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Keynote Papers

Development on the Edge: Women's Struggles in Popular Education in Latin America

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I would like to give testimony to the history of women's movements and networks' struggles for the right to education with gender, economic, social and cultural justice.

This story is partly based on my activism throughout the last 35 years of work with women from popular sectors of Latin America and the Latin American and global networks of education and gender such as REPEM (*Red de Educación Popular entre Mujeres/Popular Education Network among Women*) and GEO (*Gender and Education Office of ICAE*).

An historical look at education

If we look back on the history of the last two centuries, we may be bewildered by the contradictions between rhetoric and action towards education. These contradictions can only be explained by a contextual analysis of the power relationships at a global level and the political will to implement proposals of local, regional and global development.

In most Latin American countries, independence took place in the first half of the XIX century. Between the middle and the end of the century nation-states were built, an independent development of colonial powers was argued for and liberal constitutions were approved.

Let us look at some historical flashes to exemplify the 'stops and starts' in the snaky path of education for all:

1874

In Uruguay, the Common Education Act was passed; education was acknowledged as a right and as compulsory and free throughout the entire Republic.

Jose Pedro Varela, the author of the act and of Education of the People, was particularly concerned about three objectives:

- Education is essential to create a responsible citizenship
- Women's education
- Teachers' training and formation

He saw education as enabling the construction of a modern state and a national identity.

2000

Dakar's goal number 2¹ (Education For All (EFA)) and the Millennium Development Goals (MDG's) goal number 2 says:

that by 2015 all children..... have access to complete and free primary education.

2004

The EFA Global Monitoring Report for 2005² says:

Universal and primary education, the number of children without schooling is decreasing but too slowly to achieve the goal for 2015.

1870 / 1940

The feminist suffragette movement developed. This movement worked enthusiastically for girl's education.

1893

New Zealand was the first country to grant the right to vote to women.

1929/1961 in Latin America

Women had to fight to be citizens.

In Latin America, women's access to higher education, allowed first, to intellectually question – generally from the positivism's theory – why women were denied the right to vote followed by the elaboration of political equality projects" (*Line Bareiro, 2000*)

2000

Dakar's goal number 5 and MDG's goal number 3:

to promote gender equality and women's empowerment.

Although in Latin America there is equal access to primary education today, in many countries around the world there are still difficulties to achieve equal access to primary education.

¹ The World Education Forum (Dakar, Senegal, April 2000), where the Dakar Framework for Action, which committed to achieving Education for All goals, was adopted. See http://www.unesco.org/education/efa/wef_2000/index.shtml

² See www.efareport.unesco.org for the full text of the report

2005

Goal number 5 - EFA Global Monitoring Report for 2005: Gender.

Although many countries around the world have made significant progress towards gender parity at primary and secondary level, over the past decade, large gaps remain, particularly in the Arab States, Sub-Saharan Africa and South and West Asia.

1954

In a lost place on the border between Uruguay and Brazil, called La Mina, an experience of basic education in the rural area, was developed under the sponsorship of UNESCO. Basic education incorporates both child and adult education. It is about identifying people's problems, believing that people have to be educated to understand their problems and to be able to overcome them with their resources. This initiative had to cover men, women and children. The school was a center that energized educational processes and cared about health, literacy and basic education. This experience was aborted by the conservative governments, some years later, because people started to think, using their minds, and this was not convenient for local politicians.

1996

The Delors Report³, goes deeper into this vision of education as:

A process of forming whole beings – their knowledge and aptitudes, as well as the critical faculty and ability to act. It should enable people to develop awareness of themselves and their environmental and encourage them to play their social work and in the community” (Delors, p.21)

Local and global education networks

The global and local examples above serve to highlight some of the difficulties faced as well as to question the progress of our struggles.

Within this framework of contradictory relationships between local governance and the global governance complex, I will share with you the story of how two gender and education networks, one regional (REPEM), another one global (GEO), have complemented each other to exert influence on the promotion of public policies for an education with gender justice.

This collaboration implied several challenges:

To be able to influence:

- The ‘adult education world’
- The world of women and feminism
- Social movements
- Decision makers

Networks have been an especially important tool in this globalisation era, in terms of allowing civil society's movements and organizations to express themselves and act swiftly and fluently from local to global and vice versa, acting and thinking at all levels.

