

CULTURES OF PEACE

The Hidden Side of History

NOTICE
This material may be
protected by copyright
law (Title 17, U.S. Code)

Elise Boulding

With a Foreword by Federico Mayor



Syracuse University Press

Peaceful Societies and Everyday Behavior

LET US BEGIN by remembering that there is no such thing as a conflict-free society. Conflict is ubiquitous. That ubiquity stems from the basic fact of human individuality and difference in the context of limited physical and social resources. Conflict itself should not be confused with violence, which is taken here to mean the intentional harming of others for one's own ends. The differences in wants, needs, perceptions, and aspirations among individuals and among groups, stemming from individual uniqueness, require a constant process of conflict management in daily life at every level from the intrapersonal (each of us has many selves), to the family and the local community, and on to the international community. What keeps this unceasing process of conflict from degenerating into the war of each against all is the equally ubiquitous need of humans for one another, for the social bonding and nurturance without which no society could function. From this perspective, there is no society without significant elements of peaceableness.

Hans Hass has undertaken a remarkable documentation of the universality of human responsiveness to other humans.¹ Traveling around the world with his camera, he has photographed a series of expressive human gestures—smiling, greeting with glad surprise (eyebrows raised), comforting another in grief by having the griever's head resting on the comforter's shoulder, reaching out to protect a child in danger—in settings as far apart as Kenya, Samoa, and France. In cultures that practice disciplined control over such expressive gestures, one finds their fullest expression in children who have not yet learned the discipline.

Hass points out that children learn early how much a smile can do. Why do we humans smile so much? "Because we are not, basically, unfriendly

An earlier version of this chapter appeared as "Peace Behaviors in Various Societies" in *From a Culture of Violence to a Culture of Peace* (Paris: UNESCO, 1996), 31–54.

creatures. Thus our smile is a means of eliciting contact readiness with others and of conveying our accessibility to contact."² A smile serves as a social bridge builder.

This universal need for bonding can be thought of as the key to the survival of the human species. It is what draws humans toward negotiating with one another in the face of conflicting interests, needs, and perceptions, whether in settings of family, neighborhood, workplace, or public institutions. The very existence of war and social violence, however, tells us that negotiation is not the only response to conflict. In fact, we may think of responses to conflict as falling on a conflict-management continuum from destruction of the adversary through a range of mediating-negotiating behaviors to complete union with the other.

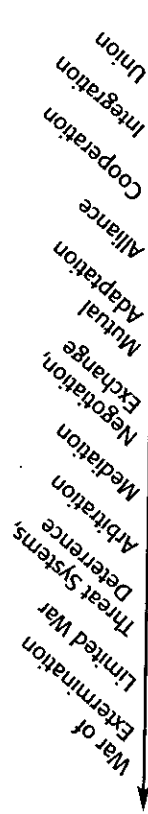


Fig. 1. The Conflict Continuum

Peaceful Behavior in Everyday Life: Cultural Concepts

Some societies tend toward the aggressive end of the conflict management continuum in their behaviors, others toward the integrative, with many societies falling somewhere in the middle. The historical reasons why different groups pattern their responses to conflict differently lie beyond the scope of this chapter, but we have already noted in chapter 1 that former warrior societies have been known to change and adopt more peaceable ways. We have also noted that warrior societies of the past have all had images of living in peace. The wars of ancient China did not prevent Chang Huen-Chu from writing: "Heaven is the father and Earth is the mother . . . wherefore all included between Heaven and Earth are one body with us and in regard to our dispositions, Heaven and Earth should be our teachers. The People our brothers and we are united with all things."³ This theme of being kin with all peoples and with earth itself is rooted in a basic experience of the social bonds of kinship and intergroup alliances and the need for mutual aid systems in order to survive, whether in inner cities or on over-stressed farmlands. The peaceful elements of religious teachings strengthen that social bonding. The women's culture also strengthens that bonding, sharing with the religious culture a pri-

mary-level responsibility for the well-being of a people. Women's cultures everywhere are an important source of the work of nurturance of a society; a reservoir of experience and knowledge in the bearing and rearing of children; in the healing of the sick; in the growing, processing, and actual serving of food; and in the providing of clothing and shelter. Traditionally, women have had the more difficult role in marriage partnerships through the widespread practice of the woman's moving to the male partner's community and being expected to serve as communication channel and conflict resolver when differences between the communities arise. It is very often, therefore, women who have had the most experience in doing the background work for negotiation and mediation.

