing from these ritualized conceptions of family behavior. Releasing this free flow into the creative core of society through family life may be something that has been reserved for our own times. The key to our enduring ability to envision the good, and our enduring inability to produce enough goodness in human behavior to change our social course from a violent to a nonviolent one, must lie at least as much in the family as in our capacity for social design. Crafts are learned not by textbooks but by apprenticeships. And so it remains for our generation to rediscover and transmit an ancient unsung craft—one not in the Great Books—the craft of family life.

5.5 The Peaceable Kingdom

We do not love one another in families simply because we ought to, or because we have developed competence in loving, though indeed we "ought" to love one another and indeed loving improves with the practice of love. We love one another beyond reason and beyond design, at the far side of hurt and anger, because there is an order of loving in creation of which we are a part. It is this order of loving in creation which the Peaceable Kingdom passage in Isaiah describes.

> The wolf also shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid; and the calf and the young lion and the fatling together; and a little child shall lead them.
>
> And the cow and the bear shall feed; their young ones shall lie down together; and the lion shall eat straw like the ox.
>
> And the sucking child shall play on the hole of the asp, and the weaned child shall put his hand on the cockatrice' den.
>
> They shall not hurt nor destroy in all my holy mountain: for the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea. Isaiah 11: 6–9

This is a parable of family life, as well as a parable of nations. It is rationally improbable, yet we recognize this scenario. It is familiar, with a familiarity that goes beyond simply having heard the words often. We can love and trust the "beasts" who are our parents, our children, our brothers and sisters, because we are bonded at another level. We are bonded in the knowledge of God, which is also the love of God. The Bible tells us over and over again that the most intimate bond of parent to child, of brother to sister, is also the bond that unites us with the rest of creation. "They shall not hurt nor destroy in all my holy mountain: for the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea."

None of the great religions has known how to teach about the knowledge and love of creation without using the metaphor of the family. The teaching of love has always involved a paradoxical yoking of the cosmic and the particular. God so loved the world that he gave his son. Julian of Norwich writes:

> And so I saw that God rejoices that he is our Father, and God rejoices that he is our Mother, and God rejoices that he is our true spouse, and that our soul is his beloved wife. And Christ rejoices that he is our brother, and Jesus rejoices that he is our savior.[5]

When Lady Julian refers to God as parent and spouse, this is not a diminishing of the divine to cozy human levels. In Julian's mystic perception, our own spousehood and parenthood, so tangible and earthy, also partake of the Uncreated and thus lead us to the heart of creation. Creation is always an act of love, and so when I say that family life is an act of continuous creation, creation of persons, of social reality, I am saying that to the extent that the family is faithful to its nature and task, it is alive with love. But we are not very good at practicing love on each

[5]From *Julian of Norwich: Showings*, trans. Colledge and Walsh (New York: Paulist Press, 1978): 279.

other. Not without a relationship with our divine parent, our divine spouse. With God's help, the family is the best practice-ground for love that we have.

Whether or not we become good enough at the practice of love in the family to warrant trying ourselves out in relationship with other human beings, we, in fact, must plunge across the family-community boundary very early in life. From our first experience of co-creation with God and each other in the family, we stumble out into neighborhood and community, and practice co-creation there long before we can spell the words. As large-scale bureaucracies falter, neighborhood innovation and community self-help enterprises can inject a stream of fresh capabilities into the heavily stressed social order. Of course, the tasks that lie before us are out of all proportion to our abilities. How are we to create viable new local community structures to replace the frayed structures of industrial centralism, in a dynamic context of world neighborhood, world need, world service? Yet that is what we must do, and it is the high calling of family life to prepare us for this kind of co-creation.

Kenneth Boulding wrote a sonnet for a Quaker wedding many years ago that describes this calling simply and powerfully, and I would like to close with his words[6]:

SONNET FOR A QUAKER WEDDING

Put off the garb of woe, let mourning cease;
Today we celebrate, with solemn mirth,
The planting in the ravaged waste of earth
Of one small plot of heaven, a Home of peace,
Where love unfeigned shall rule, and bring increase,
And pure eternal joy shall come to birth
And grow, and flower, that neither drought nor dearth
Shall wither, till the Reaper brings release.

Guard the ground well, for it belongs to God;
Root out the hateful and the bitter weed,
And from the harvest of thy Heart's good seed
The hungry shall be fed, the naked clad,
And love's infection, leaven-like, shall spread
Till all creation feeds from heavenly bread.

[6]Kenneth Boulding, 1990: *Sonnets on Courtship Marriage and Family* (Bloomington, IN: Peaceable Press): 69.

Chapter 6
The Family as a Small Society (1982)

This article was originally presented by Elise Boulding as the Second Annual E.F. Schumacher Lecture, Cathedral of Saint John the Divine, New York City in October 1982. Households as small societies, when grounded in an "authentic and grounded localism" become agents for social change that collectively have the potential for creating a new planetary culture that sustains rather the destroys the planet.[1]

Our major challenge as human beings in the ninth decade of the twentieth century is to overcome widespread feelings of helplessness and despair over our apparent inability to have any effect on the social processes that grind on around us. We approach the second millennium of the Christian era overwhelmed with problems of scale and complexity, unsure of the survival of the species itself. By focusing on the familial household and calling it a small society, I am separating out the issues of complexity and scale. Schumacher said small is beautiful, but it would not be correct to say small is simple.

My answer to that challenge is to call attention to the oldest of human groupings, the familial group; archaeologists have identified household sites for *homo erectus* and *mulier erectus* from two million years ago and more in the Rift Valley of Africa. As an entity, the familial group has met catastrophe after catastrophe over many thousands of years—including the social catastrophes of the rise and fall of civilizations—changing form, structure, and habitat many times with a unique combination of inventiveness, courage, and caring. By focusing on the familial household and calling it a small society, I am separating out the issues of complexity and scale. Schumacher said small is beautiful, but it would not be correct to say small is simple.

Our own bodies are in some ways as complex as the universe itself. We are not likely ever to understand fully the functioning of the thousands of microsystems that maintain our body as a living organism, yet most of the time we can keep it in

[1]This text was published as "The Family as a Small Society" (Great Barrington, MA: E.F. Schumacher Society). Copyright © 1982 by E.F. Schumacher Society. Reprint permission granted 30 October, 2015 by Susan Witt, Executive Director, Schumacher Center for a New Economics.

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good working condition and get it to do the things we want it to do. Only in the most exceptional cases of malfunction do we throw up our hands and say, "I am helpless; I can't make my body work." We have found a way to live intimately and effectively with our highly complex body system.

Complexity of an unimaginable order also characterizes the households we live in. The people who make up that familial household may present the pattern of husband/wife/children, single parent/children, lesbian or gay couple with/without children, a small group of unrelated people who live communally, or the one-person household with its special extramural support system. Whatever the pattern, the relationships and interactions of that micro-social system are so complex that I as a family sociologist could never fully capture and record that complexity. In my terminology these entities are all families. I use the term familial household to emphasize the fact that people who live together in households, whatever the arrangements, are in a familial relationship to one another. One reason the complexity is unrecordable is that each member of a household is growing and changing every minute. Each day each member has her own unique growth tasks and her own unique experiences in the world outside, returning to the household a different person in the evening than she was in the morning. Because family members live at close quarters and must share limited resources, including space and time, there has to be a continual negotiation process between each member and every other, a continual checking out of changed circumstances and preferences.

We all have in our heads very complex maps of our familial households. If we fail to update them daily, we run into problems. Much family conflict stems from out-of-date mental maps. If we are members of a recombined household, then we hold an even more complex map in our heads, including former spouses, children no longer living in our household, and so on.

While the complexity of the family is of a high order, the *scale* is manageable. It is one we are comfortable with. We call it the "human scale." In the family setting, we immediately get feedback about whether our actions are producing the results we intend. We get smiles, frowns, or shrugs; we get a hundred clues as to "how we are doing." The possibility of immediate feedback from one's actions characterizes all primary, or face-to-face, groups. It is what makes them so important to our existence as social beings; however, the familial household is a very special form of the primary group because in the long run it is one in which we spend the most time. We can manage the complexities of social interaction on the human scale because we get a constant stream of messages about the consequences of our acts. We can dare to experiment, try out new skills, new roles, knowing that we will soon find out if our experiment has worked. Our family will tell us if we are making fools of ourselves!

I propose, therefore, that we use our experience of the family as a metaphor for society itself, thus giving us a handle on the problem of scale. If we want to make the metaphor a more sophisticated one, we can say that the family is a reflecting mirror for society, showing in microcosm the customs, mores, structures, institutions, and values of that larger society. Metaphors, however, are dangerous if

carelessly used. The family is not just a mirror, for it has its own independent life. It is not a microcosm, a miniature of society, for new structures and roles with emergent properties appear at other system levels as greater numbers of actors are involved.

There is, nevertheless, a sound underlying assumption behind the metaphor "the family is a society"—one which comes from general systems theory. The assumption is that there are general principles at work in all systems of social interaction regardless of scale. There are, for example, conflict processes which drive people apart, and there are integrative processes which draw people together. This is true in the family and it is true in the international system. A general systems approach helps us choose what information to ignore in trying to understand complex phenomena. As Kenneth Boulding likes to say, all learning comes through the orderly loss of information. By using the family as a metaphor for society, we get clues as to what information to throwaway in order to understand the functioning of large-scale social systems. At the same time the concept of human scale is introduced as a criterion for judging the functioning of a large-scale system. If a given technology facilitates a social arrangement that helps humans to live joyfully and to handle sorrow and pain without being psychically destroyed, then it is, in Schumacher's terms, an appropriate technology. Schumacher's great gift to us in his "small is beautiful" concept is the recovery of human scale, of human feelings of self-efficacy, wellbeing, and joyfulness as primary social values. This makes possible the development of new ways of testing social and physical technologies.

We will begin exploring the family metaphor by seeing how the household functions as a small society—shaping people, culture, social values, and physical products.

6.1 The Household as a Small Society

The household as a society has population, resources, culture, technology, boundaries, and environment. Its form of political organization may be patriarchal, matriarchal, or egalitarian. Decisions about allocation of scarce resources are only as participatory as its political organization allows. It may be a subsistence economy or may be linked to a high-tech industrial or postindustrial information economy involving daily export of people and daily import of information, money, and goods. There may be a highly differentiated division of labor between ages and sexes or a low differentiation and sharing of tasks inside the home or job-sharing outside the home. Food, money, clothes, and possessions are generally shared among members, though not necessarily equally. Most members provide some form of health care to other members as needed over time, with women and children being the chief caregivers. Listening and counseling services are available with varying frequency. Play and recreation activities are conducted partly in the home, partly outside.

Civic activities by members are directed to the maintenance of a community environment comfortable for the household. Every one of these activities requires skill in negotiation and sharing. Since the members of this society live at close quarters, the constant requirements for negotiation would be infuriating if there were not something called affection to hold the society together. In the negotiation process, authority and power give some members more weight than others. The American ideal of familial power relations is slowly moving from a patriarchal to an egalitarian model, but the ideal is more often honored in the breach than in the observance. Lesbian and gay households have a particular role to play in helping our society to develop familial egalitarianism, since there is no obvious authority figure in such households. Lesbian and gay relationships tend to be more fine-tuned in regard to decision-making and sharing of responsibility than most male-female relationships.

Such fine-tuning is hard work in any family even when there is a lot of affection present. The truth is that the familial society is not very successful at carrying out its tasks. We all carry a load of resentment from childhood, resentment both toward parents and toward siblings for burdens they have put upon us in the past. In live-together households, resentments accumulate as much as in contractual and kin households. There are times when we intensely dislike our families. If conflicts become acute, households break up. We must be honest about the fact that the family as an exemplar of loving and caring among humans is frequently a fiction. Yet the fiction is an important one because, like all fiction, it tells a story. The story is one of longing to be "at home" in our own special place, accepted by our own special people. It is both a longing for relationship and a longing to arrange our environment and have it stay the way we want it to be. A house and a garden may be a one-room apartment and a flower pot, but we have arranged it. Relationships cannot be so easily arranged, yet the need for relationship is even stronger than the need for place. In our feelings for those close to us we swing between love tinged with awe and an impatient desire to have the other fit into our program, meet our needs. Because both feelings are intense, we must learn to walk the narrow ridge Buber speaks of between I-thou relationships and I-it relationships with those we love. Sometimes it is enough for the beloved other simply to be. Other times we need them in very specific ways; they become instruments of our survival.

Failures in relationships are failures to walk the narrow ridge. That it is hard to do is no reason not to try, no argument against families. As humans we really do not have any choice in the matter. Humans thrive only in primary living groups; they cannot be successfully reared in communal nurseries or kept perpetually in dormitories. The reappearance of familial groupings in the Israeli kibbutzim is one among many indications of the need for the *intimate* group. The problematics of familial relations only serve to underline the basic fact that it is hard to grow up human. The household is the living-learning experiment in which the skills of human relationship may be learned. It is also the experiment in which one learns to occupy, arrange, and adapt to one's environment, including nature. The home terrain represents the human scale in its basic form. It is also the place for dreaming about human purposes and ultimate meanings.

It is of great comfort to me, when I get discouraged about the state of humanity, to realize that every civilizational tradition, no matter how warlike or materialistic its history, contains in its literary records imagery concerning a Good Place. The Good Place is a public space, often a garden or green meadow, where people have laid aside their weapons and live together in peace—feasting, playing, talking philosophy, and reciting poetry. The Greeks knew it, the battle-happy warriors of Northern Europe knew it, the desert Bedouin knew it. We have an enduring capacity that has persisted over time to visualize humans as better than we experience ourselves to be and the social order as more harmonious than we observe it to be. In every age we also find hardy spiritual adventurers who respond to the vision by trying to reshape their lives and their society.

Sometimes those spiritual adventurers are loners, but more often they are family-identified. The exodus of Christians from the cities of the Roman Empire to found new communities in the Egyptian and Syrian deserts in the third to fifth centuries of the Christian era is a record of family enterprises: brother-sister, parent-child, husband-wife, with brother-sister teams predominating. A Benedictine monastery is as much a family as husband/wife/children are a family, and the Rule of St. Benedict explicitly posits the familial character of the individual houses of the Order.

We hear a good deal of talk about social transformation in these times. There are those who expect us simply "to evolve" into higher-order beings or who think we have already evolved and no one has noticed. The spiritual visionaries who have preceded us, however, have always pointed out that a great deal of hard work is involved. The Benedictines have been working at it for centuries. The familial household is a place where the work of becoming can begin. Every newly formed household can be seen as a colony of heaven, where the work of forming new persons is undertaken.

The household is also where the work of forming a new society begins. The Anabaptist tradition in Europe, out of which Methodism and the dissenting sects of Quakerism and the other historic peace churches came, has its roots deep in the Middle Ages in familial subcultures such as the Family of Love and the Brethren of the Common Life. Then as now, the children of these subcultures learned to accept revilement and prison for their beliefs as a badge of honor. The twentieth-century peace movements of the West represent a pronounced continuity with those older familial subcultures, including Hasidic, Catholic, and Greek Orthodox, as well as Anabaptist subcultures of Nonviolence. Values and skills appropriate to the nonviolent resolution of conflict at every level from familial to international have been transmitted in family subcultures from generation to generation. Even today, some of the best materials for teaching children to handle social conflict nonviolently come from such groups: the Children's Creative Response to Conflict Program was started in the 1960s by the New York Yearly Meeting of the Society of Friends; within the Catholic Church there is the National Parenting for Peace and Justice Network.

The antiwar movement of the 1960s seemed antifamilistic, but further research suggests far more continuity in family values than at first appeared. The parents of the antiwar generation were more often than not survivors of the quietism of the 1950s

who kept their dissenting values intact. Many peace demonstrations in the 1960s were in fact family demonstrations. Women Strike for Peace was a familial movement based on a concern for children; grandmothers, mothers, and children demonstrated together. This familial character of peace demonstrations continued right through the violence of the 1970s and is still evident in the demonstrations of the 1980s.

The contemporary environmental movement is at least as familistic as the peace movement. This has to do with the fact that the family system is the only social system in which resource limitations and consequences of different types of resource utilization provide immediate feedback to the behaving social unit. Recycling and energy conservation represent a series of tangible acts with consequences for a household. The psychological satisfactions of positive outcomes of conservation strategies for a family have encouraged people to apply what they have learned in household and neighborhood to larger social issues. Though the systems involved are more complex and the consequences more diffuse, nevertheless environmentalists are probably among the most successful activists we have today, suggesting that household-level insights are relevant for larger-scale problems.

Experience tells us that the family is indeed a workshop in which solutions to social problems can be tried out and that historically family subcultures developed social interests that extended far beyond their personal well-being.

6.2 What Households-as-Societies Do

Now we will look at the particular activities in the household society that may be important to the development of a healthy localism in the larger society.

6.2.1 Recovery of the Joy of Work

The leisure society with its emphasis on labor-saving has misled people into thinking that work is a necessary evil and not to be enjoyed. One avenue to the recovery of the joy of work lies in the household, since much activity there is of necessity labor intensive and is done with the hands. It has long been noted that rural families, although they work harder for longer hours than urban families, are more satisfied with their way of life and report themselves as happier than their urban brothers and sisters. In a recent series of observations of farm families in Vermont, Colorado, and Oklahoma published in *Sociology of Work and Occupations* in August 1980, I confirmed the very deep pleasure farm families take in their farm life.[2]

[2]Elise Boulding, 1980: "The Labor of U.S. Farm Women: A Knowledge Gap", in: *Sociology of Work and Occupations* 7(3):261–290, August.

The children begin chores at the age of four; the wife works as a partner with her husband; and the fact that everyone works together is usually cited as one of the things liked best about farm life. Seeing the fruits of their labors growing under their eyes is another primary source of satisfaction. Urban families seeking that same experience are increasingly finding places to grow food in the city, and home gardening is on the increase everywhere. Prisons and mental hospitals use garden plots as therapy. Local food production by household units seems both therapeutic and economic; many associated craft skills are picked up in the process by the family.

The reversal of the historic rural-urban migration in the past decade, with a net population outflow back to villages and open country, suggests that this discovery of the joy of physical labor is being acted on in very concrete ways. Redividing domestic tasks among all household members as women become an accepted part of the permanent labor force rather than pin-money part-timers provides more opportunity for men and children to discover the satisfactions of household crafts. The "I hate housework" sentiment that fueled the women's movement now needs rephrasing into "we like to work as a household team".

The more skilled the labor, the more the pleasure; this brings sewing, carpentry, and other crafts to the center of attention again. In *Home, Inc.: The Hidden Wealth and Power of the American Household* Scott Burns predicts that there will be a shift toward home production of everything that can possibly be produced in the home—for both economic and lifestyle reasons.[3] From my own observations in rural areas and small towns, children gravitate to oldsters who are willing to take time to teach craft and machine-tools skills, just because they like knowing how to do things. Children who know only how to work computers have a very narrow range of skills.

6.2.2 Learning as a Family Enterprise

In Japan in the early sixties I discovered that Japanese women were among the best educated in the world because they supervised the studies of their sons (and sometimes daughters) right through college and graduate school, studying ahead so they could test their children. Education was a family enterprise! The tendency on the part of American parents to turn all education over to the schools is now reversing itself, with increasing numbers of parents either keeping their children at home to teach them there or becoming involved in school learning programs. The dissatisfaction with what schools are doing with our children generalizes to a dissatisfaction with how growing-up time is spent in and outside the home. Parents sometimes have very hard choices to make between family time and

[3]Burns, Scott, 1975: *Home, Inc.: The Hidden Wealth and Power of the American Household* (New York: Doubleday).

working-outside-the-home time, but at least now the use of alternative time and its value are being carefully considered. Community-sponsored workshops on how to learn as a family, how to play as a family, how to solve conflicts as a family are giving support to a new trend to value time spent with one's family group and to be more involved as a family in one another's social, intellectual, and spiritual maturation.