Paulo Freire's theory and practice of his ‘liberating’ education movement has had a huge influence on the fields of adult and popular education.

Quoting Jorge Osorio⁴:

This education was nurtured by the experiences of the popular movements (...). Popular education and its pedagogy of the oppressed gave cultural and ethical sustenance to popular mobilizations, while promoting an approach to a critical theory of the modernizing capitalism.”

In the decade of the ‘80s, with the end of southern dictatorships, the development of democracy and the emergence of new social movements, this critical thinking was nurtured by the very values of modernity: emancipation, democracy and social justice.

In the 1990s, the first Freiran utopia – a view of education as the possibility of building human communication – was returned to, and we began to build alliances among social movements.

REPEM: The building of a feminist popular education movement

From its beginning, REPEM aimed at strengthening the women's popular movement through the educational action nurtured by this Freiran proposal. From 1985 onwards we started to talk about the need to contribute to the definition of popular education among women, which would respond to women's needs and perspectives.

At that time, many popular educators were introduced to feminism through Latin-American Feminist Meetings. Feminists and popular educators met in Montevideo in 1986⁵ to debate the contribution of the feminist political theory to popular education.

³ *Learning, The Treasure Within*: Report to UNESCO of the International Commission on Education for the Twenty-first Century. See <http://www.unesco.org/delors/>

⁴ ‘Rebuilding the history of community education in Latin America’. Jorge Osorio is the current President of the Latin American Counsel for Adult Education (CEAAL)

⁵ Meeting on Popular Education and Feminism, Montevideo, 1986.

This was the foundation for the subsequent action of REPEM in the region. The popular educators' process was built in the light of the feminist theory and work was done on the personal discovery of feminism among popular educators. At the same time, this process of discovery operated as an engine that promoted the search for coherence between conceptual and procedural knowledge.

By the end of the 80s in REPEM we started acknowledging that we were building a feminist popular education movement. We have contributed to redefine the condition of women's generic identity in their organizational practice, while focusing on strengthening of women's autonomy. In this sense, we worked for the construction of a new women's culture, which, as a result, contributed to extend women's citizenship. From then on, we strived to go beyond women's spaces in order to influence the decision-making process, and build alliances with sensitive men.

Let's Work for a Human Non-Sexist Education

Bearing this concern in mind, in 1990 we launched the Campaign "Let's Work for a Human Non-sexist Education", which tended to highlight the need to recognize women and girls as subjects with a right to education with gender justice. This campaign was a first step to attract the attention to the meaning of the dichotomy equality/difference, which later on led us to reflect upon the dichotomy inclusion/exclusion.

At this time, during the UN Cycle of Social Conferences of the 90's, the Women's Caucus debated the proposal of gender equality and equity. The gender equality and equity proposal aimed at recovering the construction of the subject as an active part of the educational process. Following this proposal, we questioned current stereotypes and cultural patterns, unveiling the fact that conflict, democratization and the use and management of power are issues that for the most part were not present in the educational process, not even in its theoretical dimension.

The Campaign was sustained for 10 years and in this period we learned many lessons. Above all I would highlight the one I consider the most important: It was not sufficient to work on the line of the binomial equality/difference. We also need to look at other factors of discrimination.

Campaign for Non-Discrimination

So, in 2000, it was decided to continue but with the incorporation of other factors of discrimination.

This quote from Beatriz Cannabrava from Brazil illustrates the reason for this wider focus:

Together with natural differences that cannot be changed, there are inequalities that are created, which discriminate and are learned and transmitted from the moment of birth"

We then realized that in order to educate without discrimination it is necessary to raise awareness about discrimination present in daily life. We learn to discriminate in all spaces - in perpetuating the idea of the existence of human beings who are superior to other human beings, of men superior to women, of white people superior to black people, indigenous people, of rich people superior to poor people. We were clear that we had to go through a process of unlearning the discriminatory practices in formal and informal learning spaces. Blind-discrimination in education in its various forms and levels reinforces the notion of power and legitimizes discrimination and oppression, thus generating violence.