The role of infants and young children in the gentling of the human species is often understated. Adults everywhere tend to respond to infants with smiles and modulated voices. Watching small children discover with delight the most ordinary and humdrum items of daily existence literally refreshes adults, as does seeing children at play, creating a wondrous imaginary world that has no purpose but itself.

Through most of human history people have lived in rural settings and in small-scale societies. Just as each familial household develops its own problem-solving behavior, so each social group has developed its own strategies of conflict resolution over time, uniquely rooted in local culture and passed on from generation to generation. Similarly, each society has its own fund of adaptability, built on the knowledge of local environment and life-world and the historical memory of times of crisis and change. Such knowledge and experience are represented in familial households as they are organized into communities. The knowledge is woven into religious teachings, into the music, poetry, and dancing of ceremonies, celebrations, and play. It is present in women's culture, in the world of work, in traditional decision-making assemblies, in environmental lore, and in the memory of the past. These are the hidden peacebuilding strengths of every society.

As societies become more complex and elites become differentiated from "common people," center-periphery problems based on mutual ignorance develop. Elites not only cease to share locally based knowledge but cease literally to share a common language with locals. Traditional conflict resolution methods then break down, and new ones are slow to develop during prolonged periods of transition. Since in this last decade of the twentieth century there are only 188 states in the world and "10,000 societies"⁴—ethnic, religious, and cultural groups with significant historical identity—this breakdown of communication and lack of common conflict management practices

between ethnicities and the larger states of which they are a part is one of the major problems contributing to current levels of intrastate as well as interstate violence. Rediscovery of the hidden strengths of local cultures is one important aspect of peace building for this painful transitional period in contemporary history.

Given the diversity of negotiation and conflict-resolving behaviors that go on every day in every household and every community in the 188 states of the present international order, how can everyday peace behavior be illustrated? This will be handled here in two ways. First, the character and dynamics of everyday peace behavior will be highlighted by choosing societies that set a high value on peaceableness and examining how they go about their conflict management/avoidance interactions as adults and how they train their children to such behavior.⁵ Next, we will take a look at peace behaviors to be found in societies in general, common elements underlying wide differences in cultural patterns. The advantage of beginning with societies that are known to be peaceful is that this approach offers behavioral specificity. It highlights the strategies and skill-based nature of peaceful behavior and its dependence on an explicit set of values about nonaggression. Only after that will we go on to see how families in every society, in fact, give some degree of skill training to children to achieve the accepted norms of conflict resolution behavior, whatever they may be. This is the basic process of socialization at work.

In this pursuit of local strengths in peaceableness, we will examine peace behaviors in two types of societies that are alive and functioning at the present time: (1) small preindustrial societal groups that maintain a distinctive identity and yet also have some degree of contact with the larger world and its urban centers and (2) interfaith Irish and North American Anabaptist "peace church" communities that function actively within industrial core societies but have distinctive lifeways that mark them as separate subcultures within those societies.

The Behavioral Dynamics of Peaceableness in Selected Contemporary Societies

The societies selected here set a high value on nonaggression and noncontentiousness and therefore handle conflict by a variety of nonviolent means. The four tribal societies to be examined are the Inuit of the Canadian part of the circumpolar North, the Mbuti of the northeastern rainforests of Central African Zaire, the Zuni of the desert Southwest of the United States, and the mountain-dwelling Arapesh of New Guinea. Each has a distinct and sensitive

relationship with its bioregion. Each has distinctive ways of childrearing that produce distinctive adult behavior, but they vary in the degree to which these skills are conflict-suppressing or conflict-resolving, and in the degree to which the skills are based on a strongly dichotomous ingroup-outgroup way of thinking in relation to neighboring peoples. Where there is a strong dichotomous sense, people are free to be aggressive with outsiders and are expected to be peaceful only in their own community. Where attitudes are more inclusive of other peoples, peaceful behavior is extended to outsiders.