Self-initiated learning at home by family members has been greatly underestimated. Alan Tough's research (published in Toronto in 1979 by the Institute for Studies in Education as *The Adult's Learning Projects*) on self-initiated learning, which he defines as learning organized by the learner without signing up for a conventionally taught class or workshop, indicates that the average person, whether old or young, spends approximately two hundred hours each year on some self-organized learning project (learning to sew, learning a new language, learning to play the guitar, etc.). Probably more learning goes on at home than in any other place where we spend time.[4]

6.2.3 Health and Welfare Self-Help

Home doctoring by parents and siblings as well as nursing care for the sick were traditionally 99% family activities, with doctors on hand chiefly for emergencies. The shift in the 1950s and 1960s to doctor-dependency for the middle class has now shifted back to more self-help, this time in the context of availability of workshops and health centers and publications offering education in nutrition and health care to make families more knowledgeable about staying healthy.

Communication-skills workshops for parents and teenagers and for husbands and wives to enable them to handle their own problems are replacing dependency on long-term professional counseling. The encounter movement is one of the most remarkable of these self-help movements, having spread from coast to coast in the United States in a fifteen-year period with no professional or administrative staff whatsoever, simply on the basis of the principle that couples who have experienced an encounter weekend help organize a similar weekend for others in their community. This movement has learned to tap the love that married partners feel for each other but have forgotten how to express. By disentangling themselves from the human-services bureaucracies, families are taking back their own households and recreating their own lives on a human scale.

One mutual-aid system has always operated outside of the human-services bureaucracies and continues to do so: the extended family. Relatives in separate households—living nearby or even far away—have always been part of the family health-care system in times of serious illness. Financial emergencies have also been

[4]Tough, Alan, 1979: *Adult's Learning Projects: A Fresh Approach to Theory and Practice in Adult Learning* (Pfeiffer & Co).

handled within the extended family to a significant degree through intrafamilial grants of money. This critical life-support system is almost completely invisible to the public eye.

Children, even quite young children, have been more important in helping to meet family crises than is recognized by professionals or parents. In *Research in the Interweave of Social Roles*, an exploratory study published in 1980, I could not find a single college-age student who did not remember instances of having helped a parent through a serious crisis—illness, bereavement, unemployment, alcoholism, spouse abuse—sometimes at a very early age (four or five years old).[5]

The rural-to-urban migrations that accompanied the industrialization process in the United States were more than migrations from country to city. They were migrations from relatively self-sufficient households, where all family members shared in productive labor and the teaching of necessary skills to younger members, to areas lacking in the materials for self-help. Family crises in the countryside were generally met by family and extended family self-help. In the city there was more likely to be dependency on the helping professions. This varied by class, however: the urban working poor were more apt to continue extended family self-help in the city than the middle class. Middleclass decline in self-help and dependency on the helping professions were striking by mid-century. The reversal of the rural-to-urban trend and the rise in self-help activities in the middle class are suggestive of a possible change in middle-class consciousness, however slight the indications may be at present.

The rise in self-help activities does seem to reflect a rejection of earlier feelings of helplessness. Buffeted by the larger social system over which they have no control, families are beginning to take hold of their lives at that system level at which they can have control—in their own households. This could be seen as a retreat from complexity or as a potential launching pad for further social-change activity. We will explore a particular example of household activity as it contributes to social change at the local level.

6.2.4 *Households as Reshapers of Community Environments*

My perspective on the household as an active source of social change rather than an expiring victim of modernization is in part due to several years of observations of household behavior in boomtown settings in the Colorado Rockies (published in 1980 in a book I co-authored, *Women and the Social Costs of Economic*

[5]Boulding, Elise, 1980: "The Nurture of Adults by Children in Family Settings", in: Helena Lopata (Ed.), *Research in the Interweave of Social Roles: Women and Men* (Greenwich, CT: JAI Press): 167–187.

Development).[6] The energy boomtown far from urban areas, usually located in a fragile mountain ecosystem, is one of the least desirable places to live for families accustomed to the amenities of suburbia. The newcomer family finds nothing right. The housing is too small, too expensive, the streets too dirty, the schools too crowded, too outdated, store goods outrageously priced. There is nowhere to go except bars, nothing to do except drink. People aren't friendly. No wonder divorce, suicide, alcoholism, and crime rates go up in boomtowns. If newcomer families can develop active community roles under such conditions, they can hardly be accused of a retreat to privacy.

The first task of the newcomer family is to build itself a series of supports to keep psychically afloat in the new community. Adult males have instantaneous help from the workplace. School children have a harder time, needing to find a niche in a potentially hostile school environment. (New kids are seen as adding to overcrowding, as competing for places on athletic teams.) Wives have the hardest time of all. For survival they keep grounded in the town left behind through extensive use of the phone and the mails while exploring the new town and grasping at the meager social contacts initially available. Family members go through a series of stages in the community bonding process. Every step of the way may be discussed over the family dinner table. Children advise parents, parents advise children. Collective family wisdom is very important. Churches, social groups, hobby clubs, civic organizations, mutual aid groups of various kinds are tested out and either discarded or joined. For some families the whole process is handled in six months; for others it may take a couple of years,

At some point the family in its process of adaptation becomes inventive. In the first wave of Colorado boomtowns in the 1880s families literally faced nothingness and had to create every amenity from scratch—home, newspaper, school, church, store. The inventions were all family enterprises, and even today the stores on Main Street of those old boomtowns (now going through a second or third energy boom) reflect the whole-family character of the enterprises in their early days. Grandparents and young couples and school age children all wait on customers together.

The newcomer families I observed between 1977 and 1981 became active in two kinds of social inventions in response to the relative cultural bareness of their new environment compared to the more urban area they had left behind. Both types of activity involved whole-family participation. One was literally the construction of new facilities and new organizations locally: remodeling an old barn to become a cultural center housing local art exhibits and a concert series; building or raising funds for new parks, recreation facilities, swimming pools, etc.; starting a craft center or craft clubs; organizing new athletic teams; starting a community counseling-service clinic or hospital.

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[6]Moen, Elizabeth, Elise Boulding, Jane Lillydahl and Risa Palm, (Eds.), 1981: Women and Social Costs of Economic Development: Two Colorado Case Studies (Boulder, CO: Westview Press). [Editor's note: see Sect. 6.3.2 in the next chapter for an expanded discussion of families as reshapers of community environments in boomtowns.]

The other type of social invention was the creation of communication and transportation networks to bring community residents, particularly children, to major cultural opportunities at the nearest urban center two to three hours' drive away and to bring special art, music, and dance teachers to the community to "give lessons." Medical and other special services were also made available through the same kind of transportation networking. These communication and transportation networks were very complex, sometimes involving hundreds of people, and took a lot of entrepreneurial time to organize. Tasks in the network were taken on by family units, with men as fully involved as women. This kind of networking often led newcomers to the state agricultural extension service, which usually has active programs in boomtown areas. As newcomer families from urban areas became involved in the whole-family-style activities of the 4-H clubs, where fathers and mothers go along to their children's 4-H skill-training sessions, their mental horizons began extending to the rural environs of the boomtown. The newcomers also discovered state-wide activity networks through such experiences. For long-term environmental planning this extension of horizons through whole-family activities builds an infrastructure of concerned households whose members will make their views felt at local and national levels.

Whole-family involvement in community activities makes possible a holistic view of community needs and lengthens the time horizon of immediate concern. The family asks: What will it be like here for our children, now preschoolers, by the time they are in high school? Will this be a good place to live?

Not every newcomer family was able to engage in the kinds of activities I have described. Some retreated into apathy, some just gave up and left. But it is important to know that some families could become active community shapers under difficult and stressful conditions.

6.3 Problems of Scale: Giantism and Localism

The point has been made that the family is a highly complex small-scale system that offers its members the opportunity to act effectively within the household and the local community. Can the localist skills the family develops be useful in larger-scale systems? More importantly, can the values of human scale be protected as individual humans move into larger-scale tasks? Before answering these questions I would like to offer some reflections on the context within which the family interacts with the larger world. The contradictory trends of giantism and localism and of contrasting types of localism make the family/world interface a very complex one.

It is ironic that the feverish corporate mergers into megacorporations and the continuing expansion of already dinosaurian military defense systems constitute a ballet danced to the music of a new localism. The 1977 Stanford Research Institute report "Limits to the Management of Large Complex Systems" in *Assessment of*

Future National and International Problem Areas offers one melodic line[7]; President Reagan's New Federalism another; the electronic cottage-as-workplace movement a third; and the Schumacher Society itself a fourth. In other words, very diverse sets of voices are calling for an end to hierarchy, bureaucracy, and large-scale organizations as inappropriate to the needs of the new age. Most of the voices for localism, however, call for a high-technology approach that leaves the individual as dependent on the highly specialized skills of others as before, the difference being that the skills are now available via home computer. In his book *Megatrends* John Naisbitt predicts that people will increasingly compensate for their dependence on machines by spending more time in consumer-focused public spaces.[8] He calls this high tech/high touch: "The more technology we introduce into society, the more people will aggregate, will want to be with other people: movies, rock concerts, shopping. Shopping malls, for example, are now the third most frequented space in our lives, following home and workplace."

The yearning of people for people is real and should be acknowledged with seriousness and respect. But the kind of localism Naisbitt describes strikes me as the localism of sheep huddling together. Yet he also emphasizes the development of self-help skills and local political initiative through the use of locally available high-tech resources. Implicit but undiscussed in his study are the contradictions between consumerism and localism in the Schumacher sense. Consumerist localism is decentralized distribution of the products of a tightly meshed set of production systems that operate by networking instead of by hierarchical administration.

It is a far cry from the localism of "Buddhist economics," as described by Schumacher in *Small Is Beautiful*, which emphasizes production from local resources for local needs, aiming at the maximum of well-being with the minimum of consumption and based on a conception of work as a means of purification of human character.[9] It is also a far cry from the localism of the concept of the family as a small society, which calls for an authenticity and depth of relationships between family members and between family and community that cannot be achieved in shopping malls and at rock concerts.

The more grounded localism is another distinct, if faint, voice in the localist chorus. It is the purpose of the Schumacher Society to help make that voice louder. There are men and women everywhere who long for this kind of localism, and there are books (such as *Voluntary Simplicity* by Duane Elgin and *The Aquarian Conspiracy* by Marilyn Ferguson) that describe their longings.[10]

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[7]Elgin, Duane, 1977: *Limits to the Management of Large Complex Systems,* Assessment of Future National and International Problem Areas series (Palo Alto, CA: Standord Research Institute): 77 pp.

[8]Naisbit, John, 1984: *Megatrends: Ten New Directions Transforming Our Lives* (Warner Books).

[9]Schumacher, E.F., 1973: *Small Is Beautiful: Economics as if People Mattered* (New York: Harper & Row).

[10]Elgin, Duane, *Voluntary Simplicity: An Ecological Lifestyle That Promotes Personal and Social* Renewal (New York: Bantam) and Ferguson, Marilyn, 1980: *The Aquarian Conspiracy—Personal and Social Transformation in the 1980's* (Los Angeles, CA: J.P. Tarcher).

Two serious challenges confront us in working for an authentic and grounded localism. One is to understand high-tech localists and find ways to work with them without losing sight of deep value differences. The other is to understand and deal with the stranglehold that giantism has on our society, even as new localist trends are developing.

Giantism is a complex phenomenon, with roots in the concept of the modern nation-state as a democratic institution requiring the replacement of an elite military force with mass people's armies to defend the nation. It happens that these enlarged military forces were the first social entities to develop the skills of large-scale movement of people and materiel. Armies had to develop these skills in order to carry out the functions assigned to them by governments. Increasingly, governments came to rely on armies for large-scale operations of any kind. Soldiers were the scale specialists who could do mass evacuations, mass feedings, mass anything. The civilian sector never developed comparable skills, so the expertise stayed in the military. Because that expertise became more and more needed for planning as governments grew more complex, military personnel shifted from the category of resources on call to the status of co-planners and policy makers. This shift took place in the United States in the mid-fifties.

This explains in very oversimplified terms how foreign policy has come to be thought of more in terms of military rather than diplomatic action in present national-security thinking. Military action must be centrally planned and carried out in secrecy, which means that organizational innovations involving localism and networking can be applied only to a limited extent. Today each modern industrial state is pinned under the burden of a large centrally planned and hierarchically organized military force in an era when social problems call for local initiative and nonhierarchical information flows. Burdensome and inefficient as the defense systems are and irrelevant to the difficult political conflicts they are supposed to deal with, it will nevertheless take very substantial and prolonged local initiatives to "transarm" nation-state systems. Gene Sharp's concept of transarmament is an ingenious device for a complete reconstitution of defense systems without evoking the terror of helplessness that the term "disarmament" evokes.[11]

Unfortunately, automation of military systems has made it possible to handle very great complexities centrally—albeit badly. Security systems on a human scale will come about only when high levels of skill have been achieved in the productive management of conflict between individuals and groups, from the local community to the international community. If localism does not develop such skills, it cannot "save" us.

[11]Editor's note: interestingly, Gene Sharp attributes the first use of the term to Kenneth Boulding in a pamphlet written in 1937, and it was not used again until the 1960s. (Sharp, Gene, 1997: "Transarmament", in: Roger S. Powers, William B. Vogele, Christopher Kruegler, and Ronald M. McCarthy (Eds.), *Protest, Power, and Change: An Encyclopedia of Nonviolent Action from ACT-UP to Women's Suffrage* (Taylor & Francis): 534.

6.4 The Gigantic and the Global Versus the Planetary

Oddly enough, neither the megacorporation nor the giant military machine is global in the planetary sense of being rooted in the community of earth. The gigantic belongs to the systems of power that serve institutions and not human beings. The planetary refers to the sum total of human beings in their households and face-to-face groupings and more complex social networks across the planet. Another term for the planetary might be the sociosphere, the web of human connections which enfolds the globe. We must reclaim the word global from the institutions of corporate and military power, give it back its planetary meaning, and return it to the networks that operate on a human scale. Four thousand or more transnational networks linking households already span the globe through the mechanism of transnational nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) formed over the past hundred years in many areas of human interest and concern—economic, political, cultural, and religious.

Every single transnational network—whether it has to do with poetry, organic gardening, parenting, conflict resolution skills, religious faith, or the conditions of human labor—ultimately links *households*. People in their wholeness as men and women, as members of caring households, reach out to others in *their* wholeness, whom they will never see, and affirm a common goal, a common fate. In my global-systems class at Dartmouth I have the students identify all the transnational NGO memberships represented in their family through their own activities and the activities of their parents, siblings, uncles, aunts, perhaps grandparents. (These include Scouts, church organizations, professional associations, and hobby organizations.) They then study the purposes of each NGO and its distribution of national sections across the planet and then map that distribution. I tell them to keep their maps, because in every country containing an NGO in which one of their family is involved there are a number of households where they will be welcome, as a part of the same community of concern. This is planetary localism.

The NGOs, like familial households, have hardly begun to realize their potential for human growth and development. They still need a great deal of effort poured into them. They particularly need more cultivation of the vision that brought them into being so that their members can remember the high purposes which could guide their lives.

In workshops designed to help people image a future world without weapons, the NGO theme emerges again and again, although people do not use that terminology. Once people start imaging how a world would function without military security systems, they immediately start thinking of how to connect local households and local communities with one another around the globe. The nation-state seems of little relevance when the focus is on fostering human peaceableness and joy.

Rather than bewail the human weaknesses and socioeconomic and political constraints assailing the potential for human betterment that lie in the familial households, I would prefer to celebrate the potential itself. In the household we

have a place to stand, a place to work at being human, to work at humanizing the planet, a place where love can break in. It is a place where we can function right now, just as we are, with what we know at this moment. We need no grants or subsidies, we need not change any law, to pursue the work of humanization. Perhaps we will discover, as Schumacher did, that we are not alone, that the planet is God's household, and that the work of becoming more human is the work of opening to God's presence our every movement as we walk the earth.

Chapter 7
Familia Faber: The Family as Maker of the Future (1983)

This article presents Elise Boulding's most comprehensive and significant contribution to the field of the sociology of the family.[1]

The concept *familia faber* focuses on families as makers of social reality, constructors of the future social order, as doers and shapers. The family is more often thought of as product or victim of change than as producer and instigator. Sociological tradition from Durkheim and Simmel to Peter Berger, which is oriented to the social construction of reality, has not been applied often enough to the study of the family. The United States is a nation of immigrants, and yet the immigrant experience of taking the raw materials of the new world and constructing a new reality for one's newcomer family has received little attention (Thomas and Znaniecki's 1918 classic *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America* notwithstanding).

Educators and social workers generally experienced immigrant families as vigorous, disorderly, and autonomous groups that insisted on redefining resources and precepts to fit their own goals. The helping professions responded more to the stress of immigrant situations than to the creativity of immigrant responses. Perhaps this is why research on families has focused on the experiencing of stress—the stress of depression, war, rapid urbanization, and natural disasters—rather than on the reconstruction of reality.

Since industrialization was supposed to emancipate families by giving them more options, we have gone through all kinds of mental gymnastics in order to demonstrate that modernization brings richness, complexity, and problem-solving maturity to families, while simultaneously declaring that all the processes that have

[1]This text was published as "*Familia Faber*: The Family as Maker of the Future", in: *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 45(2), 1983::257–266. Copyright © 1983 by the National Council on Family Relations. Reprint permission by Wiley granted on 27 July, 2015.An earlier version was presented as the keynote lecture at the annual meeting of the National Council on Family Relations, October 1981.

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accompanied modernization—business cycles, war, urbanization, and environmental depletion—have stressed family adaptive capacities to the breaking point. The roles of families in creating new institutions at the community level, in producing new environments to live in, were mostly unobserved.

In the meantime, families as traditionally defined by family sociologists became harder and harder to study, as the ranks of divorced, recombined, and single-parent families swelled and the ranks of one-marriage households shrank. Families did not stay together long enough to be studied. While the life-course perspective as developed by Glen Elder and associates (Elder 1981) presents a very ingenious solution to this problem, it is not a substitute for the study of families as entities. The need remains to take account of the fact that everyone lives in a household of some kind. The nomad, the drifter, and the tramp live in households with rather special characteristics, but they too inhabit households in a conceptual sense. What goes on within and between household units profoundly affects and contributes to human and social development. The family is a practice ground for making history.

7.1 Familial Households

A *familial household* consists of those persons living together over time (unspecified) who perform basic physical and psychosocial maintenance and development functions for one another. It could be a one-, two-, or three-generation unit. It may or may not include a marital pair, may or may not include children, may or may not include both men and women. It may be a group bound by intention rather than contract or blood. It may even be a single-person household, to the extent that such a household is a significant focal point for human togetherness for nonresidents. The concept of familial household enables us to include in community-level analysis every type of urban and rural unit in every kind of society that to some degree functions in ways that we can identify as familial, that is, as having *family-like* qualities.

The concept of familial household enables us to do two things. It enables us to step inside a number of types of households we do not now enter except for a special study of "alternative lifestyles," and it enables us to consider the interaction in those households in the same terms as in more conventionally recognized families. For their members, these households have the meaning of family, and the behavior generated in them has the same range of consequences for their members and for the community of which they are a part as for conventional parent-child families.

7.1.1 The Community as Households-in-Interaction

In recent decades there has been a convergence of pressures on researchers to identify and study the phenomenon I am here calling *familia faber*, and to learn how households "work." The pressures come from the unresolved problems of both the less and the more industrialized countries. On the one hand are the failures of the United Nations Development Decades, the Women's Development Decade and the Year of the Child, to identify significant dynamics at the community level that will lead out of grinding poverty and into a good life for individuals and families. On the other hand are the difficulties experienced by social planners in industrialized countries in helping local communities cope with drastic socio-environmental change, whether generated by energy development or other economic development activities.

Among emerging responses to these pressures may be mentioned (a) the household-focused research projects of the new Dominican Republic-based United Nations Institute for Research and Training for the Advancement of Women; (b) the Household, Gender and Age Project of the Tokyo-based United Nations University, which is committed to developing a community-level research methodology to identify the significant life-support activities of individuals of every age and both genders in the context of the primary household membership of each person; (c) some exploratory household research conducted as part of a larger boomtown study by the Growth Impact Group of the Institute of Behavioral Science at the University of Colorado (Moen et al. 1981); and (d) the conceptualizations of household developed by the Social and Institutional Response to Climate Change Group of the American Association for the Advancement of Science Climate Project (Chen et al. 1983).