Advocacy

Another important lesson was that it was necessary to simultaneously influence several spaces: The UN space and the social movements, especially through the women's movement, the education movement, national governments and later on, the World Social Forum.

In the UN space, each conference implies a preparatory process at the local, regional and global level. This process includes the preparation of the documents, the review of the contents, the monitoring of government's fulfillment of prior agreements, as well as the language consecrated in previous conferences. The preparation implies building wider alliances among networks and movements and to exercise the right to a global citizenship through pro-positive advocacy.

We experienced that women's movement accumulation can contribute to solidarity among the social movements, as well as the construction of alliances with academic feminists, women from the multilateral and bilateral agencies, women in politics, and with the regional and global adult education networks, education trade unions and governmental actors, in several degrees of commitment.

This rich advocacy exercise was also permeated by difficulties and conflict.

World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance

There is one conference that especially deserves a closer analysis: The World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance, held in Durban, South Africa, 31 August – 7 September 2001.

This conference is important for us because it contributed to the development of one of the concepts we still work on: the concept of intersectionality⁶.

⁶ 'Intersectionality' is a concept that recognises that people may not experience discrimination solely based on their gender, but for a multiplicity of reasons including ages, disability, health status, race, ethnicity, caste, class, national origin and sexual orientation. An intersectional approach to analyzing the disempowerment of marginalised women attempts to capture the consequences of the interaction between two or more forms of subordination.

Centre for Women's Global Leadership, <http://www.cwgl.rutgers.edu/globalcenter/policy/bkgdbrfintersec.html>

At the regional level, our preparatory process was based, once more, on the generation of multiple learning instances, together with African-descendant and indigenous women. An advocacy guide was prepared in order to facilitate the participation of these women who had little experience in UN conferences.

At global level, during the preparatory process, we contributed, jointly with other networks, to develop concepts that were key to introduce the apparently missing gender issues. The following quote from Fanny Gomez (REPEM) illustrates this process:

In the preparatory process of the conference, the discussion was fueled with the concepts of discrimination, intersectionality of identities, and intersectionality of agendas; these concepts started to give a new content to the Campaign for Non-Discrimination.

In 1965, ICERD (International Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination) had a gender-blind concept of the discrimination term. This was modified in 2000, through the following declaration:

Racial discrimination does not always affect women and men equally or in the same way

The Division for the Advancement of Women (DAW) organized a meeting of gender and race experts to obtain common, clear and accurate language that would facilitate action and enable the acknowledgment of intersectionality in discrimination as well as the role of education in the prevention of discrimination. Thus, the discussion on the issue of intersection and the crossed connections between sex, gender, race and other identities that women carry, especially those vulnerable to some forms of discrimination and abuse, started to strengthen during the conference. In this way, intersectionality recovers multiple identities, condemns multiple discriminations and vindicates rights.

During the preparatory process for the conference, work was done in different Latin American countries not only with the women and men who are subject to discrimination but also with everyone else, including the national governments, because racism is everybody's problem.

In Guatemala (chosen due to its symbolism of being a country with 60% of indigenous population) we closed the Latin American preparatory process for this Conference with the participation of indigenous and afro-descendant women, as well as migrants, in an international seminar called 'Equality, Justice and Equity: Women for a life free from racism and racial discrimination'

Work was done in four tables:

- The school environment, as the scene of several discriminations
- The myth of racial democracy
- Migration, gender and racism in the fields of formal, informal education, training and employment.
- Tolerance and intolerance to the several ways of being a woman

Each table commented on the problems, from the point of view of the people that suffer discrimination as well as from experts on this issue, also highlighting the proposals for the Conference.

Finally, the Declaration of Guatemala was jointly elaborated, negotiating the language, paragraph by paragraph, as in the United Nations. This document was made to be distributed and to be the working advocacy document for those who would participate in Durban.

Equality/Homogenisation

In the World Social Forum (WSF) space we shared this understanding with other global networks and movements, especially through workshops carried out by GEO and REPEM. At the 2002 WSF, the intersectionality of agendas was deepened, linking poverty, migration, racism and education through a gender perspective.

When we refer to discrimination we refer to that part of humanity that has remained excluded from participating in issues of public interest and that, in turn, do not enjoy full citizenship. This is the reason why we started to explore "education for inclusion".