The Inuit

The Inuit live in the circumpolar North, spread out from eastern Siberia through Greenland and Canada to Alaska. They survive a harsh and unforgiving winter cold through cooperation and social warmth, a warmth that extends to the baby animals that children bring home from the icy outdoors to cuddle. Violence and aggression are under strong social prohibition. The social values are centered on (1) *isuma*, which involves rationality, impulse control, thinking problems through calmly and being able to predict consequences of behavior, and (2) *nallik*, which is love, nurturance, protectiveness, concern for others' welfare and total suppression of hostility.

The distinctive childrearing that produces these rational, compassionate, controlled adults revolves around what Briggs calls *benevolent aggression*.⁶ This involves an unusual combination of warm affection for infants and a complex kind of teasing that creates fear in children and then teaches them to laugh at their fears. The title of one of Briggs's studies, "Why Don't You Kill Your Baby Brother?" suggests the extremes to which teasing goes, seen from a Western perspective. That it works—in the sense that it produces people with both *isuma* and *nallik*, and a remarkably peaceful society—I would ascribe to the fact that young children are far more socially perceptive, far more sophisticated in their assessment of social situations, than adults usually give them credit for and that they very early figure out what is going on and learn to respond creatively.⁷ Although it is a tricky kind of socialization that one can imagine going wrong with some individuals, it does make children self-reliant problem solvers with a well-developed sense of humor, who are affectionate and acutely aware of the disciplined anger-control processes going on inside themselves and others. Girls and boys get the same type of socialization, and Inuit men and women are equally resourceful. There is also a parallel process of much fondling of infants and baby arctic animals, much food sharing and communal eating, much laughter and playfulness. This unusual combination of affection and teasing seems to lead to a high level of

conflict awareness and an equally high level of skill in problem solving. The skill of handling conflict playfully, as in song duels (or drum matches) between offended parties, and other similar rituals, produces enjoyable public events rather than battles.

There is no basic we-they, in-out dichotomy, so the conflict management skills are in theory extendable to conflict with non-Inuits. Conflicts with less aware parties such as the Canadian government suggest limits to this. In recent years the Inuit have suffered much from forced government resettlement projects and now have their share of problems with unemployment and accompanying dysfunctional behavior. However, it is also noteworthy that an Inuit, Mary Simon, was chosen as Canada's first circumpolar ambassador. With her colleagues in the Council of Arctic Peoples she has shown the hidden strengths and resourcefulness of traditional Inuit culture by applying them to the protection of the fragile arctic environment and the creation of new spaces for reconstructed lifeways to enable Inuits to maintain a viable society.⁸

The Mbuti

The Mbuti are hunter/gatherer, rainforest-dwelling Pygmies in northeastern Zaire (now the Congo) who have long had periodic contact with Bantu villagers; they have been movingly described by Turnbull.⁹ The basis for their peacefulness is their relationship to the rainforest—their mother, father, teacher, and metaphoric womb. The family hut is also symbolically a womb. Children grow up listening to the trees, learning to climb them early so they can sit high above the ground, listening to wind and waving branches. Mbuti is a listening culture but also a singing and dancing culture, as adults and children sing to and dance with the trees. *Ekimi*, quietness, is highly valued, as opposed to *akami*, disturbance. This preference for quietness, harmony, is reinforced at every stage of life, yet does not preclude children's rough-and-tumble play and a lot of petty squabbling among adults, which tends to be controlled by ridicule. Although children are slapped to control forbidden activities and nuisance behavior, they are also taught interdependence and cooperation. Adults seem to enjoy horseplay and noisy dispute. Semihumorous "sex wars" in which men and women line up for a tug-of-war between the sexes serve as tension dissipaters—the tugs-of-war break up with much laughter. They are also an indication of the companionable equality between women and men. Most groups have a "clown," one person whose antics also help keep conflicts from getting out of hand. For all the squabbling, disagreements rarely get serious.

The contrast between the forest as womb and the love of the silences of the forest, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, the frequency of arguing and the use of joking and ridicule to keep it under control, is an interesting one. The Mbuti themselves value "letting it all hang out" (in modern parlance), not letting conflicts fester. There seems to be a nature-based social equilibrium here, based on a combination of listening, singing, dancing, and squabbling that is not easy for Westerners to understand.