A multidisciplinary group within the American Association for the Advancement of Science was formed in the 1970s to work on the problem of organizing research on family and community-level adaptation to climate change. William Torrey, an anthropologist, proposed looking at familial households as they interact with each other in the *organizational environment* of a community, to produce climate change response. He called this the "household organization environment system" (HOES), an essentially ecological approach (Torrey 1983). The uniqueness of HOES as an analytic construct lies in its focus on aggregates of households rather than on people or on community. A research methodology that relates intra-household interaction with inter-household interaction in community settings is precisely what we need for the study of *familia faber*. We can look at the community as an ecosystem of households in which people of all ages move out regularly to engage in a variety of activities in the different organizational settings of workplace, school, church, trades and services, town government, civic forums, and recreative spaces, and then move back into the households with equal regularity for refueling and some degree of coordinated plotting for the next day, month, year.

Views of the contemporary family as a highly evolved product of industrialization and Westernization, struggling valiantly against older, more constrained

traditions, push us to see the family as a product of changes that take place at the macro level rather than as an agent of change. We are blinded, therefore, to some key dynamics of macro change processes that are based at the micro level of the household. Furthermore, these approaches assume a particular historic array of traditional family patterns that never existed in fact. The husband-wife-child familial triad had never represented more than one type among numbers of familial household types, just as the notion of the home as workplace for its members has never corresponded to the full economic reality of any society. The phenomenon of the familial household as an empirical reality keeps getting lost, because of these faulty assumptions.

Living under the very shadow of Armageddon, sociologists have dealt with the political, economic, interpersonal, and spiritual upheavals of our time as if the family, the basic unit of human response, were some shadowy travesty of the gutsy human groupings that make life livable and the future faceable. There has been a retreat from catastrophe into discussions of societal complexity. There is a fascination with the idea of the weakening of the family, almost as if there is a longing for helplessness. The family was never as bounded or simple a reality as it has been described to be. It has met fire, flood, famine, earthquake, war, and economic and political collapse over the centuries by changing its form, its size, its behavior, its location, its environment, its reality. It is the most resilient social form available to humans.

Family and household are of course more often coterminous than not, and kin descriptors remain essential for the study of households. Each familial household is an intersection point for all the kin relations represented among its members. When household members are not kin by contract or birth, the extended "real-kin" networks of each member nevertheless become a part of the household and contribute familial aspects to the household relationships. Crises may activate apparently nonexistent kin ties from outside. The interpersonal commitments of non-kin households probably vary much as do those of kin households. In either case, continued commitment over time multiplies opportunities for extended-kin contact and for shared problem solving in the community. The broader definition of the familial household proposed here is necessary when we consider familial units as active agents in a community, or else too many households are "lost" to observation.

7.1.2 The History of Familial Variety

The array of household types we want to capture in contemporary research on families as shapers of their environments are not uniquely twentieth-century products. The mother-headed household, the widow and spinster-headed household, go back as far as we can see into recorded history. United Nations statistics tell us today that roughly one-third of all women are not heterosexually partnered, and history suggests the same in every past era. Probably 15–25% of households

have always been women-headed, with the higher figure more likely in more urban areas. (In Calcutta, India, 30% of today's households are headed by women; Kelkar 1981.)

A variety of household forms appear at least as far back as 500 B.C.E. From this time we find records of all-women and all-men households in Hindu and Buddhist traditions, to be followed later by Christian monastic households and Muslim Kanaqas. Many of them contained fewer than a dozen members, and some had several hundred members; familial-type relations and functions were and still are overtly specified in the rules of such "houses." (Note, for example, the Rule of St. Benedict.) Lesbian and gay households are rarely described as such in historical records but can be inferred from legend and chronicle. Households organized around the pursuit of a craft, having partly the characteristic of a guild and partly those of a family, are described in ancient Greece. The household forms known in medieval Europe—the *zadruga* in eastern Europe and the *frèrêche* in western Europe—were combinations of singles and frequently unrelated smaller family groups, formed under conditions of economic hardship. With the rise of urbanism in each successive civilizational tradition, there have been many variants of the all-men, all-women living-working communes that absorbed rural migrants. The *béguinages* founded by women during the first wave of post feudal European urbanization are a striking example. In addition, the singles of each civilizational transition period, such as the vagantes and the vagabond women of medieval Europe, formed their own unique, highly mobile household variants. The migrations of history have always included large numbers of single women and single men, who often partner late if at all in their new environment. Beyond these historically recognized familial variants, we do not know how many communes and cultic households have been formed in various periods of history. They are certainly well recorded for the past five centuries of Euro-American history, from the Families of Love to the Fourieristes to the "Moonies," the households of the Reverend Moon's Unification Church. All-children's households are a special and rarely noted variant in time of upheaval. Households of convenience with a minimum of structure and commitment and, therefore, unlike the variants mentioned above, have brought people together in times of transition and hardship in every age. They have been common phenomena in Europe and the United States since the Great Depression of the 1930s—borderline cases of familial households.

Functionally, today as in the past, all the different types of households described above, and more, have performed as families. Their members have cared for one another over time, provided maintenance and nurturance functions, and often provided for the rearing of children as well. More than that, they have helped to shape their society by the skills, values, and aspirations they brought to the communities in which they have lived and worked. They have been larger or smaller according to need and opportunity. Families are like accordions, alternately expanding and contracting according to social circumstances, but always making lively music.

7.1.3 The Household-Community Interface in History

Not only has household composition varied more over time than has generally been acknowledged, the household-community interfaces have always been more complex than conventional analysis suggests. Women as well as men have always spent a lot of their working hours out in community spaces. The *household* as the historic production site of the family is a myth that has persisted for too long. Rarely have family members—men, women, or children—been able to carry out their daily maintenance and production activities in the immediate vicinity of the place of residence. In the countryside—whether we are talking about ancient India, contemporary Africa or Asia, or U.S. farming areas—women as well as men and children have to cover substantial physical distances to get to the fields they till and to collect the fuel, water, and production materials they need. In the United States, women's farm-related errands, which may involve covering hundreds of miles in a single week, are called "gofer." (U.S. women drive, African women walk, to do their "gofer.") A woman literally sustaining her family from a back-door kitchen garden is largely a mythic image (Boulding 1977, 1980, 1992).

In urban areas all but upper-class women have always gone out to work, whether in the corner bake shop of an ancient Sumerian city or at the roadside locations today's African women stake out from which to sell food and crafts. Manor house and monastery records in medieval Europe are very specific about women's hours of work, types of work, and wages received—half of men's wages by the end of the Middle Ages. Women could never afford to "stay home" except for a brief era during industrialization, now passed. The much romanticized household-based craft shop of the preindustrial era was often several miles from eating and sleeping quarters, and women had to carry babies and tools on their backs to field, to factory, and to craft shop. Work has practically never confined family members to the household, least of all women. Even in purdah societies, women are not necessarily housebound. They may move around a lot; they just do not move in the same spaces as men.

This point about the amount of daily movement through community spaces of women as well as men throughout history is important in understanding the nature of the household-community interface and the nature of the household's change agent role in the community. If the household is seen as a relatively closed system that "shoots out" members, mainly men, to play other community roles, while women and children concentrate on maintenance and nurturance roles inside the house, then most of the action is missed. The transactions among households, and between household and community structures, have never been recorded in their actual complexity. The continuing social invisibility of women, which has scarcely changed at all in this century in spite of the feminist revolution, bolsters the long-standing fiction that home is women's primary action site. Empirical observation and time-budget studies show that women appear all day long at many community action sites, as in fact do children. However, only men are socially visible, and men are not thought of as family members when they are encountered outside the home.

7.1.4 The Household-Based Research Perspectives

The research perspective suggested here is household based, looking outward to the community. Individuals form familial identities through interaction in the household; the familial household as a social entity is the total complex of individual familial identities in interaction. Each household develops its own culture; each family member carries that culture into the community during the day, bringing it to bear in various ways at each action site in the community. Subcultures are formed within the community as certain households interact selectively with certain community structures to produce distinctive cultural products and physical artifacts. New features of community life emerge in part, though by no means wholly, through goal setting by households in interaction with one another.

The loss-of-function theory about the family has assumed that what families really "do" is what they do at home. I am suggesting that familial action takes place in all kinds of community settings, precisely because family members today, just as family members in all ages and cultures, spend a lot of time away from home. Familial action can be defined as action taken in consideration of family goals for self and community. It is shaped and reinforced by interaction within the household and will be weak where there is little such interaction. Several years of doing time-budget studies of families in towns adjacent to major metropolitan areas as well as in rural areas suggest to me that there is more familial interaction than, for example, the study participants themselves realize. Families with many action agendas are more apt to spend time at home actually talking with one another than families that spend more hours in the house. Since people generally are not aware of how they actually spend time, only observation and detailed time budgets will generate this information.

The household-based research perspective postulates that the familial identity plays a key role in orchestrating all other identities. A person does not simply go from a family role to a work role to a civic or play role, but, to some degree, carries familial values and intentions into every other activity, feeding community interests back into family interests during household interaction. This process goes on in all families, including high-tension, conflict-ridden ones; in the latter, however, feedback heightens rather than lessens conflict. Normally, the internal conflicts of interest that exist in every family become part of the familial identity and contribute to the personal growth of each member. It is my empirical observation that one can speak of family interests in all but the most disturbed families. Observations have not been organized or questions asked in these terms except in analyzing families' class interests, because the family is not considered an active agent in community development. Family interests, as the term is used here, is a more differentiated concept than class interests and may cut across class interests.

Family interests can range all the way from the moral majority to the gay liberation movement to political revolution. Whatever the family interests are, family members will act on them in their places of work, play, and civic action in such a way as to create an environment more supportive of those interests. The

moral majority will want changes in the school curriculum. Racial minorities will want changes in local planning. Pacifist families may want nonviolence training for the local police force. Republican families will want more Republicans on their city councils; Democratic families will want more Democrats; and families with diverse but active political allegiances will have complex civic agendas. Forging a common agenda across generations and across different religious and political convictions in a family is one of the most interesting aspects of intra-family dynamics. The sharing and clashing of social perceptions from the different experience worlds inhabited by different age cohorts in the intimacy of the family is the process by which viable and mature social interests are developed, both for the family and for the community.

This is not to deny the obvious fact that many human interests are individual and may exist in spite of, rather than because of, family interests. Contemporary culture insists on individuality of interests. But we misread the nature of social action if we do not take account of the extent to which social interests are shaped in family settings and pursued out of family identities. Extensive research on political socialization processes has established this in the political realm, but the findings have not been applied to other arenas.

Although the household-based research perspective does not require kinship as a core concept, it does take account of the unique quality of primary-group interaction in the household setting. Before going on to further discussion of families as shapers of society, let us examine the ways in which family members shape each other and shape the social reality of the family itself.

7.2 The Creation of Social Reality in the Family

The profound, multidimensional bonding experienced by the founding members of a new household is the primal stuff of the familial reality. All past training in role behaviors, all past experience in interpreting reality and coping with its highs and lows, all expectations for the future, must be reforged for all members in the ambiance of a new bond that defines them as new persons. The reality-construction process is breathtaking in its complexity. The process of individuation for each person accelerates in response to the shock of having to assimilate the "alien culture" of the other in the intimacy of the familial household. There is a geometric increase of social relationships with the outside world when social networks are doubled through familial partnership. The social space of the household is filled with gossamer social webs that impinge everywhere on the intimacy of pair interaction and make that interaction in fact a mini-parliament representing many interests.

Because each day brings new contacts, new experiences, new perceptions for each one-day-older-and-maturer household member, the family parliament changes daily. The processes of habituation and institutionalization that are basic to reality construction shape recognizable interaction sequences even while the reality itself

changes from day to day as the actors in the "reality play" bring new experiences and perceptions to the reality-construction task. With the addition of children, there is a whole new set of inputs to the family parliament, stemming partly from the physiological, socioemotional, and intellectual maturing of the individual child day by day from birth, and partly from the new contacts, experiences, and perceptions that children bring in from the world outside the family. By the time the work of individuals on their own reality has been added to the work of creating shared understandings and interaction patterns, the energies involved are of incredible magnitude.

Familial households mature, as do individuals, although the household life expectancy is variable and as a social entity the household will dissolve into other combinations in time. Nevertheless, growth and development over time are core realities of all familial units, as is the fact of change. In most familial households and even more so when children are present, every day is a critical transition point for at least one family member in relation to some growth task. Each individual represents a different cohort stream (even partners, whether same sex or heterosexual, are not usually the same age). The accumulation of these mini-transitions played out in each individual's cohort style, in the increasingly complex setting of the family culture world, with competing needs bouncing back and forth between interacting individuals, results in a microsociety that can never be totally described and comprehended, because it is always changing.

Because the reality of the family is ever changing, the skills of dealing with change inevitably develop in its members. Although at any particular moment in any particular family one or more members will be feeling frustrated and misunderstood, in fact each member develops the capacity to "read" the needs, aspirations, and desires of all other members more or less successfully. There is a social memory operating in each act of perception. Family interactions, like all interactions, take place at many levels simultaneously. The historical level includes all past experience that consciously or unconsciously comes to bear on the present situation. In part this is experience of the family as a group—"This is how we do things"—and in part experience of the individual member with another individual—"This is how X and I do things." But interactions are never replays of the past. There is the inner knowledge of self as growing and changing—"This is who I am now, what I need, want, and intend"—and the inner knowledge of each other family member as growing and changing—"This is who X is now, what X needs, wants, and intends." Then there is the sense of how things are going with the family as a whole, what crises or long-term constraints are keeping everyone from reaching family goals of material sufficiency, happiness, and so on—"This is what is possible in our family now." Finally, there is the sense of how things are going in the community and in the world—the crises, constraints, and possibilities that affect what can and does happen inside the family. Because the family is an unfinished world, family members have ample opportunities over a lifetime, in both the family of orientation and in the familial households of choice, to develop skills of culture creation that build up the family world in which they live and help structure the world outside.

7.3 The Creation of Social Reality Outside the Family

It may seem like a big step to go from the everyday happenings of reality construction in the family to construction of alternative realities in society, but historically this is the nature of social process. The juxtaposition of fantasizing and daydreaming in family settings with rude reality testing—a juxtaposition every adult has experienced vividly as a child—produces a unique social toughness in the family group, which under varying conditions produces both families that defend the status quo and families that champion change.

7.3.1 The Family as Utopia Creator

Historically, experiments in the creation of alternative futures have been family enterprises at least as often as they have been individual enterprises. One of the earliest documented records of utopianism, the exodus of Christians from the cities of the Roman Empire to new communities in the Egyptian and Syrian deserts in the third to fifth centuries of the Common Era, is a record of family enterprises: siblings, parents and children, marital partners. Brother-sister teams predominate (Boulding 1992: 325–326). As I have written elsewhere:

> We are accustomed to thinking of periods of rapid social change as periods of weak family bonds with high rates of dissolution. Historically, however, there have always been identifiable subcultures in such areas of flux in which family-like groups have exhibited extraordinary intra-family stability and acted as change agents on the society around them. …for a hundred years preceding the French Revolution, household groupings in France were continual seminars on social change, as parents, grandparents, and children of the more educated classes discussed and argued with servants, craftsmen, and peasants, in both rural and urban settings, about possible features of a new equalitarian society. It was this passionate intellectual interaction in household settings, reinforced by other social bonds, which made the ferment of new ideas about society such a powerful one. Specific subcultures such as the Huguenots in France, pietistic sects such as the Family of Love and the Brethren of the Common Life in Germany, and later the Methodists and Quakers in England, were all organized around a strongly bonded family life with solid traditions of transgenerational communication (Boulding 1972: 58).

The children of these subcultures learned to accept going to jail for their beliefs as a badge of honor, then as now. The twentieth-century peace movements of the West represent a pronounced continuity with the anabaptist familial subcultures reaching back to the Reformation and before, as well as with Hasidic, Catholic, and Greek Orthodox subcultures of nonviolence. Values and skills appropriate to the nonviolent resolution of conflict at every level from familial to international have been transmitted in the family subcultures from generation to generation. Even

today, some of the best materials for teaching children to handle social conflict nonviolently come from these groups.[2]

The antiwar movement of the 1960s seemed to be antifamilistic, but further research suggests far more continuity in family values than at first appeared. The parents of the antiwar generation were more often than not survivors of the quietism of the 1950s who kept their dissenting values intact. Many peace demonstrations in the 1960s were in fact family demonstrations. Women's Strike for Peace, for instance, was a familial movement, based on a concern for children; grandmothers, mothers, and children demonstrated together (Boulding 1965). This familial character of peace demonstrations continued right through the violence of the 1970s, and into the 1980s demonstrations.

The contemporary environmental movement is at least as familistic as the peace movement. This relates to the fact that the family system is the only social system in which resource limitations and consequences of different types of resource utilization provide immediate feedback to the behaving social unit. Recycling and energy conservation represent a series of tangible acts with consequences for a household. The psychological satisfactions of positive outcomes for a family have led some activists to try to apply the family model to the larger society, though the systems involved are more complex and the consequences more diffuse. Environmentalist families often tend to be community activists.

In conclusion, experience tells us that the family is indeed a workshop in which solutions to social problems can be tried out, and historically family subcultures have developed social interests that extended far beyond their personal well-being. All of the universal religions and all of the major humanist ethical traditions have fostered worldviews based on familistic values that make it possible to see the family as a microcosm of world society and world society as a macrocosm of the family. As a result, these themes keep being rediscovered and reincorporated into action agendas in familial households in every culture. Some of these agendas become very controversial, as in the case of the moral majority. For good or ill, however, familial agendas are there, and must be dealt with.

Family subcultures with social change agendas are very aware that schools and the public media do not transmit their messages. They are aware and teach their children to be aware of deep value differences between themselves and community authorities. The strategies that familial subcultures develop to deal with these

[2]The Children's Creative Response to Conflict Program was started in the 1960s by the New York Yearly Meeting of the Society of Friends and is now administered by the Fellowship of Reconciliation in Nyack, New York. Within the Catholic church there is the National Parenting for Peace and Justice Network. Both sets of programs produce conflict-resolution materials for children and families. [Editor's note: The CCRC project was a program of FOR from 1978 to 1992, and incorporated as a separate organization called Creative Response to Conflict Project with a central office in Nyack, NY, and affiliate branches throughout the United States, in Europe, and in South and Central America (http://crc-global.org/). CRC materials have been translated into languages including: Arabic, French, German, Nepali, Russian, Serbian, Spanish and Welsh. The Alternatives to Violence Project/USA is now headquartered in Minneapolis, MN (http://avpusa.org/), and the Basic Manual is also available in Spanish.].

differences vary widely. Some develop the skills of dialogue and creative handling of disagreements to arrive at new community understandings. Others develop manipulative or violent strategies that are costly to the body social. Our greatest danger lies in underestimating the strength and persistence of familial interests at the community level and in assuming that familial values can be determined by extrafamilial means alone. If we are more aware of the variety of ways in which household members act on household interests in all the varied sectors of community life, we will recognize that community structures provide interface points with families and are not simply autonomous agencies. Greater sensitivity to the two-way interaction that goes on at each of the interface points is needed.

7.3.2 *Households as Reshapers of Community Environments: The Boomtown Experience*

Let us move from consideration of the broader utopian visions that familistic subcultures bring to bear on their social roles in local communities to more everyday issues of community concern. I will take one type of environment—the boomtown, which presents serious problems to the families that live in it—and show how newcomer families act to reshape the environment according to their needs and interests. Longtime families are active in this process too, but here the focus is on newcomer families. That there are victim families in boomtowns is all too well known. What is less well known is the activity of "shaper" families who succeed in making those communities more livable (Moen et al. 1981).

Newcomer Households. The first discovery for a newcomer family to a boomtown is that nothing is right. The housing is too small, too expensive; the streets are too dirty; the schools too crowded, too outdated; store goods outrageously priced. The migrants tend to be single men, men with families, a few single women, women-partnered women, and a few single mothers with children. Although each migrant type represents interesting household adaptations, here I will focus on husband-as-primary-breadwinner families—"unsophisticated movers."

The first task of the newcomer family is to build itself a series of supports to keep physically afloat. For the adult males, the place of work usually provides an instantaneous support system not available to other household members. This differential availability of support systems makes the settling in of the household a very uneven process. School-age children need longer than breadwinners but not as long as housewives. Children's hellos are said warily, and if the timing is not right on both sides, a child may be left alone for a long time. Children skilled in making friendships can win a whole school over in a week.