In Mumbai, at the World Social Forum 2004, Sofia Valdivielso (GEO) opened the GEO and REPEM workshop with the following statement:

This idea of women's inclusion in education made us aware of the complex dimension of the inclusion/exclusion binomial. We started to explore the symbolic exclusion exerted through different cultural codes

This concept of education for inclusion was very useful for us, for the description and analysis of this second form of exclusion where more complex variables were involved

It is no longer a matter of physical exclusion that could be called primary exclusion, but of secondary exclusion, based on other variables such as race, social class, ethnicity or sexual orientation, etc."

This extension of variables in the analysis of the right to education, at the same time made us consider the equality/difference binomial. During the last years we have come to understand that this is a false dichotomy because the concept of equality cannot be opposed to the concept of difference. We think instead that the opposite of difference is homogenization.

The educational systems of the XX century have homogenized, that is to say, they have not taken the differences into account. They have not been able to understand or assume the multidimensionality of human beings. They have not understood yet that difference is what makes us equal. Men can be different from women and vice versa. The distance between men and women is exactly the same, which leads us directly to the new debate related with how to *guarantee equality* while respecting our difference, and how to incorporate into the educational system a more holistic approach based on diversity, guaranteeing equality of all human beings.

Going forward

In Latin America, paving the way of People's Education or Popular Education is full of obstacles but also full of hope. Some of the obstacles are caused by current global governance complex with institutions such as the World Bank (and their educational reforms), the WTO and its privatization proposal, as well as the political will of governments.

Some other obstacles are internal obstacles. We need to learn how to build alliances, to unlearn old practices and strategies and to permanently search for the acknowledgment of Education, anywhere, as an inalienable human right that enables people to exercise other rights.

Despite difficulties, the civil society networks go on working directly with people and social organizations, and at the same time, acting to exert influence on public policy agendas, from UN spaces to local governments; from regional conferences such as the "Americas Summit", or the Iberamerican Summit of Nations to global spaces of civil society such as the World Social Forum

Progress is registered in practices and in the reflection on practices, learning to read the world as Paulo Freire taught us.

What is our challenge today?

Today, we are building a proposal of 'Education for inclusion for an active citizenship' while exploring the role of educators as cultural translators, based on an original idea of Boaventura de Souza. Educators worked on this issue at the ICAE Academy of Lifelong Learning Advocacy (IALLA), held last August in Norway.

The concept of cultural translator is one that was mentioned on several occasions during the IALLA. It is still in progress but it was especially attractive and it hooked participants, and I bring it today to the floor since it would somehow summarize the role of educators in the present global context.

'Cultural translator' is a strategy that serves to:

- Celebrate diversity
- Dialogue/cross-cultural communication
- Confront the unacceptable
- Resist hegemony
- Promote ethics of respect
- Global understanding
- Build a new global culture for humanity

And you will ask yourselves, why am I talking about hope?

Because experience told me so. I have learnt that thousands and thousands of women today are empowered through education by using it as a right to exercise their citizenship.

I would like to give an identity to this proposal of hope: a woman called Dora Gronros. She was born 60 years ago in a shanty town, in a rural area. She was not able to finish primary school (she reached only second grade). Afterwards, she participated in a women's cooperative where she used to say "Education was in the air and I grabbed it". There, she became a leader, participating in the experience and expressing interest in everything related to education. She was politically active and supportive of rural women. She founded, among other things, a preschool daycare center in her village. At present, she is an active promoter of the Global Campaign for Education, including advocating for Children's Education at Parliament.