The Mbuti, like the Inuit, have faced a modernizing national government that is destroying their environment and requiring adaptation to the limit of their capability. Worse, their forest home is being overrun by soldiers and guerrillas. Nevertheless, the Mbuti "we" is an inclusive *we*. This suggests potential for some degree of long-term survivability as they link with other rainforest peoples in the new transnational indigenous peoples networks, but the destruction of their lifeways as a by-product of widespread civil wars in the Great Lakes region of Africa is a very serious threat.¹⁰

The Zuni

The Zuni live in the arid mountain canyon country of western New Mexico in the United States, many of them on a Zuni Indian reservation. A matrilineal society noted for its peaceful lifeways, its arts and crafts, and its antipathy to overt violence, the Zuni are well known through the writings of Ruth Benedict.¹¹ As with the Mbuti, the love of harmony is based on a sense of oneness with nature and a sense of place, yet that love of harmony does not preclude habits of gossip and quarreling.

The war gods that once ensured tribal survival in a period of warfare are now thought to be channeling their sacred energy into the peaceful well-being of the Zuni. Earlier ingroup-outgroup attitudes that kept the warfare going are no longer salient. The culture devalues authority, leadership, and individual success. No one wants to stand out. There are rituals for sharing, for healing, for conflict resolution, which help children to learn appropriate group behavior. Problem-solving skills are highly developed but without any counterpoint of individualism. There is continued skill transmission of the remarkable environmental knowledge that enabled a rich Zuni culture to develop in a very arid environment, including traditional agriculture and irrigation practices that are only now coming to be understood by Westerners as representing a very sophisticated technology.

Children, after a very permissive nurturant infancy, are disciplined by masked demons who make an appearance to scold them for fighting. Sudden withdrawals of goodies by adults prepare children for social obedience and

nonaggressive behavior. Zuni youth therefore do not respond well to the incentives to individual achievement and competition in use by Anglo teachers in Zuni schools, although group performance levels are high. The economic, social, and political influence the Zuni have been exposed to in the past half century have heavily stressed the Zuni value system and have increased local conflict levels. However, the traditional Zumi skills of cooperation are reasserting themselves in very interesting tribal development, including the launching of a comprehensive Sustainable Development Plan built on a combination of traditional knowledge of the desert environment and new scientific knowledge, which it is hoped will initiate a renaissance of the Zumi way of life.¹²

The Arapesh

The mountain-dwelling Arapesh are one of the many tribes living in the highly diverse archipelago of New Guinea, an area divided by successive colonial occupations and now consisting of independent Papua New Guinea and an Indonesian-claimed province, West Irian. Much has changed since Margaret Mead's study of them in 1930,¹³ so it should be noted that it is the 1930s Arapesh being described here. These people had in common with the North American Zuni a distaste for standing out, a preference for conformity, and a rejection of violence in the community. This rejection, however, was accompanied by actual hostility towards outsiders, and little emphasis on dealing with conflicts in a problem-solving way.

Arapesh children grow up experiencing cooperation as the key mode of life. All tasks are group tasks. Any one household will plant many yam gardens, each with a different group of households. (We now know that this represents a very sophisticated adaptation to a region with great diversity in soil quality and many microclimates at different altitudes in a bewildering variety of microecosystems. Spreading the risk of poor crop yields over many garden plots planted in different locations at different times during the year ensures that there will be some food at all times.)

For the children, every person in the village is thought of as a relative. Everyone is to be trusted, shared with, loved—children are tent about in a world filled with parents. Children are taught to express anger without hurting anyone and are never allowed to hit a person. This means that conflict is not addressed. The only need for leadership is for ceremonial feasts. The person chosen to be a feast giver (someone already recognized as having regrettable but useful aggressive tendencies) gets special training for his role by the

community and has a feast-exchanger partner in a neighboring clan. This is the one accepted competitive relationship, and competition between feast givers from different clans can be fierce and aggressive. The feast giver does not, however, enjoy his role (at least is not supposed to) and is allowed to retire into gentleness when his oldest son reaches puberty. Although feast givers are generally men, there is a minimum of sex-role differentiation or dominance patterns. There are, however, certain culturally allocated specializations. Color painting, for example, is done only by men.

The major negative factor in the society is fear of sorcery, which is thought to come from outside enemies who have somehow gotten hold of an individual's personal "dirt." Even nature-caused crop failures are thought of as sorcery-induced. There are no gradations in social relations—only friends (insiders) and enemies (outsiders). The Arapesh, thus left without any patterns for incorporating the other, the different, the stranger, into their lives, are very vulnerable in the turbulent struggles between tribes, against present and former colonial authorities, and against powerful mining companies destroying mountain environments through open-pit copper and gold mining.