Wives have the hardest time of all. Neither worker nor student, a wife has no ready-made structures to enter. Unless there are preschool-age children in the family, a woman may be alone day after day until she constructs her social environment. The first stage consists of reaching back to family and friends left behind.

Hours are spent on long-distance phone calls. Hours may be spent driving up one street and down another in a desperate effort to make the alien look familiar. The fear of being alone drives women to spend hours window-shopping and eating in restaurants. The first neighbor to say hello is eagerly responded to, and the first small network develops. Husband, wife, and children pool their experiences around the kitchen table in the evening. Each explores the terrains of the others and tests out the relationships possible through neighborhood, work, and school contacts.

Once family maintenance routines have been established, back-burner interests begin to be activated. Men find some fellow workers boring. A woman uneasily realizes that the gabby neighbor is not really "her kind." The second stage of searching frequently involves church shopping (if denominational identification has not been instant). Each congregation has its own "feel." Only the family members can know which congregation "feels" right for them. The town may have several dozen churches, and the shopping may take six months to a year. Because the church is the one community institution that provides simultaneous activities for all ages—and each church has its own unique cluster of personal growth, educational, service, and recreational groups—church shopping is an excellent way to survey a substantial segment of community life. Each family member has to be satisfied to some degree for a church choice to work. If there is not minimal level of satisfaction, church becomes a source of additional tension instead of support, so the family has a strong incentive to make a good choice for all its members.

Once in the church, the same process goes on that went on in the neighborhood: first contacts are eagerly responded to, then greater selectivity is applied until sets of friends and activities have been identified with which each person is comfortable.

Club shopping is synchronous with church shopping and begins with the newcomer club. This type of club is inherently problematic in that it brings together the women who know the least about the community and feel the most insecure in it. As soon as women begin to feel secure, they are booted out by the "two-year rule," to be replaced by other insecure newcomers. Nevertheless, out of the various ambivalent efforts to make the club structure of a community visible to newcomers, women begin to find where their personal interests can be met. There are three spin-offs from this: (a) Women identify congenial couples, and evening bridge clubs are formed that include spouses; (b) they find new opportunities for their children, checking out the Scouting and Y programs, the music and dancing teachers, the athletic clubs; and (c) for themselves women find the craft and hobby groups and the PTA and civic-action groups that they enjoy.

Women usually defer job shopping until the other "shopping" has been done. When they are ready for jobs, frustrations can be severe, and great ingenuity has to be exercised. Many start new enterprises in the absence of existing job opportunities, and if they are skillful these become important new features of the community environment: daycare centers, recreation centers, counseling services, specialty shops, real estate agencies, restaurants. In boomtowns there is a dearth of day-care facilities almost by definition. Many women with young children who cannot find day care for their own children to enable them to go out to work take in other families' children.

By the time women have found employment and finished their community "shopping," the family can be considered settled. Experienced movers may go through the whole process outlined above in a matter of weeks and begin constructing new patterns and activities to fill the gaps they perceive. For the average family it takes about two years to get to that point—and then they may face another move. Troubled families may never start the process described above at all. The TV set may serve as ersatz social experience, perhaps accompanied by alcohol. If the wife becomes a recluse, the husband and children may or may not find niches outside the home through work and school contacts.

Two-career families in which both spouses have jobs waiting for them may hit the ground running because of the strength of their doubled work networks. Trailer-dwelling construction-worker families move within a special national construction-worker network and form their own community within a community wherever they are. They choose warily which parts of the boomtown they will relate to, forestalling rejection by a town as "undesirable elements." Some frequent movers for whom community identification is important have a system down pat for instant identification as residents wherever they are, whether for two months or two years. These remarkable itinerant community builders may leave permanent traces of their brief stays: a new school program, a new craft program, a new athletic club.

7.4 The Process of Social Invention

Boomtowns are by definition in continual disorder because they are continually bursting at the seams. Out of this disorder comes the emergent new reality, and the households that live in the boomtown are key actors in the emergence of that new reality. Every household in a boomtown contributes to the shaping process. Some households have a net surplus of community-building energy and put a lot more into community institutions than they take out. Other households are a net drain on the community. Most households maintain a balance between what they contribute to the building of community infrastructure and what they draw from it. Old-timer families are inevitably important contributors to the reshaping process, though they are often the victims of the development process and make positive contributions at some cost to themselves. I am focusing on newcomer families as shapers because the general view is that they are primarily victims or at the least inept participants in a process they neither understand nor control.

In the course of constructing their own environments, households also invent community institutions. In its totality, this is a very complex process. The original boomtown process for the communities my associates and I at the University of Colorado have studied on the Western Slope started in the 1880s. Each community has fairly complete newspaper documentation of the first gatherings of households at which decisions were made to start a school, to form a church, to establish a library. Often the newspaper itself helped to invent the community as families read about their decisions and had their activities mirrored to them weekly. In one area,

Mesa Clubs were organized on each mesa for family mutual aid when disaster struck. Although there were solo entrepreneurs, most activities were family enterprises utilizing every family member, down to the toddler, as labor: newspaper, smithy, general store, bar, hotel, church, school. The whole-family participation of these early days is reflected today in the high percentage of husband-wife partnerships in old-timer businesses on Main Street. The Mesa Clubs still exist, although fewer young women join. The same process of social invention goes on today, but it is less evident because it builds on existing community structures. Familial households continue to identify needs, act on them, and create new community institutions.

Boomtowns are not physically barren environments today in the same sense that they were in the 1880s, when every amenity had to be built from scratch. Many newcomers from more urban areas, however, find them to be culturally barren by comparison with their former communities. A fact about boom towns is that they are far distant from major metropolitan areas and urban amenities. As a consequence, newcomer families become active in two kinds of social inventions to respond to that cultural barrenness, and they both involve whole-family participation. One is literally construction of new facilities and new organizations locally: remodeling an old barn to become a cultural center that houses local art exhibits and a concert series; building or raising funds for new parks, recreation facilities, swimming pools, and so on; starting a craft center and/or craft clubs; organizing new athletic teams; starting a community counseling service clinic and/or hospital. The other type of social invention is the creation of communication and transportation networks to bring community residents, particularly including children, to major cultural opportunities at the nearest urban center, two to three hours' drive away; and bringing in special art, music, and dance teachers to the community to "give lessons." Medical and other special services also are made available through the same kind of transportation networking. These communication and transportation networks are very complex, may involve hundreds of people, and take a lot of entrepreneurial time to organize. Special tasks in the network are often taken by family groups, and men are fully involved as well as women. This kind of networking often leads newcomers to the state agricultural extension service, which usually has active programs in boomtown areas and provides additional scope for energy-surplus households.

Whole-family involvement in community activities makes possible a holistic view of community needs and lengthens the time horizon of immediate concern to family members. They ask: What will it be like here for our children, now preschoolers, by the time they are in high school? Will this be a good place to live?

The process of social invention at the community level that has been described here may be one of the most valuable social resources available to American society today, as communities face the withdrawal of federal aid, the diminution of state aid, and a rhetorical emphasis on localism. Certainly inventiveness will have to come from somewhere to deal with such fairly immediate challenges as the rise in street violence and household break-ins, housing and fuel shortages, declining

medical aid, a steady annual increase for the next several decades in the proportion of the elderly, and possible long-term unemployment problems.

It has not been my intention to idealize households by talking about the *familia faber* or to suggest that there is some magic in the household unit that will automatically unleash creative community action on the part of its members. We are all well aware of the weaknesses and strains to which familial households are subject. It has been my intention, rather, to make visible the familial creativity that does exist and that we ignore, thereby downgrading its impact on community life. Familial households are the grassroots of our society. They bear within them the seeds of new social orders, nationally and internationally. We don't have to wait for nation-states to organize peace and human welfare. Transnational networks linking households already span the globe, through the mechanism of transnational non-government organizations, formed over the past hundred years in many areas of human interest and concern—economic, political, cultural, and religious. These networks have no resources but the courage, skill, and imagination of members of individual familial households around the world. So I give you *familia faber*, the family as maker of the future.

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Part III
Elise Boulding on the Family from a Quaker Perspective

Chapter 8
The Challenge of Nonconformity: Reweaving the Web of Family Life for Gays and Lesbians (1987)

This article is based on the Keynote Address Elise Boulding gave at the Midwinter Gathering of Friends for Lesbian and Gay Concerns on February 1986 in Baltimore, Maryland. If she were able to revise this for publication she would certainly refer to GBLT family life—her definition of family was always flexible and broad enough to encompass the full complexity of human relationships. Though it was written for a Quaker audience, the message has relevance beyond Quaker circles.[1]

Reweaving webs of relationship is our main business in life. The process begins with the great separation which is birth. The ensuing bonding/reweaving between parents and newborn child is no simple process, because the individuality and conflicting needs of each assert themselves almost at once. All through life we go on bonding across differences, because we need others to make us whole. The tension involved in that bonding is part of the human condition, and we ignore or underestimate it at our peril. Loving isn't easy.

Those who are called to nonconforming witnesses have a particularly complex task in reweaving relationships because there are more differences to bond across. We know that many family webs were ruptured in wartime because families could not support sons who chose conscientious objection or nonregistration. A special witness of nonconformity is the gay-lesbian act of "coming out." This involves publicly affirming the spiritual, social, and biological rightness of forming a primary bond with a person of one's own sex—women loving women (lesbians) and men loving men (gays). It also means witnessing to the wholeness of each human being, man and woman. "There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither slave nor free, there is neither male nor female; for you all are one in Christ Jesus." (Galatians 3: 28)

That witness to oneness is something all of us can share with lesbians and gays, at the same time acknowledging that primary bonding with a person of one's own

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sex is a special case of the sexual bonding of the species. Some heterosexuals unite so strongly with the gay witness for wholeness and against the gender distinctions that warp personhood that they declare themselves "spiritual gays." (For the sake of simplicity I will use the term gay to refer to both lesbians and gays in this talk.) That fellowship of concern is important to gays because their nonconformity results in the breaking of many family and community bonds as family and friends reject the nonconforming position. The rejection causes pain and anguish only heightened by a public unwillingness to acknowledge even the legitimacy of the pain, let alone the position taken.

It is important for Friends to understand the consequences for those in their midst who make the nonconforming choice of being publicly gay. Because recent decades have been a relatively easy time for Friends—a time of respectability—many have forgotten or never knew the pain of nonconformity. Yet many of us who were rearing children at the close of World War II spent much time thinking about how to rear them to be war-rejecting nonconformists. The post-Hiroshima world looked very bleak indeed. It was not something we wanted our children to be part of. We wanted them to help shape and be citizens of a very different world. In those years I read about the lives of many peace-committed, social change activists, hoping to find some clues to what gave them strength for nonconformity. I found certain common elements in the childhood of each: (1) an experience of solitude, separation from society in childhood, whether through illness, isolated living, family differentness, or for other reasons; (2) an experience of close attachment to some adult while young, inside or outside the family; and (3) a capacity to day-dream, to envision a different and better world, which became the basis for reconnecting with society-as-it-could-be. The combination of having experienced both separation and bonding seemed to make the vision of the other possible, and drew the nonconforming activist to the work of reweaving the social web on behalf of the vision. Many Quaker gays and lesbians fit that model of social change activists.

Today the Quaker gay community has a special calling to reweave the social web on behalf of gays' vision. Their nonconforming witness comes out of the pain of their isolation, from the strength of the love they have known, and from the image of a different future social order. Many Friends are not only unaware of the social nature of the gay witness, they are unaware it is a witness at all. The gays' nonconforming position is all too often seen only in terms of human rights. In fact the gay position represents a deepening and enriching of Quaker testimonies on equality, nonviolence, community, and simplicity, and as such deserves our respect, love, and support.

Let us look at the gay contribution to the Quaker testimonies:

Equality: The gay position goes beyond generally affirming equality in human relations. It deals with the specifics of the subordination of women to men, and to the specifics of all subordination—women to women and men to men. It sees

inequality with X-ray eyes, in relation to age, class, ethnic, or cultural differences. Most of us affirm the testimony to equality without doing anything very complicated to maintain it. Gayness, however, sets aside all the conventional signs and symbols associated with traditional gender-based roles—which are also signs and symbols of inequality—and calls for crafting relationships that fully acknowledge the other as equal. Nothing can be taken for granted. It is only when one looks at society through gay eyes that one realizes how much unthinking social subordination goes on in daily life. Yes, much of it is "harmless," but it is all part of the web of inequality. Early Friends took objection to hat honor and the honorific "you" with the same seriousness that gays take objection to gender and status honoring.[2]

Community: The gay witness to community permits no gender barriers to assumption of responsibility. On the other hand it gives a new positive definition to age-old customs in every society of women gathering with women and men gathering with men in various settings and for various occasions. The community of women helping women has been a positive nurturant force in society, and so has the community of men helping men (when the latter has not involved war-making). At present we move bumpily between same-sex and heterosexual groupings in our social enterprises. Gays can help enrich our understanding of the potentialities and strengths of each type of grouping.

Simplicity: What many gays bring to the witness of simplicity is not only a rejection of accumulation for its own sake, but a highly developed aesthetic sense for the patterning of our environment. Whether the general public knows it or not, gays have made tremendous contributions to our society in the arts and humanities, and the tradition of doing so goes back a long way. Quaker "plain" turns beautiful.

Celebration: Another contribution of gayness which infuriates many is the gay gift for celebration, for joyfulness, for the dance of life. A gay dance is a very different affair from most public dances, open and welcoming to all ages in the best tradition of Quaker family dancing—a needed counterweight to the Quaker tendency to gloom. Behind the gay joyfulness, won at great cost, is the deep spiritual experience of accepting one's own gay identity, of being able to say aloud and in public, with pride and grace, "I am gay."

Discipline: Finally, there is the witness of the disciplined life. Discipline is a hard word to understand. By "disciplined life" I mean a careful intentionality, a choosing, a discerning, in all one's actions. Gays who choose the responsibility of being publicly gay set aside conventional social role assignments and thus subject themselves to a constant process of discernment. Life has to be organized and directed toward the living of the new wholeness, to the crafting of the new person.

Reweaving the web at the family level is where broken bonds are most painful. Quaker gays have parents, grandparents, brothers, sisters, cousins, aunts, and uncles

[2]Editor's note: Elise Boulding here is referring to the early Quaker practice of refusing to take off hats or bow to anyone regardless of title or rank and speak to everyone as "thee" or "thou" at a time when persons of high rank expected to be addressed as "you" by commoners.

like everyone else, but they are often (not always) treated as black sheep. When they form couples and marry, they would often like to be married under the care of their local meeting, but find it difficult to communicate that wish. They sometimes have children from former marriages, sometimes adopt children, sometimes take in singles with children—and very often serve in the time-honored role of extra parenting adult. Many of them work with children as teachers and caregivers. Like the celibate Shakers of an earlier era, many gays love children and take care that there are children in their lives.

What is a family? In the broadest sense it is a complex of households of relatives spread widely over one or more continents, some of which carry out the functions of reproduction. In theory these households keep in touch and care about one another; from time to time they meet for family reunions. Sometimes gays are invited to family reunions, sometimes not. Most households develop an additional "extended family" of friends who are "like one of the family." Such extended families are especially important to gays. Sometimes Friends meetings organize extended family groups as part of the ministry to the meeting community, and gays are often part of these.

The sad truth, however, is that gays usually find themselves outside the family networks they most value, cut off from people they love by the social obsession that gays are "unnatural," pathological people. The strengths which gays have to offer their families are so many, the rewards for their families of experiencing reconnection so great, one can only hope that increasingly families will reconsider mending ruptured relationships with gay offspring.

Many gays have special gifts and insights regarding family relationships that can strengthen both their families of origin and meeting families. These parallel the testimonies mentioned earlier. First and foremost is the testimony to equality in couple relationships. Because they accept no gender-based status differentials, gay couples are challenged with crafting an equality of relationships which few heterosexual partnerships achieve. Needless to say, it is based on a continuing openness to each other. At the same time, however, it must be remembered that gay couples live under stress. Gay couples long for stability and long-term relationships, but occasionally experience the same painful marital dissolutions that heterosexual couples go through.

They are denied the buffering effect that extended families provide young couples when troubles arise. The longing to reweave the family web and feel the support of parents and extended biological family is one of the most poignant aspects of being gay. The longing to reweave the web is not only personal; it is social. Gays long to help shape a society in which human beings and families are more gentle with one another.

How can the family web be rewoven? Caring about one's family does not in itself bring about reconnection, or there would be few gays separated from their families, so a kind of negotiation would seem in order. When differences are strong, mutual respect is the scarcest resource. In the case of gays, parents often do not respect their gayness, and gays themselves begin (sometimes unconsciously) to lose respect for their parents' continuing inability to accept their sons and daughters in

new identities. For gays to work on ways to let their families know they respect them may be an important part of the process of winning respect in return.

Negotiation requires discovering common interests. One strong common interest between gays and their families is the hidden love on both sides which longs to find expression. It can be drawn out with patience. Negotiation also requires a willingness to "give" on matters of lesser concern. What can gays "give" on? What can their families "give" on?

The strength for gays to try reweaving the broken web comes from the support of friends. Can Friends meetings be friends to gays and support them in their efforts to reconnect with their families? That kind of support implies a recognition of the gay identity of the gay single or gay couple in the meeting. It means a willingness to share their other burdens as well, and an appreciation of what they bring to the meeting. It means gays taking committee and clerking responsibilities in the meeting. For some meetings, marriage of the gay couple under the care of the meeting has been an occasion of great spiritual deepening.

Quaker gays are Quaker. Gays active in any community of faith are likely to enrich that faith in similar ways. Quaker gays witness to the Quaker way of life, and bring special strengths to that witness in their manner of practicing equality, nonviolence, community, celebration, and discipline. The gay identity is itself part of that witness, striving for wholeness and oneness in the spirit of the teachings of Jesus. The witness should be honored.

Never in history has the Society of Friends needed more imagination and wisdom in demonstrating the possibility of living in that life and spirit which takes away the occasion of all wars. Learning new ways of approaching gender identity, and new ways for men and women to live and work separately and together in building the peaceable kingdom, is urgent for us all. The gays and lesbians among us can help us in our learning and in our doing. It is time for them to be freed from the stereotype of embattled victims fighting for the right to be what they are, and instead be accepted as co-workers in reweaving the social web for us all.

Chapter 9
Our Quaker Foremothers as Ministers and Householders (1989)

This article could have been placed in Part I of this volume because the early female Quaker ministers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are, for the most part, unrecognized forerunners of the feminist movements of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Elise Boulding writes about these women with great empathy because she felt the many of the same joys, tensions and conflicted feelings in her life (see Chap. 11*, this volume).*[1]

The twenty-five women whose inward journeys are described here lived in times of turmoil not unlike our own, and drew on deep spiritual resources to meet the challenges of those times. They all had family responsibilities, were all active in the ministry (i.e., preaching and public service of various kinds), and were all considered saints by their meetings. English Quakers of the first five generations following the sect's founding, we know about them because their journals were published in a nineteenth-century compilation entitled *The Friends Library*.

These women lived under much stress, whether from persecutions, or a constant process of bereavement as children, spouses, relatives, and friends died around them. They had to struggle with their identity as women called to public spiritual leadership in a world unfriendly to Quaker practice, and in local meetings where many Friends, male and female, were lukewarm to the idea of women's leadership. Carrying heavy household responsibilities, they worked side by side with their husbands in field or shop, nursed the sick in a far-flung kin network, and ministered actively in their local meetings. They visited the sick, taught the children of the poor, oversaw the local workhouses, and visited nearby prisons and asylums.

[1]This text was published as "Our Quaker Foremothers as Ministers and Householders", in *One Small Plot of Heaven: Reflections on Family Life by a Quaker Sociologist*. (Wallingford, PA: Pendle Hill Publications, 1989): 126–147. Copyright © 1989 by Pendle Hill Publications. Reprint permission granted 9 July, 2015. An earlier version was published as "Mapping the Inner Journey of Quaker Women", in: Carol and John Stoneburner (Eds.), *The Influence of Quaker Women on American History: Biographical Studies* (Lewiston, New York: Edwin Mellen Press, 1986): 81–150. Copyright © Edwin Mellen Press. Reprint permission granted 16, July, 2015. Both are based on a study for a Quaker history project done in 1980.