Development – For Whom in the Pacific? Issues and Challenges to Globalisation and Human Security at Community Level

Ema Golea Tagicakibau, *Assistant Director, Peace and Disarmament Desk, Pacific Concerns Resource Centre*

The Organizers of the Conference :

Professors Ken Jackson and Yvonne Underhill

The Centre for Development Studies and The Mira Szaszy Research for Maori and Pacific Economic Development

Distinguished Participants

Ladies and Gentlemen

It is indeed an honour for me to give this presentation at such a highly acclaimed institution as the University of Auckland. The theme of the Conference, “Development on the Edge” is an extremely timely one. It comes at a time when many Pacific island states are grappling with the conflicting demands that arise from what Greg Fry refers to as “the interaction of local struggles for power and resources – particularly land, paid employment and services – and the global economic trends that disadvantage small island developing states.” (Fry, 2000)

“What is development? (Vijay Naidu has referred to it as “everything under the sun”). Who should be developed? Who defines what development is and why? Whose interests does that definition serve? Who owns the process under which it operates? Who takes responsibility when this process fails to deliver the promised goodies, as so often happens?” I have focused on the theme: “Development for Whom in the Pacific?” and my observations are in the context of the work that I do particularly in the area of peace and conflict transformation with the Pacific Concerns Resource Centre, a Pacific regional NGO that is based in Fiji.

In April this year, our Pacific Island leaders who had gathered here in Auckland, agreed to adopt a Pacific Vision to guide the work of the Pacific Island Forum in this new millennium:

Leaders believe the Pacific region can, should and will be a region of peace, harmony, security and economic prosperity, so that all its people can lead free and worthwhile lives. We treasure the diversity of the Pacific and seek a future in which its cultures, traditions and religious beliefs are valued, honoured and developed. We seek a Pacific region that is respected for the quality of its governance, the sustainable management of its resources, the full observance of democratic values, and for its defense and promotion of human rights (Pacific Islands Forum, 2004).

High ideals indeed, but one wonders what our leaders have been up to all these years without a Vision, a Pacific dream, to guide them on? Still, one has to start somewhere.

I speak of development, globalisation and human security in the context of the increasing incidence of armed conflicts in the region, and the complexity of trying to uncover the root causes of such conflicts. Like most of us here, I am concerned about the negative impacts of such conflicts and the amount of resources that are poured in by donors and governments for post-conflict rehabilitation and reconstruction, resources which could have been better utilized to meet the basic needs of the people in the first place to ensure peace and development.

It is now recognized that the greatest security risk in our region, does not come from terrorism, (although the Bush foreign policy dictates it as such), but from the increasing number of conflicts that are being fought within our borders, among people who have enjoyed peaceful relationships for over a century and, in our small island communities, may even be known to each other.

A series of violent conflicts in the Pacific in recent decades included:

- Conflicts over democratic rights, land and indigenous paramountcy in Fiji through coups d’etat in May 1987, September 1987 and May 2000 which overthrew democratically elected governments that were perceived to be predominantly controlled by Indo-Fijians or Indians.
- Bougainville war between 1989-1998 in which more than 12,000 people died during a period of blockade imposed by the PNG Defence Forces on the Bougainville Revolutionary Army (BRA), and pro-PNG (influenced) Bougainville Resistance Force (BRF).
- Armed conflict in the Solomon Islands between rival militants- the Isatabu Freedom Movement of Guadalcanal, and the Malaita Eagle Force, which led to the overthrow of the government in June 2000, resulting in more than 200 deaths and an estimated 15-20,000 internally displaced people.
- Violent clashes in 1984-88 in New Caledonia between the French government, local European settlers, and the Kanak independence movement, FLNKS. This eventually led to the killing of Kanak leader Djibaou. Recently there have been clashes over land between Kanak landowners and the Wallisians.
- Across the border of PNG in West Papua, the Indonesia continues its onslaught on local populations as it continues with the occupation of West Papua, sending thousands of refugees across the border into PNG.

I certainly do not claim to be an expert on Pacific matters, but after travelling around the region in the past six months, conducting a survey on the feasibility of Pacific CSOs setting up a Conflict Transformation and through my own observations and experiences, I am more than convinced that, as long as the basic development needs of the majority of our population remain unmet, there can be no peace and security in our collective vision for the Pacific as a “region of peace.”

I would therefore like to draw from some lessons learnt from some of these conflicts in the region to illustrate the points I am making by using a Human Security framework.

What is Human Security?

Increasingly the concept of “security” has been transformed from what is traditionally perceived to be “military-based security” which dominated thinking during the Cold war era, to “human security”. The 2000 UN Millennium summit for a world free of deprivation, want

and fear, set up a Commission on Human Security. The aim is to refocus the concept of security from being centred on the state, to the security of the people. Of course, human security is not aimed at reducing the importance of national and hence state-based security, but there has been a shift to rebalance and refocus attention on what has previously been missing from the security debate.