In the four peace-valuing societies we have looked at so far, we have seen a pattern of bottom-line nurturance and sharing behavior experienced from childhood. Sex-role differentiation has been minimal. However, there has been considerable variation in the ways conflict is managed, from avoidance and suppression, as among the Zuni and Arapesh, to acknowledgment of and socialization for managing conflict, was with the Inuit and Mbuti. But all the societies, at the times their behavior was recorded, were living in relative isolation from the urban and industrial centers of their respective countries. Now we turn to two cultures located within politically modernized states; the rural Irish of Northern Ireland and the Anabaptist cultures of the historic peace churches in the United States, both rural and urban.

The Rural Northern Irish

Some of the rural communities of Ulster exemplify the possibility of non-violence emerging from violence. The extremes of physical aggression experienced in urban areas are rejected by both contending parties—Catholic and Protestant—in some rural areas. In the communities described in Bonta's collection of studies, the Protestants have abandoned their former "superior" socioeconomic statuses for a more egalitarian stance *vis-à-vis* the Catholics, and communities of both faiths work very hard at developing many joint activities.¹⁴ They deliberately form nonsectarian groups, so as to prevent

the religious polarization prevalent elsewhere in Ulster. They have very self-consciously chosen bridge building across cultural and religious differences. Joint activities for children and youth as well as adults are carefully planned. Hostile behavior is quickly dealt with in the interests of community harmony. Social, economic, and cultural functions that involve cooperation of Catholic and Protestant farmers and business people are given high priority, and people strongly value good-neighborly relations. When violence does occur, it is blamed on outsiders. While locally inclusive in their peacebuilding, they are threatened and vulnerable in the face of the larger-scale violence taking place in the region. The success of current negotiations in the 1990s between the two parts of Ireland and Britain may depend on the extent to which other areas are willing to accept peaceful interfaith communities as role models for relations on a larger scale.

The Anabaptist/Historic Peace Church Communities

Anabaptism has its roots in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century movements—partly originating in the Swiss Alps—to defy all outward authority (including infant baptism, which forcibly incorporated each newborn into the local religious power structure). These movements, described in chapter 3, produced a type of early-Christian pacifism as they spread through Europe. In the seventeenth century (and later), many of these Anabaptists migrated to the Americas in search of religious freedom and freedom from military service. The three main communities presently active in the Americas, known as the historic peace churches, are the Brethren, the Mennonites, and the Quakers. Other smaller communities include the Amish, the Doukhobors, the Moravians, and the Hutterites. We will focus here on the three major Anabaptist communities. Traditionally abstaining from political action because of their rejection of military service,¹⁵ they have nevertheless become increasingly involved in various types of public activity to remove social and economic injustice and to bring and end to war as an instrument of state policy. In the Second World War, the three faith communities in the United States cooperated to administer Civilian Public Service Camps for their own young men and other conscientious objectors as an alternative to military service.

All three communities hold to the testimonies of simplicity, gender and racial equality, and personal and social nonviolence, yet find themselves an increasingly urban and middle-class that stands in contrast to the communities' more rural origins. Their challenge is not only to develop strategies for living their witness; increasingly, in the twentieth century, they have sought to

find ways to work for their vision of a "peaceable kingdom" on earth and to rear their children to carry on efforts for social transformation of an increasingly violent larger society.¹⁶

The three faiths differ in degrees of hierarchical authority, with the Quakers as the most egalitarian, having no "hiring shepherds" (as ministers are traditionally referred to among Quakers).¹⁷ All three faiths stress democratic participation of all members, including women, and decision making at the local level. Quakers, however, in the absence of authority figures, developed a special consensus approach to decision making based on the "sense of meeting," as members sought divine guidance on what was to be done in the face of conflicting views of participating individuals. The refusal to use voting procedures and majority rule meant that decisions could not be taken until either all members reached agreement or dissenters were willing to "stand aside."¹⁸ What is particularly interesting about the consensus method is that it respects the presence of conflict and allows for the full airing of differences. It also depends on a disciplined spiritual maturity of members of the community, a common acceptance of collective inward illumination of the group, and great skill in intellectual discernment and interpersonal and intergroup communication. This is a tall order for any group, and therefore great importance is given to the religious education of the children of a Meeting. They must be prepared not only to carry on the consensus process within their Meeting but also to carry Friends' testimonies into the larger society in an active pursuit of social and economic justice and peace. Although consensus is specifically Quaker, the educational practices described here are also common among Mennonites and Brethrens.