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In addition, they were called to travel in the ministry, sometimes on trips that took them away from home for two or more years at a time. A deep and powerful prayer life sustained them, but they also engaged in unremitting spiritual struggles as to the rightness of their callings. They thought of themselves as channels of God's will, not social innovators. Nevertheless, the overflow from their prayer life helped create conditions for a spiritual and social regeneration of the society around them.

Of the twenty-five women, only ten had children. These ten nearly all had large families, however—seven to ten children. Nine remained childless in marriage, four marrying in or near their forties after they were already well known as ministers. Six remained single all their lives. Yet all had heavy household and nursing duties, as members of extended families. Some were of comfortable means like Margaret Fell and Elizabeth Fry; others were very poor, like Elizabeth Collins. Sent out to be a house worker at the age of five when her father died, Elizabeth Collins was apprenticed at sixteen, married at eighteen, widowed at twenty-two with two children, and recorded as a minister of the Society at twenty-four. Other young women emigrated to America against their parents' will, worked their way out of indentured service under great hardship, and became ministers in the new land. Whether rich, poor, or of moderate means, they all worked hard and prayed long. They also lived considerably longer than their non-Quaker sisters of that era, with an average age at death of sixty eight. Twelve lived into their eighties or nineties, five to their sixties, and five died at fifty or under. (For three no age of death is given.)

Having spent months immersed in their journals, I am struck by how severe the women appear in the following highly condensed account of certain aspects of their lives. The words they use to describe their struggle sound harsh, and their resolve not to be distracted by family duties has a steely character. In fact, all these women were spirited, complex individuals with a highly developed capacity to relate to others, and the Quaker circles they moved in had their own sober warmth and conviviality. The intensity of their calling to a public religious and social witness—and the barriers they had to leap over to respond to that calling—is what makes their words sound harsh. Furthermore, religious culture and the language in which it is expressed have changed a great deal in three centuries. As you read what these women say, imagine energetic, sensitive nonconformists engaged in a massive effort of spiritual transformation during an era of widespread violence and moral decay.

9.1 Spiritual Struggles in Youth

In the Society of Friends there are only queries, not specific practices, and all guidance comes from the Inward Teacher. Because there was no external authority to guide, discipline, and exhort them, these women disciplined themselves. Sometimes they saw themselves as spiritual children, needing to be nurtured and protected as "natural" children do, in a kind of probationary childhood, until ready

for harder things. Sarah Grubb wrote of the need to accept the pace of her spiritual growth:

> I often wish that I could learn to be still when I have nothing to do, and instead of straining my eyes in the dark, and watching the breaking of the day, to dwell quietly in the ward all night, believing in the light, and obediently working therein. The outward day breaks gradually upon us, and experience teaches us the certain indication of its approach, a dawning of light which we are not apt to disbelieve, nor doubt that the meridian of it will come in due time. As in the outward, we cannot hasten that time, no more can we with respect to divine illuminations.

Few escaped a long period of struggle to adopt the higher code of conduct that the religious call demanded. Often the struggle centered on the use of the fateful words "thee" and "thou," which marked a person as clearly having chosen to be a Quaker. (Like the French *tu* and the German *du*, thee and thou were forms of address used for children and social inferiors. The Quaker testimony of equality led them to address everyone with this intimate form, which seemed rude to non-Quakers.) Elizabeth Stirredge recalled this period in her own life:

> For my part, I had a concern upon my spirit, because I shifted many times from that word. I would have said any word, rather than thee or thou, that would have answered the matter I was concerned in, but still I was condemned, guilt following me. I was not clear in the sight of God; my way was hedged up with thorns; I could go no further, until I had yielded obedience unto the little things.

Elizabeth Fry wrote at age twenty, when she still loved worldly things:

> How much my natural heart does love to sing: but if I give way to the ecstasy singing sometimes produces in my mind, it carries me far beyond the center; it increases all the world passions, and works on enthusiasm.

These women were practicing what Catholics would call "religious discernment." They were subjecting their thoughts, feelings, and impulses to criticism in the light of the divine knowledge available to them. Because they felt they were to be channels for communicating God's word to others, they judged themselves by the hardest standards they knew.

All the women struggled mightily against being called to the ministry. There were usually three crises. The first was in accepting an inward call to serious holiness. The second was accepting a call to speak in meeting. Some women struggled so hard against the inner call to speak that they became seriously ill, and the struggle could go on for several years. Spouses, children, relatives, an entire meeting could become involved in these struggles. Alice Hayes became seriously crippled and had to be cared for by her husband before she finally broke the bonds. Margaret Lucas longed and dreaded to go to meeting—longed for divine sustenance, dreaded the call to speak. Finally she managed. Overcoming "slavish fear," she got ready to kneel in vocal prayer:

> While I viewed the place, my soul secretly breathed thus before the Lord, "Here is the place of my execution … This is the block whereon I must yield up the pride of nature, for a testimony of my obedience; remember me, O Lord! and the conflicts that I undergo to serve thee. Accept, O Lord! the sacrifice."

Yet there was still one more titanic struggle ahead, when the call came to travel in the ministry outside one's local meeting. Elizabeth Webb had a call to go to America. She became so ill while resisting it that when she finally gave in she had to be carried to shipboard on a litter. (This may not be precisely correct. The journal account is ambiguous, and she may have meant simply that she finally decided to go *even if* she had to be carried aboard on a litter.)

There were objective reasons for these struggles. They were not simply neurotic symptoms of an unbalanced emotional life. First, there was the problem of redefining one's role as a woman to fit the exacting demands of public ministry. Second, there was the rigorous training for the spiritual life and for the ministry that every woman must undergo who responded to the call. Lastly, there was the prospect of grueling hard work in traveling from meeting to meeting giving spiritual guidance. Travel in those times involved real physical risk: the dangers of shipwreck and of pirates and man o' wars at sea; the dangers of impassable roads and of brigands and thieves on land.

Not all spiritual calls involved traveling to faraway places, however. Sarah Stephenson was one of those who participated in creating a new type of ministry for the Society of Friends, a ministry to families in their homes. Before her innovation, ministry was confined to public meetings. She developed a way of "sitting" with families in their living rooms so that spiritual teaching could become individualized to the needs of even the youngest family member. For thirty-one years Sarah traveled throughout England visiting families; in the last sickness-ridden months of her life, she kept up a schedule of three family visits a day. Few could sustain such a pace and remain spiritually alive.

9.2 Family Life and Children

For insight into the family experiences of these Quaker women, today's women readers will have to draw heavily on imagination and extrapolation from their own experience. This is because actual references to family life are, with one or two notable exceptions, so reserved and sparse that it would be easy to conclude that these women were indifferent to their husbands and children. They were continually struggling with their "natural affections," just as they were struggling with their imaginations, and with their intellectual capacities—the Reasoner in them. Such struggles took place because they were more, not less, endowed with these faculties than other people. They imagined more, thought more, and loved more than most of their contemporaries.

However, even empathic reading of women's writings by women cannot overcome the gaps in understanding created by a sheer absence of references to certain types of basic human experience that belong in the realm of family life. We must draw on Elizabeth Fry for our only information on how these women faced

childbirth, for example. She is the only one who even mentions, though very indirectly, the experience of being in labor. Having had a low pain threshold since childhood, each of her nine deliveries was a prolonged nightmare. I learned to recognize, in reading her journal, a certain somber tone that would creep into her entries in the months preceding each childbirth, and came to know just when to expect such terse lines as these: "Time runs on apace. I desire my imagination may not dwell on that which is before it. Every outward thing appears nearly, if not quite, ready; as for the inner preparation, I cannot prepare myself." (This a couple of weeks before delivery.) Three weeks after the birth: "A willing mind to suffer was hard to get at. I longed to have the cup removed from me." One line only on the day before the birth of her ninth child, when she was thirty-four: "Help, dearest Lord, or I perish." The rest she kept to herself, and so did all the other women who had nine, ten, or more babies. Childbirth was "natural," but for many, it was not without fear and pain. None of these women died in childbirth, but they had sisters who did.

The metaphor of the divine parent, the everlasting arms, is central to the spiritual life of these women. Why, then, are they so free to express their love for God, and so sparing in expressions of love for their own children? For us, the parent-child relationship and the experience of human birthing is so easily and naturally related to our experience of the divine parent and spiritual rebirth.

The word "naturally" is, I believe, the key to the difference. Quaker women ministers partook of a religious culture in which the religious call was a call to follow Christ, the inward presence and the outward example. This meant a commitment to the literal remaking of the human individual on the pattern of the divine. The religious call has always meant this, the saints taking it more literally than others. What was different in the religious culture of the centuries previous to our own was a strong sense of the sinfulness of the "natural being." Human nature was not in itself good. It had to be reborn as divine nature through cultivation of the Seed of God's Spirit within. The "oppression of the Seed" is a term the women used frequently in their journals. They saw the divine Seed, present in every human heart, being oppressed everywhere: among the world's people, among Friends, and in themselves. Their work was to liberate the Seed, and to do this they had to be ruthless with the "natural parts" of their own being and of others. The rooting out of self and self-will included rooting out both natural affections and natural reason. Only God's love and God's reason had room in the reborn person. Since rebirth was not a once-for-all process, but a lifelong struggle against ever-renewed oppression of the Seed by human causes, one could never be sure whether one's love was really a natural affection or whether it came from the divine source.

This uncertainty was precisely what these Quaker women struggled with, some more successfully than others. Since they all had their share of human imperfections, and a highly developed individuality which was threatened by the customary demands of motherhood (today we can say it as they could not), they were not all equally fond of their children at all times. Yet all of them took parenting with a high seriousness.

9.3 Ministers as Mothers

Jane Pearson was one of the women who struggled hardest with her motherhood. One of the most widely traveled of the ministers, she was also the most prone to sickness. She herself recognized this as related to the intensity of her struggle. (All the women were, in fact, very discerning about their illnesses, seeing them as symptoms of the struggle between their natural and higher selves.) Even as a grandmother, she was still struggling against affectionate feelings for her grandchildren and wrote on one occasion, when setting out to travel, about how hard it was to go. But she dared not "let the affectionate part take hold."

Elizabeth Stirredge was one of those who managed to integrate her natural and higher feelings for her children, but not without considerable struggle. Of the first generation of Friends, she and her husband were shopkeepers whose goods were repeatedly distrained in the routine persecution of Friends by the authorities. Her calls led her to testify before King Charles II about the persecution, and more than once the calls led her to prison. She fought hard against the call to testify before the king. Her children were young, and she could not believe she was to leave them:

> Thus did I reason and strive against it, till my sorrow was so great, that I knew not whether ever the Lord would accept of me again. Then I cried unto the Lord again and again, "Lord, if thou hast found me worthy, make my way plain before me, and I will follow thee; for thou knowest that I would not willingly offend thee." But knowing myself to be of a weak capacity, I did not think the Lord would make choice of such a contemptible instrument as I, to leave my habitation and tender children, who were young, to go to King Charles, an hundred miles off, and with such a plain testimony as the Lord did require of me; which made me go bowed down many months under the exercise of it; and oftentimes strove against it. I could get no rest, but in giving up to obey the Lord in all things that he required of me; and though it seemed hard and strange to me, yet the Lord made hard things easy, according to his promise to me, when I was going from my children, and knew not but my life might be required for my testimony, it was so plain; and when I looked upon my children, my heart yearned towards them. These words ran through me, "If thou canst believe, thou shalt see all things accomplished, and thou shalt return in peace, and thy reward shall be with thee."…
>
> So the Lord blessed my going forth, his presence was with me in my journey; preserved my family well, and my coming home was with joy and peace in my bosom.

At the age of fifty-seven, after one of the most eventful lives of any of these Quaker saints, she sat down to write her journal for her children and grandchildren. The journal tells us, both directly and indirectly, that she and her husband trained their children to be partners in the outward struggle and companions on the inward journey. Training the children was a theme often on the minds of the women:

> The way you know; you have been trained up in it; and the concern of my spirit is, that you may keep in it, and be concerned for your children, as your father and I have been for you. Train them up in the way of truth, and keep them out of the beggarly rudiments of this world, that they may grow up in plainness; and keep to the plain language, both you and they; which is become a very indifferent thing amongst many of the professors of truth. But in the beginning we went through great exercise for that very word, thee and thou to one person.

The close of her journal is a beautiful prayer for her own children and God's flock everywhere, a powerful testimony to her own achievement in integrating human and divine love:

> Strengthen my faith, hope and confidence, that I may steadfastly believe that thou wilt preserve my children, when I am gone to my resting place…. And now, I do wholly resign them into thy hands, knowing thou art able to keep them through faith, and to preserve them all their days, and to do more for them than I am able to ask of thee. Whatever exercise they meet with, strengthen them, and bear up their spirits, that they may not be overcome with the temptations of the wicked one: for, thy power hath been sufficient to redeem my soul. Lord, once more do I commit the keeping of my spirit to thee, with my children, and all thy flock and family upon the face of the earth, with whom my soul is at peace and in unity. I feel the renewings of thy love at this time, which is the greatest comfort that can be enjoyed; therefore does my heart, and all that is within me, return unto thee all praises, glory and honour, with hearty thanksgiving, and pure obedience for evermore.

Elizabeth Fry, who, as we have already seen, could write more freely of her natural being than others, gives us a glimpse of how the spiritual journey is shared with children in daily life. Family meeting for worship was part of the daily domestic rhythm, and the children witnessed the upward soarings of the parental spirit as well as the "dippedness of mind." One day after family meeting, Elizabeth wrote:

> I had to pour forth a little of my soul; there appeared to flow a current of life and love, as if we were owned by the Most High; I felt my own like a song of praise. . . . I certainly was much raised spiritually.

Elizabeth worried a great deal about the effect on her children of her public ministry and work in prisons. She consulted with her brothers about this. Brother Joseph John Gurney reassured her that while the situation "is not what one would have chosen," it can do the children no harm to be exposed to concerns for the state of the world. Her children were as lively as she herself had been as a child, and she despaired of her inability to discipline them, but she loved them deeply. As adults they were friends and companions to her. The death of Elizabeth's five-year-old daughter Betsy gives one glimpse into a sadness that none of the mothers among these ministers escaped—the death of a child. Her journal entry shows her struggling with feelings of rebelliousness against committing the once vivacious little spirit to burial:

> Dearest Lord, be pleased to arise a little in thy own power, for the help of thy poor unworthy servant and handmaid; and if consistent with thy holy will, to dispel some of her distressing feelings, and make her willing to part with and commit to the earth her beloved child's body.

Mary Dudley had to struggle harder than most to integrate her parental and spiritual feelings, possibly because she had to struggle hard against her own parents as a young girl in leaving the family church to become a Friend. It had been necessary to overcome natural affection—considered synonymous with obedience to parental

wishes to answer the divine call. She went through the same conflict when her own children were born, since she had already been called to the ministry:

> Having a disposition naturally prone to affectionate attachment, I now began, in the addition of children, to feel my heart in danger of so centering in these gifts, as to fall short of occupying in the manner designed, with the gift received; and though at seasons I was brought in the secret of my heart to make an entire surrender to the work I saw that I was called to, yet when any little opening presented, how did I shrink from the demanded sacrifice, and crave to be excused in this thing; so that an enlargement was not witnessed for some years, though I several times took journeys, and experienced holy help to be extended.

Time and time again the call to the ministry won out over the calls of motherhood, but not easily:

> On returning to our lodgings found W.N., just come from Clonmel; he informed me that the young woman who had the chief care of my children had taken the measles, and was removed out of the house. I sensibly felt this intelligence, and the struggle was not small to endeavour after, and attain, a degree of quietude, sufficient to discover the right path.
>
> I went distressed to bed, I think honestly resigned, either to go forward or return home, as truth opened.

In fact, Mary continued her journey and was able to "dispense" thoughts of home. The hardest call came on the heels of the birth of her seventh child. Her journal editor writes that the youngest was "only ten weeks old, and her health was very delicate, so that the sacrifice was indeed great." Mary, however, reported a merciful extension of proportionate divine assistance for the journey undertaken.

One could argue that such behavior represented a rejection of parenthood and children, but the ongoing contact, letters, and expressions of mutual concern that continued until the death of each of these mothers argues against such simplistic explanations. Ruth Follows, an ardent logger of miles in the ministry and one whose journal reflects little but miles covered and number of meetings sat in, wrote letters to her children that reflect serious attempts at spiritual guidance:

> [To her son Samuel]
>
> Donnington, Eighth month 27th, 1779
>
> —Go on patiently—Is it not good for thee to feel thy own burthen? Consider how much greater difficulty thousands are now in, who have large families, and very little to support them with.
>
> I should be glad if I could say anything that would be of service to thee, but thou well knowest that the best help is in thyself. O look there—ask of Him who "giveth liberally and upbraideth not.". . . O that my dear children may all overcome the wicked one, that so I may salute you as young men, who are strong, having the word of God abiding in you.

Patience Brayton kept to her ministry even while children (and husband) were, dying of an unidentified illness at home, having begun a lively service at the age of twenty-one. Most of her travels were between the ages of thirty-eight and fifty-four. The year of the death of her husband and two children was apparently too much for her "natural affections," and she remained home thenceforth until she died at sixty-one.

A letter to her daughter Hannah, written the year before the family deaths, shows how hard she was struggling. That she wished to be more and more given to the Lord's requirings "whether I ever see thee more or not" sounds hard and must be seen in the light of her later loss of heart for travel:

[To her daughter]
Namptwich, Old England
25th of Second Month, 1785

Dear child, Hannah Brayton,

I have had thee in my mind for many days, with fresh remembrance what a dutiful child thou hast been in the outward concerns of life. O my dear, I trust there is a blessing for thee in store, and I hope thou wilt labour for that blessing that fadeth not away; that the dew of heaven may rest upon thee in all thy undertakings; and if the Lord becomes thy director, thou wilt be directed aright, both in divine and outward things. I long to be more and more given up to the Lord's requirings, whether I ever see thee more or not; although thou feelest nearer to me than I can relate with pen, the favours of heaven I feel so near at times, surmount all other considerations; when that abates I long to see thee again, but I hope more and more to learn patience, in all my steppings along in this life, for I see the want of it more now than ever, in order to keep me low and humble; if I am exalted at any of these favours, then I shall be in great danger—I am ready to tremble, seeing the work so great. Oh, my child, though nature brings thee into my mind with nearness, yet believing there is one rich rewarder to them that hold out to the end . . . .

I remain thy affectionate mother, Patience Brayton

We see in the struggles of these women with their parenting role a foreshadow of the struggles of today's women. The overarching concept of a divine love that could transform and encompass the natural affections was ever-present as both a goad to the struggle and a solution to it. We shall see shortly how the resolutions of these struggles came about in the last years of the aging Quaker saints.

9.4 Husbands and Friends

The Quaker testimony on equality in all human relationships takes on particular importance when applied to husband-wife relationships. It has consistently been one of the strengths of the Society of Friends that when women and men marry, they take each other "with divine assistance," each promising to be to the other a loving and faithful spouse. Obedience is to God only, not to the husband. The patriarchal concept of wifely obedience which distorts the marriage covenant in the mainstream Christian tradition has no place in the Quaker marriage.

Partnership in obedience to God, however, was not easily arrived at in an era that had firm expectations concerning the submission of women. At least one of the women was physically abused by her non-Quaker husband when she joined the Society of Friends after their marriage. This was Elizabeth Ashbridge, the intrepid adventurer who arrived in America in her teens as an indentured servant. True to the

expectations of both secular and Quaker society, she endured uncomplainingly and won him over in the end. Alice Hayes, one of the first-generation Quaker women ministers, was punished by her farmer husband for going to meeting. He relented some years later. When both husband and wife were Quaker, however, there was strong meeting support for a woman minister once she had been recognized and recorded. Husbands who were unenthusiastic about their wives' ministry generally kept quiet about it. Those men who were outspoken against women in the ministry, like John Story, evidently had stay-at-home wives.