This is because much of the new challenges to security were occurring and impacting at the local level, and as potential conflict indicators (Baker, 1998) needed to be managed effectively at local level in order to contribute to state security and some of these rising challenges come from:

- The illicit trade and easy availability of drugs and small arms
- Environmental destruction and displacement of communities
- Demographic pressures caused by the high rate of rural to urban migration and the impact on space, land and basic services/amenities in the towns or cities
- Human trafficking
- The threat of HIV/Aids and other transmittable diseases
- Threats from Multi-National Corporations and their contribution to environmental disaster and exploitation of local populations.

Mahbub ul Haq (1999: 2) has defined Human Security as :

- Security of people not just territory
- Security of individuals, not just nations
- Security through development, not through arms
- Security of all people everywhere, in their homes, in their jobs, in the streets, in their communities and in their environment.

This new definition of security identifies at least seven dimensions of Human Security:

- Economic security
- Food security
- Health security
- Environmental security
- Personal security
- Community security
- Political security

Causes of Conflict

In a report prepared by Ron Crocombe for the Forum Regional Security Committee (FRSC) in 2000, four major sources of conflict in the region were identified:

1. Land issues and disputes
2. Economic disparity and widening gap between the rich and the poor
3. Ethnic violence and tensions
4. Lack of good governance, including weak political structures, lack of strong leadership, corruption, lack of respect for law and order, etc.

Wide economic disparity between rich and poor

The more I read about the flavour of the month UN Millenium Development Goals (MDGs), the UNDP Human Development Index, the policies imposed on the recommendations of consultants from the World Bank or the Asian Development Bank, and their dooms-day assessments such as the recent one on Papua New Guinea (as the least developed and poorest nation in the Pacific), the more cynical I become. Are these not the same people that come in as technical advisers and consultants to advise our governments to privatize health care, education, water and electricity so that the ordinary person can no longer afford to have access to the basic services? And yet when such development models do not produce the desired outcomes, they are regarded as "failed states".

For, if development is about improving one's lot in life, so that as full citizens we can all have equal access to the opportunity of realizing one's full potential, then I believe we have failed a greater majority of our people.

Globalisation has dictated the rules of engagement, and in this highly globalised village we all live in, the cash economy determines who wins and who loses. We therefore see more and more people being marginalised from reaping the benefits of this so-called development, because only those who can sell their labour or service as a commodity in this increasingly globalised economic system will make it. Hence the majority of those who own little of value to sell to the dictates of the global economic order, are left out. These include women, youths, disabled, the aged, illiterate, urban poor, uneducated, rural dwellers, the indigenous peoples of these small island states.

These are the very people who must be consulted in any development project in order for it to be successful.

I do not intend to touch on all aspects of the Human security framework outlined but will only draw on a few to illustrate that the failure to satisfy some of these security concerns at community level, have directly contributed to the escalation of violence which in turn, have destroyed relationships, communities and infrastructure.

Wide ranging disparity within each Melanesian state

One of the greatest myths about the Pacific, (apart from the paradise, noble savages, white sandy beaches, swaying palm trees, as travel brochures would like to paint it, of course) is the misconception that it is a homogeneous society. This is certainly not true for Melanesia, where there is such a vast diversity of social, political and economic conditions.

Cultural diversity

Nic Maclellan (2004) argues that armed conflicts are not the norm in the region, but that it is critical that we look at the peculiarities of each society. The fact that most of the conflicts in the region have occurred in Melanesia needs to be analyzed. That is not to say that both Polynesia and Micronesia remain immune from the impact of globalisation because they are as vulnerable to the same economic forces due to their small economic bases, to climate and environmental change and natural disasters, to political instability and the impacts of colonisation.

But in terms of the wide-scale violent conflicts, both Polynesia and Micronesia are mono-cultural, mono-lingual societies, have a strong chiefly influence, and have the safety net of emigration particularly to New Zealand. Melanesia on the other hand are so diverse, with PNG speaking 700 languages, Solomon Islands 70, Kanaky around 30, Fiji with multi-dialects, each linguistic group signifying cultural and ethnic variations within one island state.