Anabaptist testimonies begin in the home. While individual families certainly fall short of the ideal, spouse relations (based on a full and equal partnership) and parenting are taken seriously by both parents. An important part of parenting is the cultivation of the divine seed in each child, so times of silent worship in the home, as well as discussion and reading, help prepare children for their responsibilities. Explicit training in nonviolent responses to conflict and alternative ways of dealing with conflict are emphasized. Conflict suppression is not encouraged. Rather, children are urged to "work things out." All this is in the context of an affectionate family life and a nurturant local Meeting. "The chief enjoyment of Friends is connubial bliss," wrote an eighteenth-century observer of Quakers, and although divorce takes its toll in every religious community today, Anabaptist families on the whole have an enjoyable family life. On the other hand, Anabaptist adults—

children too—also carry a certain load of guilt. Given their acceptance of responsibility for peace and justice in the world but the reality of the huge gap between what any individual or family or Meeting can do and what is needed, guilt is inevitable. A healthy family and a healthy Meeting keep a sense of humor about this. Laughter is an important safety valve. So are imagination and skill in organizing useful local service projects that can absorb individual energies creatively.

An important institution in the local communities of all three faith groups is the Sunday School (by Quakers called the First Day School), where adults of the congregation do their best to supplement the work of the member families by preparing children and young people spiritually, intellectually, and in terms of social skills, specifically for peacemaking. Community history and the stories of Quaker, Mennonite, and Brethren heroes and heroines are an important part of this education.

While the forms of worship of the three faith communities are different, all three have a strong emphasis on family life, individual spiritual development, and training for social service and peacebuilding. All three have developed remarkable service bodies that do peacebuilding around the world, and Brethren and Mennonites are particularly strong in nonviolence training for their youth in preparation for giving a year or more of service in their own country or abroad. The Children's Creative Response to Conflict Program, now used in elementary and middle schools in a number of countries, was first developed by Quakers to help children deal with conflict.¹⁹ A similar program, Alternatives to Violence, was developed to prepare prisoners for life after prison. Each faith supports outstanding schools and colleges that educate young people who seek an active and participatory learning experience.

Because all three Anabaptist communities are committed to the work of social transformation towards peace and justice for all people, "enemy" concepts are not used nor is the language of fighting. There can be no enemies, only strangers with whom a relationship needs to be developed. Peacemaking is seen as building bridges across differences, finding solutions to the problems of all disputants in ways that injure none, and reframing disputes so common interests can be discovered.

The world sometimes overwhelms the sense of faith-based identity, and callings can weaken. Also, individuals can feel hopelessly compromised by the world they are trying to change. To deal with these problems, the three historic peace churches formed the coalition "New Call to Peacemaking" several decades ago in order to strengthen each other's resolve to carry on

peacemaking activities. Currently they jointly support the training and deployment of unarmed peace teams in situations of serious violence in Africa, Central and Latin America, and the Middle East.

Peace Behaviors that Can Be Found in Any Society

Microsocieties such as we have been examining, which take peace and nonviolence as primary organizing values of their lifeways, are rare in the closing years of the twentieth century. Most of humanity lives in societies marked by increasingly high densities of weaponry, from handguns to bombs to the terrorists of chemical and biological weapons. But underneath the layers of violence each society, without exception, has its peace behaviors, precious resources that can be available to help bring about new and gentler forms of governance locally and on a larger scale in the next century.

Where do we find these behaviors, these peace culture resources? In the recurring cycles, rhythms, and rituals of human celebration, with its feasting, singing, dancing, and sharing of gifts. In the reproductive cycles of human partnering, of birthing, of family maintenance as the years go by, and the completion of dying—in the cycles that bind people together across kin groups. In the succession of woundings and healings of human bodies as they move through life's dangers in those cycles. In the labor to produce sustenance from the earth. In the daily round of trade, the barter and exchange of goods and services. And, perhaps most wonderful of all, in human play—the playing of games, the play of artistic creation, the play of the mind in the pursuit of knowledge. Let us explore each in turn.