The affection of Quaker husbands and wives for one another was frequently commented on by non-Quaker writers. Thomas Clarkson's statement in *Portraiture of Quakerism* that connubial bliss was the chief recreation of Friends has often been quoted. Nevertheless, when the divine call to the ministry came, women had the same struggle with their natural affections in regard to their husbands that they had with their children. Sarah Grubb, whose public ministry began at age twenty-four, was much concerned about the danger of "settling down in outward enjoyments" when she married two years later. In fact, she took off on a major religious visitation to Scotland with a woman Friend just two weeks after her marriage, and was rarely home as much as a month at a time afterwards. She had no children, not surprisingly, and died the youngest of all these ministers, at the age of thirty-five. Here are her thoughts on marriage and the spiritual life, toward the end of her life, in a letter to a friend:

> Twelfth month 1789-I have seen, in my short life, so much fallacy in human wisdom respecting matrimonial connections, and so much blessing showered upon an attention to simple uncorrupted openings, which have not at first appeared most plausible, that I seem to have no faith left in any direction but that which the devoted heart finds to make for peace. In concerns of this sort, it is often very difficult for such to judge, because prepossession and inclination are apt to influence our best feelings. Natural affection bears some resemblance to sacred impulse; and therefore, methinks that this seed, though ever so right, must die in the ground before it be quickened and sanctified. In short there are few openings, for our own and the general good, which have not to pass through this temporary death, few gifts but what are designed to be buried in baptism; and I wish thee, if ever thou possess a female companion, to obtain her as a fruit of the new creation; that so thou mayest reap those spiritual advantages which those enjoy, who, through the effectual working of the grace of God, drink together into one spirit, whether in suffering or in rejoicing; for without this experience, Zion's travelers must find such connections to be secretly burthensome and insipid.

Her perceptive recognition that "natural affection bears some resemblance to sacred impulse" both goes to the heart of the conflict as these women experienced it, and points to its resolution.

Elizabeth Webb is the Friend who fell ill in struggling against her call to go to America. Her husband bore the full brunt of the struggle, and belongs to the ranks of the unsung husbands of saints:

> I then told my husband that I had a concern to go to America; and asked him if he could give me up. He said he hoped it would not be required of me; but I told him it was; and that I should not go without his free consent, which seemed a little hard to him at first. A little while after, I was taken with a violent fever, which brought me so weak, that all who saw me thought I should not recover. But I thought my day's work was not done, and my chief

> concern in my sickness was about going to America. Some were troubled that I had made it public, because they thought I should die, and people would speak reproachfully of me; and said, if I did recover, the ship would be ready to sail before I should be fit to go, etc. But I thought if they would only carry me and lay me down in the ship, I should be well: for the Lord was very gracious to my soul in the time of my sickness, and gave me a promise that his presence should go with me. And then my husband was made very willing to give me up; he said, if it were for seven years, rather than to have me taken from him for ever.

Catharine Phillips had no such struggle. Her journal is almost a love song to her husband. She married late in life, and they had only thirteen years together. There is no shadow of conflict between the divine and human love:

> The tie of natural affection betwixt us was strong, arising from a similarity of sentiments, which was strengthened by an infinitely higher connection.

In another passage she emphasized the complementarity of her ministry and their partnership:

> An affectionately tender husband—ah, me! how shall I delineate this part of his character! Bound to me by the endearing ties of love and friendship, heightened by religious sympathy, his respect as well as affection, was apparent to our friends and acquaintance. His abilities to assist me in my religious engagements were conspicuous; for although he had no share in the ministerial labour, he was ready to promote it.

She remarked elsewhere that their tie was "superior to nature, though nature had a share in it." Anne Camm was even more lyrical about the divine human nature of the spousal tie. After the death of her first husband she wrote:

> And by the quickening of his holy power, we were made one in a spiritual and heavenly relation—our hearts being knit together in the unspeakable love of God, which was our joy and delight, and made our days together exceedingly comfortable—our temporal enjoyments being sanctified by it, and made a blessing to us. How hard it was, and how great a loss to me, to part with so dear and tender a husband, is far beyond what I can express. My tongue or pen is not able to set forth my sorrow.

Anne Camm twice had the good fortune to marry a fellow minister, and they worked and traveled both separately and together. If we wonder how such a husband-wife team appears from the point of view of the husband, here is the record of John Bell about his partnership with his deceased wife Deborah:

> She was a loving and affectionate wife, and the gift of God to me, and as such I always prized her, a help-meet indeed both in prosperity and adversity, a steady and cheerful companion in all the afflictions and trials which attended us, and a true and faithful yoke-fellow in all our services in the church; for being ever one in spirit, we became one in faith and practice, in discerning and judgment, and our concern and labour was the same; which nearly united us, and a life of comfort and satisfaction we lived, our souls in the nearest union delighting in each other; and the love and presence of God, wherewith we were often favoured in our private retirements, sweetened every bitter cup, and made our passage easy and pleasant to us.

It happens that Phillips, Camm, and Bell all had childless marriages. Undoubtedly it was easier to develop this tender dual-nature relationship (i.e., having both a sacred and everyday dimension) when there were no children present.

While the practice of recognizing women ministers implies equality, in fact the primary feeling of responsibility for children fell more heavily on the mother than the father. The stress created by this asymmetry may well have inhibited the dual-nature bonding between parents that the childless couples apparently experienced without effort. Each woman sought her own unique balance of the "natural" and the "spiritual" in marriage. None failed completely to achieve some kind of balance, but some found it more easily than others.

Friendships between women, and sometimes between men and women outside of marriage, could assume the same profoundly tender divine-human character as spousal relationships. Many of the journal records are really letters to friends, lovingly preserved by the other party and incorporated into the memoirs of the deceased. Here is Quaker equality in one of its purest forms. Friends gave spiritual guidance to one another, lent the spiritual ear to one another, gave wholehearted, undemanding support to one another. Letters to friends can be as lyrical as those to spouses:

> Eighth month, 1789—Thou art, dear friend, an epistle written in my heart, where I sometimes read thee and thy mournful, humble steppings, with joy; consistent with the divine command to rejoice in his new creation, of which, in infinite mercy, thou art happily a part.

9.5 The Last of Life, and the First

Intimations of an unseen presence come very early to children. This apparent sensitivity to spiritual reality can be heightened by early and frequent experiences of death—death of adults, death of other children. All the women of our group had vivid recollections from early childhood of a sense of divine presence. They also vividly recall their fear of estrangement and separation from God and from their families, of being called too soon by the Angel of Death. Sin was a familiar concept at an early age, and they felt answerable for the sin of disobedience long before they developed the inner disciplines of obedience. Salvation and damnation are themes they were made aware of as soon as they could talk, and they wondered anxiously when other children died whether they had been saved or damned.

In childhood these women also exhibited unusual liveliness of spirit and a capacity for sheer enjoyment of living. This liveliness of spirit and concern about death combined to set the stage for the titanic spiritual struggle they went through as teenagers and on into their early twenties, when they felt the inward call to holiness. The tension was all the stronger because they felt that what was required of them was possible, even if so many of their inclinations went the other way. Moments of great spiritual peace and joy alternated with despair, and they felt that the choice between salvation and damnation was really theirs. Once the battle was won and the call to the ministry answered, the fear of damnation disappeared, but the struggle for more perfect obedience went on.

I have emphasized that the struggle to be a perfect instrument of God's will continued over the years. The continual doing of God's will did not save the saint

from anguish and despondency. What was done could never be enough. It is the lot of the saint always to demand far more of the self than ordinary people, so from one point of view these women were struggling throughout life for ever higher levels of goodness, toward ever more perfect obedience. Yet the "dippedness of mind" that attacked them also had a childlike quality. Can it be that the saint has a very prolonged spiritual childhood?

The spiritual childhood appears to come to an end, finally, in the last years. The everlasting arms hold the aging saint more steadily. There is a great sense of being near home, of mission accomplished, of greater tolerance of the human condition. There is also a wonderful sense of new spiritual growth, of new understandings, new experiences of God's love. Friends were very aware of this surge of spiritual wisdom and strength in their elder saints, and were careful to record their utterances when the saints were too feeble to write themselves. Family and friends would gather about in the final days; one sometimes gets the impression that the bedrooms of the dying were rather crowded. If the dying took a long time—sometimes it went on for months—the crowds came, went, and came again. Deathbed utterances were particularly prized as glimpses of the glory ahead for those left behind.

This emphasis on spiritual illumination from the dying is the more extraordinary when one realizes that most of them were suffering severe physical pain in their final months, and particularly in their final days and hours. They knew what was expected of them by others. More important, they knew what they expected of themselves. Sometimes they feared they may not be up to the final trial of pain on the path to glory, and prayed for endurance. Mary Dudley was reported to have spoken in this manner:

> Afterwards, when under considerable suffering of body, she prayed for patience, and added, "Oh! if I should become impatient with the divine will, what reproach it would occasion. I feel poor and empty, and when lying awake am not able to fix my thoughts upon what I desire and prefer, but little things present, and this tries me. David speaks of having songs in the night, but I sometimes say, these, meaning intrusive thoughts, are not the Lord's songs."
>
> Several times when taking leave of her family for the night, she solemnly uttered this short petition, "Gracious Lord prepare us for what is to come." And when suffering from pain, and the feeling of general irritation, she frequently petitioned, "Lord enable us to trust that thou wilt never lay more on me than thou wilt give strength and patience to endure," adding, "Pray that I may have patience."

The initial shift from a life of great physical activity to a life limited by physical incapacity can be a trying one. We can follow the progression in Jane Pearson from her first exclamation, "I dread being at ease in Zion!" toward contentment: "The older and more infirm I grow the more I am enlarged in mind." At seventy-five, reading her old journals, she "feels a renewing of ancient power." She continued to prepare spiritually for her great transition:

> Previous to this precious season, I had had very great openings into Divine things, pertaining to another life; things so sacred as not to be meddled with; which brought me to think I should soon be gathered.

At age seventy-eight, the transition was still in process:

> Although I am exceedingly shaken, and my hand very unsteady, yet if it is right for me to leave to posterity, the memorable condescension of the Almighty to me, a poor worm, I shall be able to make it legible. Upon the 13th of twelfth month, 1813, sitting in the evening by my fire-side, with company about me engaged in conversing, I felt a strong attraction heavenward, which I was glad to feel: and a gracious God seemed pleased to bow his heavens and come down, directing me to dismiss every doubt respecting my own exit; for that he would take me in his mercy, and support me through what might befall me; and my charge was, never more to doubt of my eternal rest.

At age seventy-nine, we find the last journal entry in her own hand:

> Ninth month 19th, 1814—This morning I again had the most strengthening, consoling evidence of Divine favour, that my poor frame could bear; letting me know that as my strength decreased, his watchful care over me increased; and although he had seen meet nearly to deprive me of my outward hearing, he had increased the inward so surprisingly, that I often seem to fall down before him in astonishment; my mind being so expanded and enlarged, that as naturals abate, spirituals increase; and my dear Redeemer allows me at seasons, to repose as upon his bosom.

The journey was accomplished. God touched each of these women in their very early years, and returned as a beloved companion to guide them through the gates of death. In all the decades in between there was an alternation of struggle and tranquility, of stormy clouds and radiant light. In the course of the journey, they carried their families with them, metaphorically or literally reshaped the world around them, and themselves became transformed.

The language of experience has changed from their day to ours, but the journey remains the same.

Quaker Women Included in This Essay

Elizabeth Ashbridge 1713–1755
Deborah Bell 1689–1738
Patience Brayton 1733–1794
Anne Camm 1627–1705
Elizabeth Collins 1755–1831
Mary Dudley 1750–1820
Ruth Follows 1718–1809
Margaret Fell 1614–1702
Elizabeth Fry 1780–1845
Sarah Grubb 1756–1791
Alice Hayes 1657–1720
Margaret Lucas 1701–1769
Jane Pearson 1735–1816
Catharine Phillips 1726–1794
Sarah Stephenson 1738–1802
Elizabeth Stirredge 1634–1706
Elizabeth Webb no dates; journal letter written in 1712

Chapter 10
Our Children, Our Partners: A New Vision for Social Action in the 21st Century (1996)

This article was originally presented by Elise Boulding as the James Backhouse Lecture to Australia Yearling Meeting in 1996. It seems a fitting conclusion to her writings on the family in this volume because the tendency to adults to ignore the rich inner life of children and the contributions they can make to family life and society, if listened to, was a recurring theme in her writing in all stages of her life. As with other chapters in this section, though written for a Quaker audience, the message has relevance to anyone with an interest in children.[1]

It is a joy to come to Australia Yearly Meeting and speak with you about a subject close to your hearts and mine—bringing children and adults into a closer partnering relationship, not only in the Society of Friends but in the larger world as well. You were the courageous pioneers who brought the concern to the Friends World Committee for Consultation Triennial Meeting in August of 1994, that children be included more fully in the life of the world body of Friends, and be enabled to participate in all FWCC activities. I cheered aloud when I heard about it!

From the account in the FWCC minutes, kindly forwarded to me by Asia Bennett of the Section of the Americas, it seems that some Friends caught the spirit of your proposal and spoke passionately about the value of inter-generational participation, while other Friends focused on the problems of facilities for child care and differing financial resources for family travel. The issue of children as delegates does not seem to have been clearly enunciated. While the Minute adopted noted the yearning of Friends for Meetings to be more inclusive of children, the emphasis was on the impracticality of such inclusiveness in the near future. Clearly we have a challenge to develop this concern in a way that does not make the participation of children seem to be an impractical luxury.

[1]This text was published as *Our Children, Our Partners: A New Vision for Social Action in the 21st Century* (Kenmore, Queensland: Religious Society of Friends (Quakers) in Australia): 24 pp. Copyright © 1996 by Religious Society of Friends (Quakers) in Australia. Reprint permission granted 29 August, 2015.

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10.1 The Segregation of Children and Youth

The problem of inclusiveness goes well beyond the Society of Friends. The tragedy is that we are living in a world which is becoming less and less inclusive of children and youth in all spheres of life—in work, in civic activity, even in play. Let us examine this general problem before we consider new and more encouraging developments.

Do you remember when it was fashionable to refer to this century as the Century of the Child, and to use phrases like "the child-centered society"? Philippe Aries' book *Centuries of Childhood*[2] was one of many to call attention to the fact that children are not just miniature adults, but small human beings whose physical, social, emotional and intellectual development gradually unfolds over the first two decades of life until they become fully adult in their twenties.

This modest insight has had some unfortunate consequences. In the One-Third World it has produced whole industries that have grown up around "the child," not only producing elaborately designed clothing and toys, but specially designed children's spaces. It has also led to an increasingly complicated set of social arrangements that leave children so finely age-graded that they are rarely exposed to other than their age-mates from pre-school on, except in their own families. Somewhere between the ages of 18 and 21 this segregated youth is abruptly tossed into the adult world and expected to take on those very adult roles from which they have been so carefully segregated.

This practice of exclusion from adult civil society is based on three concepts:

(1) children are weak, unformed human beings who need protection from environmental hazards and exploitative adults,
(2) children's experience and knowledge worlds are so limited that they have no information or skills of use to adult society,
(3) society is so complex that only specially demarcated spaces staffed by professionally trained adults can prepare children to live in it.

The underlying view is that children must be protected from victimage. In the United Nations *Declaration of the Rights of the Child* only three out of ten principles refer to children's *rights*. The other seven refer to constraints and protection against possible harm.

The irony is that harm against children is growing exponentially in the very century that was supposed to be dedicated to the creative flowering of human childhood. Children are indeed victims. They are subject to increasing levels of violence within the family itself—the one place in which we would like to think

[2]Aires, Philippe, 1962: *Centuries of Childhood*, tr. by Robert Baldick (New York: A. Knopf).

they were safe. In every world region there are growing numbers of street children, many of whom have no families at all. The latest UN reports tell us that children are sinking deeper into poverty on every continent. Closely related is the continuing ruthless exploitation of children in field and factory, particularly (but not only) in the Two-Thirds World. The rates of social violence in neighborhoods and between neighborhood gangs are rising, along with increased rates of participation of children in the drug traffic. Even schools are combatting violence within their walls, often, ironically enough, by increased use of physical punishment. Over all the other violence hangs the great dark cloud of war—guerrilla war, civil war, interstate war. Landmines and indiscriminate bombing and shooting in countries saturated with weapons result in far more deaths of children than soldiers, wherever there is war.

And still we continue to try to develop and maintain age-segregated spaces for children in education, from pre-school to the university. In churches and Friends Meetings we strive to replicate that age-grading in the name of quality religious education. Children's clubs, services and special programs are all age-graded right through the teens. And the habit persists. We have groups for: young adults, for young parents, for middle-years folk and on through the Golden Age years.

I am not arguing that age grouping per se is bad. There are certain sequences of learning that are useful for children, and identifiable sets of common needs in different stages of life. The problem is that the practice has been carried to an extreme, leaving very few common social spaces in which child-adult friendships can develop.

Ask the children in your Meeting who their adult friends are, and what they do together. (Some Meetings actually make a point of encouraging this, praises be. But many Quaker children have never had a serious conversation with an adult who was not a relative, a teacher, or having special responsibility for children.) There are exceptions, of course, to the practice of segregation, particularly in rural areas where farm families interact across generations in both work and play. And there are other exceptions, particularly in religious and ethnic groups.

Friends historically have practiced a mixing of generations in their activities. It was taken for granted that very young children could sit quietly through an entire Meeting for Worship. (There are delightful stories told by older birthright Friends of how when they were small, understanding grandparents would quietly demonstrate little tricks to absorb restlessness, such as a rhythmic twiddling and reverse-twiddling of thumbs, or folding and refolding of a handkerchief.) Then there is the story of the children of Reading Meeting from the early days when Quakers were considered seditious. When the adults of the Meeting were jailed en masse for unauthorized gathering in public, the suddenly orphaned children of the Meeting not only took care of each other at home, but carried on forbidden worship in the Meeting House, in spite of beatings by the authorities.

Our Society has a powerful tradition and witness to equality of persons, respect for the seed of God in everyone and for the capacities within each person. This

means that in this age of increasing segregation Friends have a special calling to re-involve children and youth not only in the ongoing work of the Society of Friends, but of the larger society of which we, and they, are a part. There were teenagers in that first Quaker Band known as The Valiant Sixty, and no generation since then has lacked gifted teenage ministers, as I read our history.

However, our witness faces a serious challenge. We must confront an underlying attitude, particularly in the One-Third World, that contributes to the pervasive separating out of children and adults—an attitude of disrespect for children and their capacities, masked by the provision of a lot of specialized attention in carefully designated settings. Some of this disrespect comes from patriarchal authority patterns, some from a dislike of the unexpected—something children can be guaranteed to introduce into adult settings—and some from a basic social denial, a refusal to face a future different from the present, a future that will belong to and be shaped by those who are now children.

10.2 Respecting the Life Experience of Children and Youth

We as Friends need to open ourselves more fully to the actuality of the rich and multidimensional knowledge and experience worlds that children and youth inhabit (unless they belong to that sadly deprived group who live glued to a television set or a computer screen). This is the only possible basis for better partnerships within our Meetings that can also expand into the world outside. A young birthright Friend from Philadelphia, who is now a busy mother of three, when I asked her about her memories of the Meeting in which she grew up, recalled that from a very early age the experience of the indwelling holy spirit was very real to her. However she felt the adult Friends around her only talked about the spirit, but didn't really know it. She was convinced then (and still is) that they *did not know what she knew!*

Take a few moments to reflect on your own childhood. Can you recapture memories of inward journeys that could not be explained to adults? If you keep searching, you will find such memories, not only from childhood, but from early and late teens… Did not each of us experience frustration over uncomprehending adults? But I hope we can also remember adults from our childhood who spoke and listened to us as if we were real persons! Bless their memory.

Who knows how different today's world would be if an older generation had started listening to young people such as the students at the first International School in Geneva, children of the diplomats serving in the new League of Nations in the 1920s and 1930s? The youth who participated in that early inspired effort at education for a new and more peaceful world were all killed in World War II. Not one graduate survived.