Illustrations

Bougainville

(a) Land, Environment and Social Security

Between 1969 and 1988, the Panguna copper mine in Bougainville became the world's largest open cut mine. Operated by the Bougainville Copper Limited (BCL), the PNG government owned 20 per cent of the shares, while 53 per cent was owned by Conzinc Rio Tinto Australia Ltd (CRA), generating much profits for PNG and Australia.

As early as 1972, Bougainvilleans had protested against the mine as they were never informed nor part of the decision-making in the early stages of the operation and exploration. Women as traditional landowners were never consulted, hence the operation was insensitive and insulting to the cultural norms of the land. The Nasioi people to whom the land belonged witnessed the destruction of their traditional agricultural and forest lands which had sustained them, and their links to their spiritual connections, roots and identity for centuries. When Bougainvillean women, some holding babies, lay in protest in front of the bulldozers that came to clear the forest, they were confronted with riot police wielding tear gas and batons.

While the mine generated millions of dollars of profit to PNG and Australia, and provided PNG's main source of income, there was little financial benefit flowing back to Bougainville, and inadequate compensation for the disruption on their lives and exploitation of their environment. They saw the mine as an environmental and social disaster. As around 800 Bougainvilleans were displaced from their lands and more lost their fishing rights, New Guineans who flooded in to work on the mine illegally squatted on Bougainville land and inciting violence.

A major part of the area was deforested with tonnes of mine waste or tailings dumped into the Jaba River, polluting their source of food and fishing rights. Environmental damage extended down to the coastal area to the mining town of Arawa, a great contrast from the squalid conditions of the landowners.

In 1988, the Bougainvilleans presented a claim for compensation of 10 million *kina* (NZD\$3 million) to the PNG government and CRA. This was ignored, and the local landowners, led by Francis Ona, responded by blowing up the electricity pylons servicing the mine, thus forcing the mine's closure. The PNG Defence Force (PNGDF) responded by sending in its troops deal with the conflict, It soon declared a state of emergency, rounded up civilians into "care centres," triggering a decade of displacement, destruction and violence in which more than 12,000 lives were lost.

Solomon Islands

Background and root causes of the Conflict (ibid., 47-49):

The current estimated population of the Solomon Islands is around half a million (although figures vary between 450,000 in 2003 to current estimate 509,000). The people speak 70 distinct languages which imply historical, cultural and ethnic diversity, but have *pidjin* as the common language. The two main islands are matrilineal-based Guadalcanal, where the capital Honiara is located, and Malaita, which is patrilineal.

During World War Two, around 5,000 Malaitans migrated to Guadalcanal to work in the US military base in Honiara or as soldiers. They remained after the war to work in the UK-led post-war transitional development and since then, descendants have dominated every facet of Solomon Island life including Parliament, politics, public service, police, and employment.

Disparity over resources and benefits of development

Some of the root causes of the inter-ethnic outbursts from 1998 which reared its ugly head in the violent clashes of June 2000, can be attributed to the lack of sensitivity on the part of outsiders to the cultural norms of the land. As a matrilineal society, women are the traditional landowners in Guadalcanal, although they play no part in local land dealings between community leaders and settlers, government officials, or businessmen seeking to acquire land. According to the recently released Amnesty International report on the Solomon Islands,

Local militants claimed that Malaitans established on an agreed lease often mushroomed with successive generations squatting around an original lease. After independence in 1978, poor governance contributed to ethnic friction, with perceptions among Malaitans of having contributed most to the nation, while views expressed in rural Guadalcanal saw Malaitans as taking more than their fair share of economic benefits (ibid., 48).

Socio-economic conditions and impact of globalisation

The Asian Development Bank (ADB) estimated that in 1977-8 the Solomon Islands saw a 15-20 percent drop in GDP in just one year, which was partly due to the withdrawal of capital after the financial crash in Asia and exacerbated by the El Nino drought in 1998 (MacLellan, 2004).