Partnering and Reproduction

The familial household is the most adaptive of human institutions, expanding and contracting through history according to changing social conditions from individual units consisting of a single person or a couple to the 200-person multifamily commune, the *frèreche* or *zadruga* common in parts of medieval Europe, or the monastic households of monks or nuns. Different social patterns develop in different times and places. While the human capacity to love is not necessarily the basis for partnering, that capacity to love mellows many a marital companionship over time, whatever the nature of the original marriage arrangements. The newborn infant depends on that capacity to love for survival; for the little ones that do survive, love can multiply as mothers and infants interact. Love can multiply as fathers and infants in-

teract too, and it is noteworthy that in all the peaceful cultures described earlier in this chapter, fathers played an active role in parenting the young. Infants and children have a gentling effect on adults everywhere, as the Hass photographs show, but this gentling effect can be enhanced or reduced by childrearing customs. There are societies where fathers ignore children until they reach the age of six or so, and then suddenly reach in to remove little boys from their all-women's world and put them in an all-men's world, to be raised to be fierce and manly. The attention that fathers give to their sons under these conditions hardly has a gentling effect on either generation.

How some societies become harsh and punitive, or withdrawn and fearful, rather than peaceful and trusting is beyond the scope of this chapter. However, one significant step toward a gentling society is the creation of social arrangements that provide for both parents to spend more time with infants and small children. Another is giving skill training in handling interpersonal conflicts, again as we have seen in the societies already examined. Such training has a multiplier effect on peaceableness in a society, since the interpersonal skills learned in families are then used in the community as well. The limits to the skills of diplomacy and negotiation exercised at the intergroup and international levels are set by each society in the family arena where they are first learned.²⁰

Production and Sustenance

In societies where nature is both parent and teacher, where a close attunement to the environment patterns the ways of obtaining food and other resources, the skills of listening to nature and the skills of listening to fellow humans are closely related. Because nature is unpredictable, human interdependence and resource sharing means survival in times of drought, flood, or earthquake. Finding ways to make that interdependence a visible reality in complex societies where rich and poor do not interact, and finding ways to listen to the natural environment on city streets, is a challenge for the inhabitants of industrialized states—and a challenge that peace activists accept. They are constantly seeking ways to dramatize the reality of human interdependence for the basic necessities of life.²¹

Celebration and Ritual

Celebrations are the play life of a society, occasions for embodying the experienced beauty of both inner and outer lifeworlds in song, dance, poetry, and the creation of symbolic imagery. They are also occasions for reaffirma-

tion of identity and social values.²² At their best, feasting and gift giving emphasize sharing and reciprocity, a sense of the community as one family. When sharing and gift giving have a character of spontaneity and exuberance, and singing and dancing are freely and widely participated in, then celebration is a powerful reinforcement of peaceful and caring community relations. It becomes a time of letting go of grudges, of reconciliation among persons whose relations may have become strained. To the extent that there is a clearly defined articulated basis for the celebration, patterned in ritual, it also becomes a reconnection with creation itself, a reminder of the oneness of the cosmos and all living things. It becomes a time for the making of vows to undertake difficult tasks to serve the community. Celebrations mark the rites of passage from birthing to childhood to puberty to adulthood. They mark wounding and healing, and they mark dying. They also mark the great historical moments of the remembered past, and the great traumas.

The quality of the peace culture in any given society can be found in its art forms. The visual, the kinetic, and the aural arts are interpenetrating expressions of the joys, sorrows, and spiritual intuitions of humans as they participate in the lifeworlds of the planet and beyond. Art forms that enhance the capacity of the human senses for experiencing and relating to those lifeworlds are part of the very core of a society's peace culture. Art forms that constrict the capacity to relate to those lifeworlds reflect, on the other hand, a culture of violence.

In short, when celebrations lose their playfulness, when art forms constrict the capacity for relationship, when gift giving becomes carefully calibrated exchange, when performing becomes competitive, then they lose their character of replenishing the human spirit and are a poor source for general peaceableness.