We do not lack evidence of the value of listening to the young. A 1979 study by geographer Robert Kates[3] of hazards for children, involved consulting a multiracial cross-class group of 3 to 6-year-olds. These children could not only identify all the adult-listed hazards in the experimental room in which they were placed, including "dirty air", but they went on to identify hazards that the adult participants in the experiment never noticed. They also gave more realistic hazard ratings for each problem than the adults did. How could this be? For one thing, 3 to 6-year-olds live at a different eye level than adults, and therefore see things adults never see. Living at different eye levels becomes a powerful metaphor for what children see that remains invisible to adults.

The young not only have their own keen powers of observation, they respond to what they see and help change their environment, deal with problems, in ways adults rarely notice. They are in fact co-shapers of their families and of their society, noticed or not. In my studies of the memories of college students about how they nurtured their parents through difficult times, I found that they remembered devising strategies to help suicidal mothers and fathers through serious depressions. They thought of ways to help fathers, who had lost their job and self-respect, feel loved and needed. They comforted mothers grieving over the loss of their own mother. Some of these memories went back as far as the age of four. Rarely did the parent being helped have any idea of the actual role their child was taking on.

The mistake adults make is to fail to appreciate the complexity of the knowledge and experience worlds of even very young children. In the first couple of years of life they have observed and taken in information about their physical and social environment at a staggering rate; their "learning curve" might be thought of as a straight vertical line. The learning rate gradually slows down in the pre-teen years. By the time we are adults it is more like a learning crawl than the high-speed intake of the very young.

Compare, for example, adults and children at a lakeside or ocean beach in the summer. Most of the adults (not all!) are sprawled in the sun in a stupor, or have their eyes fastened to a book. The children are creating magic worlds in the sand at the water's edge, collecting every conceivable kind of shell, pebble, bits of debris and seaweed to decorate their mini world, perhaps engineering small streams around towers and walls. Of course it's alright to lie in the sun, Friends, but respect what children are getting out of their play!

Anyone who seriously observes children at play in neighborhood settings would not underestimate what they know; but in our ordinary life we don't observe children that way. When Roger Hart[4] did a two-year study of children in a small Vermont town, getting permission from the young ones themselves to be with them in their own spaces, he found that the children had a competence in mapping and

[3]Noyes, D., F. Powers and R.W. Kates, 1979: "Comparative Assessments of the Environmental and Technological Hazards of Small Children", paper presented at the session, *Children and Their Social Environments*, Annual Meeting of the Association of American Geographers.

[4]Hart, Roger, 1979*: Children's Experience of Place* (New York: Irvington).

knowledge of local land use that considerably exceeded adult knowledge of the same terrain.

These were working class and middle class children. When the same types of observation are made of street children, in the big cities of the Americas, Asia and Africa, their knowledge of how to survive in an extremely hostile and sparse environment is awesome.

Precisely because of the complexity of children's experiences and their cognitive processing of those experiences, stage theories of cognitive and moral development, such as those of Piaget and Kohlberg, oversimplify the maturing process. Children's thinking and social responsiveness is not that different from adult thinking and responsiveness, except for the actual difference in the storehouse of happenings in their lives.[5] While the significance of the accumulation of lived experience must not be underestimated, neither should the capacity for reaching sophisticated and mature judgements on the basis of whatever knowledge store is available, be underestimated. In short, we must respect the capacity of children to *think*!

It is useful to remember how arbitrary our demarcations of childhood, youth and adulthood are. In general, the term *children* is used for those under 12 or 14, youth for those from age 14 or 15 to 18 or 21 or 25. This means that in some societies youth become legally adult with full citizen's rights at age 18, in others not until 25. That is a long time to wait to be heard.

However, rites of passage in most societies honor milestones along the way for children in their acquisition of know-how for living. In Tibetan Buddhist cultures, children go through a Shamballa rites-of-passage ceremony at age 8, when they formally take on responsibility for the feeding of animals and other work relating to care of the earth and provision of food. A second ceremony comes at age 16, when they take responsibility for the spiritual and social wellbeing of others—in other words, civic responsibility. These ceremonies have become very important in the lives of American Buddhist families, and I have been moved by the solemnity of the ritual for 8-year-olds.

A more common practice for most social groups is that the first rite of passage comes at puberty and the second at marriage. In most western societies the puberty rite involves very limited recognition of a new stage of responsible participation in society. Among Friends, since we have neither the baptismal nor confirmation rites of other Christian churches, we need to give even more attention to how we encourage and recognize the taking on of responsibility for the community by our children. The amazing thing is how much responsibility and how many worries children and young people carry, in spite of the care we take to segregate them, and in spite of our lack of respect for them. Children and youth in any society have many problems today. A study just completed of youth concerns in 75 communities

[5]Gareth Matthews provides a thoughtful critique of age-related stages and points out the similarities between the thought processes of children and adults in *The Philosophy of Childhood* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1994).

in my home State of Colorado by the Department of Human Services, lists the following most frequently reported concerns

Concern	Percent of Youth reporting (%)
Substance abuse	76.5
Youth violence/gangs	53
Teen pregnancy	53

High school programs for 14, 15 and 16-year-old mothers to complete their education, learn child care and job skills, is now one of the major features of many high schools in urban areas of the United States, including my own town of Boulder. The teaching of aikido, a set of physical techniques to be used in case of unprovoked attack, involving nonviolent deflection of blows, is not yet taught in schools but is being discussed.[6]

The children of the Boulder Meeting, when asked to share their concerns with the adults of the Meeting in a forum hour, made it very clear that they live with a daily fear and anxiety about coping with violence on the way to and from school each day. This was very startling news for many adults in the Meeting.

An encouraging number of youth do not live passively with their fear. They do form partnerships with adults to make problems visible and work for solutions. One impressive example of such partnership based in the United States is the Children's Express. I quote from a recent report.

> Created in 1975, Children s Express (CE) is an international news service reported by children and teenagers for audiences of all ages. For almost 20 years, reporters (8–13) and editors (14–18) have examined critical children's issues and brought them to national attention. CE news teams… travelled on assignment all over the United States, and Cambodia, Thailand, Hiroshima, Chernobyl, Israel, Zambia and post-war Kuwait, reporting with the zeal and honesty of youth. Its young reporters and editors (over 3000 to date)… have interviewed senators, congress members, presidents, and prime ministers, as well as high school drop-outs, homeless youth, cancer survivors, and children of war.[7]

They are advised and financed by a far-seeing group of distinguished editors and publishers who understand the importance of intergenerational work. Their most recent book, *Voices From the Future* (1993)[8] is a moving series of interviews with gang members, skinheads, homeless teens and otherwise "at risk" teens. Many of these teens have found ways to develop safe places and support systems for each other, with the help of caring adults, that will make a better future possible for

[6]Aikido is of course far more than a method of defense. It is a spiritually based approach to violence that aims to re-channel the energies and attitudes of the attacker.

[7]Children's Express has the motto, "By Children for Everyone". [Editor's note: Children's Express operated from 1975 to 2001. Different bureaus of the original Children's Press continue to operate (Y-Press, Indianapolis; Children's PressLine, New York, Headliners, UK)].

[8]Children's Express, 1993: *Voices from the Future: Our Children Tell Us About Violence in America*, edited by Susan Goodwillie (New York: Crown Publishers).

themselves and their peers. If they can do so much with so little, what are we doing to empower the invisibly struggling children and youth in our own cities?

Generally adults waver between accusing youth of being indifferent to the world they live in, or condemning them for raging at it with whatever weapons they have at their command. Sometimes youth are indifferent. Sometimes they are murderous. But how do we explain the courage for change in street children that Children's Express interviewers found; the courage that all those who work with children and youth in the most violent settings, do find? And how do we explain the 110,000 young people who recently poured into Paris from 30 nations in Europe, East and West, North and South, Catholic and Protestant, to meditate and pray with the ecumenical monks of the Taizé community who arrange this youth prayer annually—filling five huge exhibition halls for five days of devout, intensely spiritual search?

"We need this. At home we are at the end of our rope. All we hear is war" said a young Serbian participant after a night of prayer with fellow Serbs and Croats.[9]

How do we account for Iqbal, the Pakistani child sold into slavery at age 4 by his parents, who after six years of being shackled to a carpet-weaving loom most of the time, tying knots hour after hour, was freed with the help of the Pakistani Bonded Labor Liberation Front. Where did he find the strength to help lead the crusade against child labor which brought him to Sweden at age 12 to address an international labor conference in 1994? What was going on in his mind, and in his spirit, in the years from age 4 to 10 when he was chained to the loom, and where did he find the words to speak of it?

Yes, we underestimate our children.

Let us confess the miracle that so many children manage to grow up socially and spiritually whole. The God-seed is already present at birth. Some children are in environments where the seed gets loving care and tending. We hope this is true for the children of our Meetings. Many more somehow find nurture in less supportive environments. Children can be sensitive to precious moments of beauty and caring opened up by an adult or another child in situations that might not even be noticed by others on the scene. Children can see beyond surfaces, and find hidden caring when it is there, including the caring of an often out-of-control and abusive parent. That capacity for in-depth seeing on the part of the abused child becomes a resource for breaking the often vicious cycle of abused children becoming abusing parents.

And then there are the children who apparently live in utterly barren and loveless settings, yet the seed of the spirit comes to flowering as the child matures. Somewhere in that child's life a word of love has been spoken. With that word, the seed can flourish in barren soil, like the tree that takes root in a rocky crevice of a steep mountain side. The tree will grow toward the sky, nourished by the barest minimum of crumbled forest debris that winds have swept into the crevice, and by occasional trickles of water from passing storms.

[9]A vivid account of the Taizé Youth Assembly in Paris by Morlise Simons appeared in the *New York Times* for January 2, 1995.

Robert Coles,[10] the psychiatrist who spent a lifetime studying and working with seriously troubled children, came to see after 30 years of this work that he had been ignoring a profound spiritual sensitivity that kept coming through in children's responses to his very secular questions about their lives. Realizing that he had been missing something basic about how they were dealing with their lives, he then devoted several years to interviewing 8 to 12-year-old Muslim, Christian and Jewish children as well as children with no religious identification, about their faith and belief. These were all youngsters with serious problems. Discovering an awesome spiritual maturity and self-insight in their answers to his questions about the meaning of life and their views of God, good and evil, he came to understand that children coped with their lives at a far deeper level than psychiatric analysis alone could reveal. They were being nurtured by sometimes very fragmentary sources of which the adults around them would not have been aware. A word of love had somehow been spoken to them.

It is never too late for that word of love to be spoken. When I was exploring the motivations, life experiences and decisive moments in the lives of the women who all across the United States went out to "strike for peace" in response to the Berlin crisis of 1961, ushering in a new phase of the international women's peace movement, I found a variety of paths to that moment. Some women had been raised from childhood to care about the world by activist parents. Others referred to teachers, ministers and community leaders—or read a book, or saw a movie—that inspired them in their student days, or as young parents. Some were now in their sixties or older, suddenly "reached" by a new word about the world after a conventional, non-activist adult life. The seed had lain dormant, but it had not died. If I seem to be going far afield here, it is only to emphasize how powerful that seed is in every newborn, and how urgent it is that we recognize, respect and nurture it.

10.3 Examples of Partnering

I have been talking both about partnering and about nurturing in what I have said so far. Do the two modes conflict at all? We partner, whether with other adults or with children, on the basis of shared responsibility and shared respect, in a relationship of equality that does not preclude alternating roles of leading and following, teaching and learning.

Is there room for nurture in this relationship of equality?

The answer is a resounding *yes*. A good partnership relation implies mutual nurturance whether the relationship is marital, parent-child, work-related or civic.

[10]Coles, Robert, 1990: *The Spiritual Life of Children* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co.). For a Quaker perspective, see my essays on children and family life in *One Small Plot of Heaven: Reflections of a Quaker Sociologist on Family Life*, (Wallingford, PA: Pendle Hill, 1989).

So now let us consider some examples of nurturant partnership between adults and children/youth.

First let it be said that there have always been adults who have instinctively related to children in a nurturant partnership of mutual respect—in every age, in every culture, no matter how age-graded or patriarchal or authoritarian the society. But as I have already indicated, the developments of this century have largely been in the direction of one-way care and protection rather than cooperation in a spirit of mutuality.

Nevertheless the UN Declaration of the Rights of the Child, paternalism aside, has done for children and youth what UN Conventions on women's rights have done for women. In both cases the UN has provided a platform for the public working out of otherwise ignored concerns relating to a fuller participation by these traditionally excluded categories of persons, in the societies of which they are a part. From the UN side this has been facilitated by the 1979 International Year of the Child as well as the World Youth Assemblies of 1970 and 1980, the 1985 International Year of Youth, and the 1990 World Children's Summit.

From the side of emerging global civil society and the world of international nongovernmental organizations (INGOs), we have witnessed a dramatic increase in the number of INGOs relating to children and youth. The 1993–94 *Yearbook of International Organizations* Volume 3, lists 859 INGOs focused on children, 47 on adolescents and 458 on youth. However when we ask which of the children's INGOs involve actual *participation* of children as members and initiators of activity, only 22 or 6 per cent, fall into that category. In the case of INGOs focused on adolescence, 10 or 21 per cent, involve their direct participation; for youth INGOs, 191 or 42 per cent, are fully participatory. This means that most of these organizations are *advocacy* organizations *on behalf of* children and youth. While advocacy has an important role to play, especially in dealing with the suffering of the young, in terms of developing actual intergenerational partnerships for social change, the INGO world still has a long way to go.

On a grassroots level however, things have been happening in terms of children and youth activities with adult partners, particularly since the 1960s. Since older youth already have a long history of organizing, I will focus here primarily on the pre-teens and younger teens.

By the 1970s that extraordinary musical theater format, the Peace Child,[11] had evolved. Peace Child productions involved taking a musical score around the world and having local children, pre-teens and teens, create their own play about peace in their own language, built around the musical score. Thus hundreds of versions of the Peace Child were performed by children on every continent, for several decades. These productions served to conscientize and to mobilize both adults and children, not only against war, but *for* a greater visibility and participation of children in public life.

[11]The Peace Child theater project and the organization called Peace Child were started by David Woollcombe and headquartered at the White House, Buntingford, Herts, England SG9 9AH.

Other initiatives developed in various countries, and by 1990 the Coalition for Children of the Earth was in its early stages, based on a high level of networking activity among children and youth and their partnering adults.

The deteriorating condition of the earth itself aroused children on every continent. The resulting children's movements are a startling demonstration that children are more aware of the condition of their immediate environment than many of the adults around them, and are able to project in their own minds what this meant for the world.

Young Carolina Garcia Travesi[12] in Tamaulipas, Mexico was 9 when she first started worrying about the contamination all around her in the air, soil and water of her town. She started a local ecology club with her classmates, and is today at 15 an international leader in youth initiatives to save the earth. One of hundreds of children who by sheer determination and ingenuity got to the Rio Conference on the Environment in 1992, her energy, imagination and articulateness attracted the adult partners (including her own rather surprised parents) necessary for the development of continuing organizational structures and communication networks.

Many parallel initiatives emerged independently, and then became interlinked as groups found out about each other.

The Peace Child organization gave birth to Rescue Mission Planet Earth[13] in response to the tremendous opportunities for networking at Rio, and began publishing *Global Network News* to help connect children and young people. This successor organization has published a Version of Agenda 21 prepared by children under the title, *Rescue Mission Planet Earth*, and has collected manuscripts from its young members for a History of the United Nations. The organization's current project is the preparation of a *Rescue Mission Cabaret* on the model of the Peace Child production—scripts to be created locally around a core set of songs. All of this is done by young people from 8 to 18–19 years of age, with Peace Child founder David Woolcombe serving as a key adult partner.

The organization, Rescue Mission Planet Earth, is now codirected by Woolcombe and 19-year-old Cecilia Weckstrom. Its *Global Network News* publishes activity reports from around the world by children and youth; it also works with Voice of the Children, a 40-country network started in Norway in 1991 with children aged 12–15, to promote the civic participation of children in local, national and world governance. Some of you may have been present at a memorable civic event in Sydney in 1992 when 35 young Australian members of the Voice of Children gathered in Parliament House to tell the listening politicians, business leaders and media what they were concerned about.

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[12]Carolina Garcia Travesi was so interested in the questions I put to her that she wrote me a substantial essay on her activities in flawless English!

[13]Rescue Mission Planet Earth, the successor organization to Peace Child, has the same address (see note 11). *Global Network News* is edited and published from that address. [Editor's note: The organization, now called Peace Child International, continues at the same location: http://peacechild.org/].

These and other international networking groups such as Lifelinks, which works on school twinning between continents, all co-operate in the very loose Coalition for Children of the Earth[14] to promote an Annual Day of Access around the world for children to discuss with local, national and international officials and leaders their thinking about threats to human survival. Children gathered at the 1995 World Summit of Children in San Francisco prepared a request to the UN General Assembly to declare such a day, and also presented a proposal for an ongoing General Assembly of older children of non-voting age and youth, to provide a voice at the United Nations for the one-third of the world's population that are legally "minors".

Children are not waiting for the United Nations to act. With the help of the national Voice of Children groups they are learning how to hold hearings on important social issues in their local communities, preferably in the local town hall[15] Reports indicate attentive audiences of local and state councils and legislators, business people and media. Many towns in Europe already have a Day of Access when young pre-voting age citizens join local governing councils for the day and speak of their concerns.

The United Nations, in spite of its key role mentioned above in providing the framework for addressing the concerns and needs of the young, is very resistant to actual participation of children in its affairs. Sad to say, it refused to admit the several hundred children gathered at the World Summit of Children in San Francisco in the summer of 1995 to the ceremony celebrating the signing of the UN Charter, an event the children had counted on participating in. This action was of a piece with the UN's refusal to have a child address the first UN World Summit for Children in 1990. Old patriarchal habits die hard.

10.4 Quaker Partnering

Having given this very rapid overview of children and youth initiatives around the world facilitated by creative youth-adult partnerships, I would like to encourage and honor all that Friends in Australia Yearly Meeting have done to facilitate such partnering within your Meetings, at the Friends School, and at the 1994 Friends World Committee Triennial. We need to share stories of how cross-generational

[14]The office for the Coalition for Children of the Earth is at Peaceways, 324 Catalpa Ave. Suite 318, San Mateo CA 94401. [Editor's note: Peaceways is still located in San Mateo (151 North Ellsworth Avenue, Suite 6, San Mateo, CA 94401; http://orgs.tigweb.org/peaceways); Children of the Earth is now based in Vermont: http://www.coeworld.org/].

[15]The Northern Secretariat for Voice of the Children is PO Box 8844 Youngstorget 0028, Oslo, Norway. The Southern Secretariat is FUNAM, Casilla de Correo 83, Correo Central, 5000 Cordoba, Argentina. [Editor's note: A search of the web in 2015 did not identify this organization, though a number of organizations with the same or similar names are located in California, Utah, Malyasia, the UK, and the European Union].

cooperation works, to encourage the timid! Most of us will have such stories, since each decade of this century has had its own crisis calling for dissenting voices and public witness.

I have an especially vivid memory of a witness led in the 1960s by our high school Young Friends group in Ann Arbor, Michigan. This was at the height of the civil rights movement in the South including rising violence in Selma, Alabama, and at a time of escalation in Vietnam. Young Friends, with the full support of older Friends in the Meeting, wanted to call attention to the connection between these two apparently separate sets of happenings. They announced a one-day fast and made signs for those fasting to wear that said, "I'm hungry for peace in Selma and Vietnam". The idea spread through the community with the speed of light. Eighty-year-olds fasted and wore those signs. Whole elementary school classes fasted and wore those signs. It was a great day for the peace movement in Ann Arbor.

I have followed the careers of those feisty Quaker teenagers (yes, there was a Boulding in the group!),[16] and they are now in turn partnering the next generation, and the next, in more sophisticated forms of peace action than either they or we thought of in the 1960s.

It is a good thing to think in terms of overlapping life cycles and overlapping generations as we move through the decades of our lives. We keep gaining new insights, new skills, new understandings of the many aspects of the task of peace building, sharing with and learning from those older and younger than we, and still at it in the last years, months and days of our lives.

Not long before Kenneth Boulding went into his final coma, he smiled and said, "I love the world". That love, and the spiritual strength it gave the rest of us, was his active work of peace building which still goes on. I am remembering that Kenneth was your inaugural Backhouse Lecturer in 1964.[17] Perhaps he is listening in now.