Poor governance and failure of state apparatus

The failure of the Malaitan-dominated government to address the conflict, fuelled further resentment by Malaitans who had fallen victim to local militancy and terrorism and had lost property, income and lives. The illegal access to arms leaked from the state armoury, exacerbated the conflict. More than 20,000 people sought refuge in Honiara while Malaitans demanded compensation from government for their losses and violations.

Political Security

It has been suggested that ethnic conflict and quests for self-determination around the world are likely to be among the most important factors driving international politics in the next decades (Callahan, 2002).

The struggle for self determination such as Kanaky, French Polynesia and West Papua, probably cuts across most if not all of the human security dimensions mentioned earlier. Callahan has further argued that, "In the years ahead, self determination movements and ethnic rivalries are sure to produce a steady stream of discrete conflicts... But these movements will interact with a range of other global dynamics to create major challenges to peace and stability."

It would be worth our while in the Pacific to invest in peaceful acquisition of political independence for those still under the shackles of colonialism. It just seems so ironical that in this new millenium we still have island states under the control of their colonial masters with whom they do not share linguistic, ethnic or cultural links.

Speaking in the US Congress, Senator Daniel Moynihan said, "The defining mode of conflict in the era ahead is ethnic conflict. It promises to be savage. Get ready for 50 new countries in the world in the next 50 years. Most of them will be born in bloodshed" (Callahan, 2002).

Globalisation has the potential to exacerbate ethnic rivalries and self-determination efforts by causing groups to emphasize ethnic and communal bonds in the face of powerful external, cultural, economic and political forces. The increase in nationalistic movements as groups consolidate their interests have definitely been a hallmark of conflicts in the region. This has certainly been true in Fiji, Solomon Islands, and Bougainville (who rather see themselves as being culturally and ethnically tied to the Solomon Islands than PNG. (On the other hand, it could also have the opposite effect of breaking down ethnic identities in favour of other identities more related to class and the market) (Callahan, 2002).

- Ethnic competition- most of the states in conflict are recent, partly colonial creation that has never fully commanded the full loyalty of its own citizens. For example, the Fijian nationalistic movements will not easily relinquish two centuries of collective memory and power to what they consider immigrant races taking over the political control of their lands. This remains one of the critical challenges to peace in Fiji.
- Ethnic dimensions of a lasting peace must be carefully worked out. Enduring distrust between different ethnic groups, as well as the local elites who wield power (chiefs) and who may resort to arms to get their interests met, remains a challenge for those who wish to see the region as one of peace.
- Conflicts may also produce a range of spillover affects including:
 - Bougainville
 - West Papua
 - Solomon Islands

Alternatives or Options

There is a definite need to be Proactive so that we can determine what the political landscape should look like and not just allow forces beyond our control to determine it.

In so many of our small island nations, the people for whom development is intended are never consulted and are left out of decision-making on matters that concern their well being.

Mahbub ul Haq had argued that it is often so much cheaper to deal with the needs of the people upstream, than to deal with the consequences downstream.

When people in most parts of the Pacific are crying out for development concerns to be met, why are they still sending troops, as a first response to resolving the conflicts? The PNGDF was sent to quell the demands of the resource owners in Bougainville, sparking off a military campaign against ill equipped and armed people, that lasted about ten years and left over 10,000 dead. RAMSI, with its police and military components, has been widely acclaimed for its work in restoring law and order in the Solomon Islands. But what has been done to address the concerns of the Guadalcanal people that gave rise to the violence in the first place. As ul Haq had stated, "Development today, is better than troops tomorrow."

1. Integrating gender into conflict transformation and building capacity of women in conflict prevention, conflict transformation and peace building.

a) Early warning signs and collection of information – through women's knowledge

2. Advancing the role of civil society in a regional conflict transformation facility through a Pacific Peace-Conflict-Transformation Network.

What is already available in the region-

- Early Warning Indicators and Research – UNIFEM
- Global Partnership for the Prevention of Armed Conflict – ECCP
- Women Peace Makers Network (IFOR)
- PCTN
- Disarmament Models – IANSA, NFIP
- Indicators – Models of US Fund for Peace and European Union Checklist of Root causes of Conflict;
- Pacific CSO Policy of Responding to Conflict to complement the Biketawa Declaration

Conclusion

Reclaim the Pacific as a region of Peace

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