The role of religious belief and practices in building the habits of peace in daily life has already been discussed. When those religious rituals that emphasize a loving, forgiving God and loving and forgiving relations among humans are given primacy, when women and men are seen as partners with equal voices in a community of faith that seeks social and economic justice for all people, and children learn nonviolence, then religious practices and rituals will contribute to peace. Yet most contemporary societies have a diversity of religious communities, including some that emphasize holy war and strong exercise of patriarchal authority. It can certainly not be said that all religious groups will be oriented towards peacemaking.

Trade and Exchange

The words "nurturance" and "caring" have been used a great deal in this chapter. It must be recognized, however, that nurturance and caring do not have to characterize all social interactions in order for them to be regarded as contributing to social peace. The establishment of trade relations with neighboring and more distant social groups contributes to the mutual well-being of participants when each has something the other wants—even in the absence of other elaborating behaviors (as in the famous anthropological examples of silent trade). What is necessary is that each party see the exchange as fair and reasonable, as mutually beneficial. In fact, much gift giving is actually exchange in this sense, as Mauss makes clear.²³ Sahlins points out that the practice of trade became a creative alternative to simply raiding one's neighbors—a habit that, unfortunately, can easily lead to more or less continual warfare.²⁴ By the same token, trade has a quality of fragility about it—if either party is dissatisfied, there is always the possibility of reverting to war. Ceremonial gift giving lies at a point somewhere between the trade that is a substitute for war and more spontaneous sharing.

The line between ceremonial gift giving, which is a periodic redistribution of wealth that keeps a certain balance over time of giving and receiving, and gifts given more spontaneously and without mental calculation about future benefits is impossible to draw, and the effort probably makes no sense. A response of spontaneous gratitude on the part of the recipient of a gift may also have incalculable value and be considered in itself a return "gift." The fact that we speak of "exchanging gifts" at certain holiday seasons suggests that, for the most part, some degree of exchange is assumed in gift giving. In fact it is worth noting that marketplaces often have an air of festivity about them even when all transactions are apparently commercial. What actually happens in many situations involving human exchanges, whether of service or goods, is that a reciprocity multiplier effect is at work.²⁵ Each person throws in a little extra for "good measure," whether the extra quarter-ounce of meat on the butcher's scale or a warm smile to the clerk at the checkout counter. It is the reciprocity multiplier effect that ensures that trade will further continuing goodwill among the parties involved and helps them deal resourcefully with conflicts when they do arise.

Play of the Imagination

Celebrations have been referred to as society at play. But play by its very nature performs a serious creative function for each community, as Huizinga has pointed out.²⁶ Taking place outside the realm of everyday life, play nevertheless creates boundaries, rules, and roles ("let's play house—you be the daddy and I'll be the mommy"), and structures spaces within which children can create their own realities in fantasy. Mary Reilly emphasizes the importance of play in learning nonviolence and self-control.²⁷ Watching infant monkeys at play, she comments on "the conversion of aggression into social complexity" as the monkeys learn control over their movements in the course of rough-and-tumble activity. When children's rough-and-tumble play dissolves into tears because a child is hurt, the same learning can take place.

The fact that play space is also space in which children can practice grown-up activities does not take away from the fact that play is done *for its own sake*, "for fun." This makes "playing" important for adults, who tend to be excessively tense and serious about many of their activities. Competitive sports and spectator games may work against the spontaneity of play, for both players and watchers, but the rudiments of play survive as the popularity of spectator sports suggests. Yet there are other, less obvious forms of play. Some are highly developed: the mind at play in science; "the muse" at play creating poetry, music, painting, sculpture; the body at play in song, dance, and drama. Play goes on at the grassroots level in the folk culture of each society, and it goes on among the elites as well, but the play of each tends to take separate forms in terms of style, language, and content. It is time to rediscover all the different forms of play, including artistic and scientific play, and find ways to release them into a shared celebration of play in public spaces. We cannot ignore that some art, and some sports, have become so violent that they have lost their character of play. The recovery of play as fun, a basic heritage of every society, is the best answer to that violence.

One way to think about play is that it allows the imagination to fantasize alternatives to everyday reality. These alternatives may be thought of as images of possible futures. A society that encourages the play of the mind encourages the exploration of other and better ways of ordering life ways. We have already mentioned Polak, the Dutch historian who discovered through his macrohistorical studies that societies tended to be empowered by positive images of the future. The visions themselves could act as magnets, drawing forth