The peace-building partnership begins of course in the home, in our family worship, in our hush before each meal, in our family meetings for business, where each child's views are heard, each idea seriously considered. It continues in our Meetings as our children and junior and senior Young Friends share times of worship with us, bring reports to our meetings for business of their activities and concerns, and serve on our committees.

There should be no Meeting Committee, including Ministry and Counsel, without a senior young Friend and preferably also a junior Young Friend on it. Whatever the Meeting business, no child of school age is too young to have ideas worth listening to. I have heard glowing reports of your summer camps for young

[16]Editor's note: I'm the Boulding child she refers to and was on the steering committee that organized the fast—it was actually a 48-hour fast. I was 17 at the time. When it was in the planning stages we also organized a meeting for parents in the community during which the father of one of my classmates, an MD and member of the Ann Arbor Friends Meeting, gave reassurances that fasting for 48 h would not harm any of their children.

[17]Editor's note: The title of Kenneth Boulding's 1964 Backhouse Lecture was *The Evolutionary Potential of Quakerism*.

people at the Quaker family farm, Bega. How much of the intergenerational give-and-take at Bega can also be carried out in your home Meetings, in the gatherings of your seven regions, at Yearly Meeting, and in Quaker Service Australia? I hope your important conflict resolution work with aboriginal groups includes pre-teens and teenagers from both sides.

Friends have of course been active in conflict resolution and mediation since the earliest days of Quakerism, and I note that Australian Friends have been giving significant priority to this. It has been inspiring to see how nonviolence and conflict resolution training programs have been developed for children, young people and adults in various Yearly Meetings on different continents. It will be an important project to make as complete a listing of these as possible to share within the world family of Friends.

There is the Children's Creative Response to Conflict Program, helping children learn conflict resolution skills in schools and local Meetings, and the Alternatives to Violence Program, helping teens and adults who have experienced much violence and incarceration in prisons, to become socially and spiritually whole persons capable of contributing to community life.[18] Initiated by Friends, these are spreading among Friends and non-Friends across the Americas and in Europe. And Woodbrooke[19] has a fine Responding to Conflict Program, that trains Friends and others from all continents. Then there is the quiet mediation work that goes on at our Quaker UN Centers in Geneva and New York, and at Quaker Service and American Friends Service Committee centers in Africa, Asia and Latin America.

And there is more happening that the rest of us don't hear about. We need to share information and empower each other with our insights and experiences from conflict resolution and mediation work.

As ethnic and social conflicts multiply around the world, accompanied by a horrifying level of violence, the need for trained nonviolent peace teams in the tradition of Gandhi's vision of the *Shanti Sena*, creating local spaces for peace building in the midst of that violence, becomes more pressing every day. We know that the UN peacekeepers, certainly doing their best, are not trained for that kind of work.

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[18]Children's Creative Response to Conflict is now affiliated with the International Fellowship of Reconciliation. Materials are available in Spanish and English from the IFOR office in Alkmaar, Netherlands, and from the FOR-USA, PO Box 271, Nyack, NY 10960. The Alternatives to Violence Basic Manual is available from AVP-USA, 15 Rutherford Place, NY, NY 10003. I do not know if it is available in other languages. [Editor's note: The CCRC project was a program of FOR from 1978 to 1992, and incorporated as a separate organization called Creative Response to Project with a central office in Nyack, NY, and affiliate branches throughout the United States, in Europe, and in South and Central America (http://crc-global.org/). CRC materials have been translated into languages including: Arabic, French, German, Nepali, Russian, Serbian, Spanish and Welsh. The Alternatives to Violence Project/USA is now headquartered in Minneapolis, MN (http://avpusa.org/), and the Basic Manual is also available in Spanish.].

[19]Editor's note: Elise Boulding is referring here to Woodbrooke Quaker Study Centre in Birmingham, England.

Many among us have been supporting, and some of us participating in, unarmed nonviolent peace teams such as the Peace Brigades and Christian Peacemakers. Now the time has come for Friends to make a more substantial contribution to this important work.

Clear spiritual leadings have brought the North American Friends Peace Team Coordinating Council into being, with the support of eleven Yearly Meetings to date and an office based at Baltimore Yearly Meeting.[20] The Council will arrange training for young and older Friends to work with existing peace teams, especially Christian Peacemaker Teams, and plan joint projects with Quaker Service and the American Friends Service Committee. Eventually we will form special teams as needed to work with local peacemakers in high-conflict areas.

We are working toward making this a truly intercontinental Quaker effort with support from Yearly Meetings around the world, including of course Australia Yearly Meeting. The Friends World Committee is exploring the mechanics of how Friends Peace Teams can come under its care.

In developing the Friends Peace Team concept, we have emphasized strongly that apprenticeship training for this type of work must be spirit-led and must begin in conflict areas in our own home communities, and in our own countries. Local peacemakers who live in the midst of conflict will be our first teachers. Only after this kind of local apprenticeship will peace team members be ready for partnership roles abroad.

These teams will need to be intergenerational in order to reach out effectively to all parts of the communities in conflict. Some will fear to trust our teenagers in these situations. It will be evident from what I have already said that in my view spiritually and emotionally mature teenagers will see what adults might miss, and will find openings for contact and relationship that adults would not think of.

10.5 A Vision for the Future—How We Work Together

Australia is a big country, and Friends are few. All the more reason to involve every child and every teenager in the full range of Quaker activity! I have mentioned how much net-working goes on among the young, not only within countries but internationally and between continents. Much of it is done the "old-fashioned" way

[20]The address for Friends Peace Team Project is c/o Baltimore Yearly Meeting, 17100 Quaker Lane, Sandy Spring MD 20860. [Editor's note: Friends Peace Teams is now incorporated as a non-profit organization and headquartered in St. Louis, MO (http://friendspeaceteams.org/). The African Great Lakes Initiative (AGLI) was developed in 1999, followed by Peacemaking en Las Américas (PLA) which works with communities in Nicaragua, Honduras, El Salvador, Guatemala, Colombia, and Bolivia. FPT-Asia West Pacific (AWP) is the most recent initiative and since its origin in Indonesia has grown to work in Australia, Nepal, and the Philippines.].

through handwritten or typed letters by children as young as seven, then compiled in international Newsletters that go out to an inter-generational constituency. Every Quaker family, every Meeting can be part of these networks. Then there are the young who have access to computers and communicate by E-mail, making a whole new level of networking possible. However, we must never forget that the vast majority of people of all ages have no access to computers. The good old Universal Postal Union is still essential. It will continue to be important in the twenty-first century. So will travel, and face-to-face dialogue. The computer isn't much use in helping us to know one another in that which is eternal, the ultimate basis for all our intergenerational community building and peace and justice work.

Australia is on the threshold of a major new role in an ailing international system, with a unique geosocial environment that is attracting peace researchers, conflict resolvers, futures researchers, environmentalists and indigenous movements worldwide. Friends are an important part of each of these movements. What an opportunity to engage jointly with your young people in developing the pioneering activities that will make the twenty-first century more peaceful, more just, more fun to live in!

Australia could be the first country with a pre-teen and teenage member of every city council, every local citizen's committee, every state legislature and the national House of Parliament. Without continuing infusions of youthful insight we will never get to that peaceful twenty-first century!

We are in danger of missing these opportunities. We are so busy with our existing daily commitments, and they take all our energy. And how can we take time to work for something so different that we can't even imagine it?

Imagination is a key word here. Friends have some serious visioning work to do. To begin, let us take a little time right now to step into 2026, thirty years from now, in our imagination. Let us mentally experience a world in which humans of all ages learn, work, carry out civic activities, play together, create together, in a wonderful variety of shared spaces… What do those spaces look like?… Who is there?… What is going on?…

(Note that there are special nooks for age groups from young to old. Even in 2026 there are times when it is good to be with our own generation!).

What do we notice about earth, sky, bodies of water, growing things?… And buildings?… What are peoples' living arrangements?… What sort of economy is this?… How does community decision making take place? … Are we a more diverse society? … How are conflicts, differences managed?… How does learning take place, scientific exploration?… Where do the arts fit in?… How is the spiritual life nourished?… What is our Meeting doing? … From now on, from time to time, visit that future in your imagination. Give time to social daydreaming. It is our vision of the future that helps set our priorities, guides our action, in the present.

In closing I will remind you of the beautiful rainbow banner made by the children of Australia Yearly Meeting for the FWCC Triennial last year.

> And God said, "This is the sign of the covenant which I make between me and you and every living creature that is with you, for all future generations. I set my bow in the cloud, and it shall be a sign of the covenant between me and the earth." (Gen. 9: 12, 13)

That rainbow is also a sign of the covenant between you the adults and you the children and young people of Australia Yearly Meeting. Cherish that covenant, for it is the promise of a way to the future.

Part IV
Elise Boulding on Quaker Spirituality

Chapter 11
The Joy That Is Set Before Us (1956)

This article was originally presented as the conclusion of the 1956 William Penn Lecture, given by Elise Boulding on March 25 during Philadelphia Yearly Meeting. At the time she had five children aged one- to nine-years-old. It gives a glimpse of the inner spiritual life that informed her outer life and seems a fitting conclusion to this volume and serves as a segue to PAHSEP 09 which contains selections from her unpublished journals that cover the period from 1935 to 2008.[1]

For most of us, the great enemy of the Kingdom is *today*. The trap of dailiness catches us, and makes cowards of us all. For the train leaves for the office in five minutes; if the beds aren't made and the dishes washed now, the house will be a mess all day. The baby is crying for his bottle, nobody can find any clean underwear this morning, and within an hour the editor of the Meeting's Monthly Bulletin must have information about all the committee meetings to take place next month. It is not only that these things can't wait today; it is that the same things recur with the same immediate urgency day after day after day. It is not as if we could work up an extra burst of speed, finish our tasks for once and all, and then be free to do "God's work." The more we long to be doing other work, the more overwhelming the tasks of the present seem, until they sap our courage and our strength. Or we may respond to the pressure by a complete about-face, and come to feel that these tasks are, after all, the *only* ones that matter. Then we are in danger of finding all our security in our daily routine, and will fear anything that might change it.

Should we leave our daily tasks then? Should we leave the plow standing in the middle of the furrow to follow Him? There are some people whose special gifts require them to do just this, and no man should hinder them. But God does not call most of us away from the plow; He would rather have us shift bosses, since it is, after all, His acre, and start plowing the field for Him. St. Francis heard a voice

[1]This text was published as "The Joy That Is Set Before Us", in: *Friends Journal* 2(15): 228–229, April 14, 1956. Copyright © 1956 Friends Publishing Corporation. Reprint permission granted 7 July, 2015. To subscribe: www.friendsjournal.org.

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before the crucifix at St. Damian's saying, "Francis, go, repair my house that thou seest is all in ruins"—and he walked out of the shop where he had been selling cloth for his father, never to return. Brother Lawrence saw a vision of God's Providence in a monastery kitchen washing dishes—in the presence of God. Each man, through the strength of his vision, was living as if the Kingdom were already here. Some men must change their work, like St. Francis; others must do for God's sake what they formerly did for their own, like Brother Lawrence. Many of us will find that we are called to one kind of service at one time of life, and another at a later time. Washing diapers and feeding young children commands by far the largest share of my life right now, but I know it will not always be so.

For those of us who know that it is right for us to stay where we are, is it possible to avoid the trap of dailiness? Can we transform our homes and offices into advance outposts of the Kingdom? In the moments of exaltation that come to us all, certainly. But day after day? You may say, "But that is expecting too much! These are very fine words, and we have used them ourselves occasionally, especially on Sunday morning in meeting for worship, but we can't really *do* this!" Friends, I have shared this reaction with you. But I have been having some "close, plain work" with myself in recent weeks on just this subject. I have gradually come to realize that I have been expecting far too little of myself. With the coming of the fifth baby, the usual sicknesses in the other children, and a major operation for one of them, all in one month, I have been getting more and more adept at making excuses for myself. I am too tired to be patient, too tired to pray, too tired to make our home "a place of friendliness, refreshment, and peace, where God becomes more real to all who dwell there and to those who visit it." And all the time that I have been telling myself this, I have been turning my back on the one Source of refreshment that I needed! If we keep our backs turned to God, His Kingdom gets to seem more and more unreal and impossible, and we come to expect less and less of ourselves in the way of service.

11.1 The One Thing Needful

I trust that I will never again be able to persuade myself that I am too tired to pray. For this, *this* is the one thing needful. We like to think of prayer as a free overflowing of the spirit, but there are times when it must be undertaken as an act of the will, a discipline in the strictest sense of the word. Religious temperaments differ, and I am not one of those who place great reliance on specific procedures and "steps" in the religious life. But turning to God in prayer is the one indispensable step. Only through prayer can our vision of His Kingdom come clear. The clearer it comes, the greater the strength, the greater the joy, the greater the spiritual release which will enable us to live here and now in such a way that the Kingdom can come to all mankind.

If there are things inside us that block our sight so that we cannot look upon the joy that God has set before us, it is through prayer that we can examine and gradually dissolve these obstacles, for God is the First and Last Counselor. Earthly counselors have their important place, too, but it is my experience that insights from

the psychiatrist's couch still have to be offered up to God in prayer before the real liberation of the imprisoned spirit can take place. In spite of all that can be said about the "God above God" and the ultimate impersonality of the universe, it is the God of the divine encounter, the personal God we meet in prayer, who touches, transforms, and liberates us. It is in Him that we must put our trust.

But we must also trust ourselves. In a world that specializes in props and supports, physical, psychological, and spiritual, and devices to make life easier, let us not be fooled into expecting too little of ourselves. If we keep our eyes turned toward the Kingdom, we will know that all things are possible in God's sight. Paradoxically, we must not expect too much, either. For even though we are faithful in prayer, there are periods of spiritual dryness which come to us all, periods when the inward obstacles loom very large indeed, and the Kingdom seems to recede. Madame Guyon experienced seven years of such dryness, when God seemed to withdraw His presence from her entirely.[2] "But taught by the great inward Teacher, she was enabled to perceive from the first, that it would not be safe for her to estimate either the reality or the degree of her religion by the amount of her happiness…. She did not seek joy, but God. God *first*, and what God sees fit to give, afterwards."

We must not *depend* on joy, then. It is set before us, as a fruit of the spirit, but we must *first seek the Kingdom*. When we are spiritually liberated to live as if the Kingdom were already here, as we surely will be if we are faithful in prayer and seeking, it will slowly move in upon us from the horizon. Our brothers who now stand frozen before the abyss will look across the abyss—in joy.

While yet we see with eyes, must we be blind?
Is lonely mortal death the only gate
To holy life eternal—must we wait
Until the dark portcullis clangs behind
Our hesitating steps, before we find
Abiding good? Ah, no, not that our fate;
Our time-bound cry "too early" or "too late"
Can have no meaning in the Eternal Mind.
The door is open, and the Kingdom here—
Yet Death indeed upon the threshold stands
To bar our way—unless into his hands
We give our self, our will, our heart, our fear.
And then—strange resurrection!—from above
Is poured upon us life, will, heart, and love.[3]

[2]Editor's note: Jeanne-Marie Bouvier de la Motte-Guyon, commonly known as Madame Guyon (1648–1717) was a French mystic. She was imprisoned from 1695 to 1703 after publishing a book titled, *A Short and Easy Method of Prayer*.

[3]Sonnet XXVI, the concluding sonnet in *There is a Spirit: The Naylor Sonnets* by Kenneth Boulding (New York: Fellowship Publications, 1945).

About Elise Boulding

Dr. Elise Boulding (1920–2010) was a sociologist, pacifist, feminist and scholar who wrote extensively about conflict resolution in both personal and global relations. She was born in 1920 in Oslo, Norway and moved to the United States of America with her family at age three. In 1941, Elise Biorn-Hansen married the economist, Kenneth Boulding. Together, they created a family that spanned four generations with five children sixteen grandchildren and nine great-grandchildren. Despite the extensive responsibilities that Elise Boulding had as a wife, a mother, and a grandmother, she still managed to make time for extensive academic study and peace work. Elise Boulding is noted for her active role in many peace and research oriented groups. She was influential in the work of the *Women's International League for Peace and Freedom* (WILPF), the *International Peace Research Association* (IPRA), and the *Consortium on Peace Research Education and Development* (COPRED—now Peace and Justice Studies Association), to name a few of the many orginizations she provided leadership to. Furthermore, her service on the board of the United Nations University and the International Jury of the UNESCO Prize for Peace Education has helped to further international efforts toward including peace education in curricula around the globe. In 1990, Boulding was nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize for her work on nonviolence and conflict resolution. A few of the many honors and awards that she received include the Rocky Mountain Peace Center's first Peace Maker of the Year award in 1996 and the Ikeda Center for Peace, Education and Dialogue's first Global Citizen Award in 1995. Elise Boulding was a former University of Colorado at Boulder professor as well as a professor emerita of Sociology at Dartmouth College. After retiring from Dartmouth College in 1985 she lived in Boulder with her husband Kenneth, remaining active together until he died in 1993. In November 1996, she moved to Wayland, MA, to live near her daughter Christie and in 2000

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moved to the North Hill Retirement Community in Needham, MA. While living in the Boston area she was active in many organizations and continued to publish articles and books. Elise Boulding made significant contributions in the fields of peace research, peace education, peacemaking, future studies, feminism, the sociology of the family and had a lifelong involvement in the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers) which she joined in 1940 at the age of 20. She advocated for the greater inclusion of women at the highest levels of diplomacy. She argued that strong families and the early education of children in nonviolent problem-solving were significant assets in humanity's defense against a trigger-happy future. She delineated the importance of nongovernmental organizations in creating cross-cultural communities that mitigate the belligerent effects of national rivalries. She pleaded for the greater consideration of and respect for the cultures of third world and primitive societies. She promoted environmentalism as a precept that gave individuals a stake in the perpetuation of a peaceable planet. And she pointed out time and again that though the world's attention was most often focused on humankind's penchant for conflict and violence, an equivalent, perhaps even more powerful, penchant for peaceable behavior existed in human beings as well. Books by Elise Boulding the made significant contributions to a variety of fields include *The Underside of History: A View of Women Through Time* (1976, revised 1992); *Women in the Twentieth Century World* (1977); *Children's Rights and the Wheel of Life* (1978); *Building a Global Civic Culture: Education for an Independent World* (1988); and *Cultures of Peace: The Hidden Side of History* (2000).

Website: http://afes-press-books.de/html/PAHSEP_Elise_Boulding.htm.
Her archives are at: https://lib-ebook.colorado.edu/sca/archives/eboulding.pdf.

About the Editor

J. Russell Boulding, the oldest son of Elise and Kenneth Boulding, has worked most of his life as a free-lance environmental consultant. Since 1973, when he helped set up the Environmental Defense Fund's Denver Office, he has worked on projects funded by the U.S., Environmental Protection Agency, U.S. Department of Energy (including Argonne and Sandia National Laboratories), U.S. Department of the Interior, U.S. Office of Technology Assessment, National Academy of Sciences, Council of Energy Resource Tribes, and numerous national, regional and local environmental organizations and citizens' groups.

Mr. Boulding has a B.A. in Geology (1970) from Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio, and an M.S. in Water Resources Management (1975) from the University of Wisconsin/Madison. He is author of more than 200 books, chapters, articles and consultant reports in the areas of environmental site characterization, soil and ground-water contamination assessment, fate and transport of hazardous chemicals, mined land reclamation, natural resource management and energy, economic and regulatory policy analysis. A number of his publications are available at: https://independent.academia.edu/RussellBoulding. His familiarity with Elise Boulding's work extends beyond observing it as one of her children. In 1973 when Kenneth and Elise Boulding and Guy Burgess were developing the course *The Social System of the Planet Earth* (Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley), he helped flesh out the character of Exoc, the Extraterrestrial intelligence that was used as a literary device to help students shift their perspective on the topic they were studying. He also compiled the list of science fiction readings for the first assignment in the class. When his father died in 1993 he prepared Kenneth Boulding's papers and publications and initial donation of Elise Boulding's papers to University of Colorado Archives. In 2009 he prepared the second donation of Elise Boulding's papers and

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publications to the University of Colorado Archives when she moved from her apartment to the Skilled Nursing Facility at North Hill Retirement Community in Needham, MA.

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