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The Life and Work of Elise Boulding

Honoring Women as Peacemakers

Mary Lee Morrison

The life and work of sociologist Elise Boulding, a matriarch of the 20th-century peace research movement, has been a celebration of the unique contributions of women in visualizing, making, and building global peace. Women's acculturation toward nurturing, networking, and connections have afforded them opportunities for learning the skills that are most needed for building a better world. The founder of numerous organizations and networks in peace research, peace studies, women's studies, futures, and activism, Boulding has made major contributions to the contemporary field of social reform.

Keywords: *cultures of peace; peace education; women and peace*

Elise Boulding is a matriarch of the 20th-century peace research movement. A sociologist Emeritus from Dartmouth College and the University of Colorado, she has been on the ground floor of the three movements of peace, women's studies, and futures studies and has played pivotal roles in each. Prior to her scholarly career, which formally began at age 50, however, she made major contributions in other areas, most notably as a peace educator and activist, a leader in the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF), and a member of the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers). The author or coauthor of more than 300 publications, including 21 books, Elise has been the recipient of 19 awards for her work in peace and was a 1990 nominee for the Nobel Peace Prize. Although not a social worker, she planned a career in marriage and family counseling during her early adulthood. Her life and work have, in many ways, deeply reflected the values and praxis of the social work profession.

Elise's theoretical work on the role of the family in educating toward social change and the role that women have played in peacemaking predate later writings on women's unique capacities for connections, networking, and peace. The various stages of her life—child, student, young wife, Quaker, activist, sociologist and scholar, retiree, and elder—have been bound together metaphorically as a hologram. Always eschewing dichotomy, her life has been a constant attempt to integrate, both in her private and her public life, the human needs for both autonomy and connectedness. Elise's ideas on transnational networks and their relationship to global understanding are considered seminal contributions to 20th-century peace education.

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Elise was a key player at the beginning of academic peace studies in the 1950s and early 1960s, continuing this work through the 1970s, when peace studies was established as a legitimate academic discipline. She has long advocated, often at professional peril to herself, for an integration of peace education, research, and activism. Tensions between peace academics and activists have long been evident, with some scholars critical of activists for their lack of depth of analysis of the issues that have led to conflict, war, and violence and for eschewing the critical study of how to build peace. Activists have often been frustrated by the slow pace of peace research, claiming at times that it has nebulous results that do not lead to social change. The founding of the Consortium on Peace, Research, Education and Development (COPRED) in 1970 by Elise and her husband, Kenneth, was a conscious effort to unite the three sometimes-disparate elements of research, education, and action.

The different views of academics and activists led to a schism in the membership of COPRED in the 1980s, with academics splitting off to found their own group, the Peace Studies Association, much to Elise's distress. In 2000, the boards of both organizations, whose memberships consisted of many of the same people, decided to reintegrate and reorganize to form the Peace and Justice Studies Association, now housed at the University of San Francisco, whose mission, as stated in its newsletter, *The Peace Chronicle*, is "creating a just and peaceful world through research, education and action."

Some early scholars of the peace movement, Elise among them, recognized the inherent relationship among peace research, education, and activism. Elise has used metaphor to relate her conception of this relationship. She believes that peace research and action can be related metaphorically to medical education and practice: Whereas physicians train to heal patients, peace people train to heal the world. Elise essentially makes no distinction between the importance of peace research, education, and action. Quoted in an interview in the 1990s (Adams, 1991), she stated, "My goal has been to initiate a dialogue between the action and the research perspectives. . . . My mediation role has been between peace researchers and peace activists, each of whom think the other is failing to address the real needs of our time" (p. 52).

Concepts of Peace Education

Early perceptions of peace education were that it was education toward the abolition of war and that it was an "arm" of the peace research movement. In the years following World War II, particularly in the past 30 years, new ideas have expanded the concept of peace education. These contemporary views on peace education reflect the evolution of the concept from the beginning of what is now known as the current peace movement, beginning in the 1940s and 1950s. During this time, peace education was seen as the process of propagating the findings of research.

The writings of Elise and other feminists in the 1970s laid the groundwork for the work of later educators who embraced ideas of connectedness, caring, and imaging and the importance of thinking globally and acting locally. Many of Elise's ideas predated contemporary thinking on the importance of ecological sustainability and the dangers inherent in "cultures of war." In a field dominated by men, Elise and other feminist peace researchers and educators consistently argued for the inclusion of the ideas and contributions of women as the field

of peace studies developed, beginning in the 1940s with the establishment of the first peace research institute and peace studies program on a college campus.

Elise's seminal thinking on the contributions of women to peace building were grounded in her early days of raising children and in her social activism, much of which initially revolved around her work with WILPF, the organization founded by Jane Addams and other 19th-century women reformers on the eve of World War I. Elise became the international chair of WILPF in the late 1960s, a pivotal time for the organization.

This article concludes with an affirmation of the importance of sharing the stories of women who have made a difference in building hope in a society in which the values, attitudes, and cultural stereotypes often point toward violence and war. Elise's contributions, not only in women's and in peace studies but also in the field of futures studies, may be seen metaphorically as beacons for the work that we, as scholars and practitioners, must carry on, despite the prevalent societal messages of fear and despair.

Grounding in the Social Reform Movement

Reardon (1988) offered what is probably the most comprehensive definition of *peace education*, including its purpose as the promotion of the "development of an authentic planetary consciousness that will enable us to function as global citizens and to transform the present human conditions by changing the social structures and patterns of thought that have created it" (p. x). She stated that at the center must be the potential for transformation, both inward and outward.

Peace education as a concept includes both philosophical tenets and processes. The philosophy teaches nonviolence, love, compassion, and reverence for all life. The processes involve empowering people with the skills, attitudes, and knowledge to create a safe world and to build a sustainable environment (Harris & Morrison, 2003; Reardon, 1988).

Peace research in the modern sense began in the decades following World War II with the establishment of various research institutes for the study of peace, such as the institute established by Johan Galtung in Oslo in the late 1950s. These institutes were founded as independent entities because it was nearly impossible to find universities that would support such projects. The International Peace Research Association (IPRA), founded in part by Elise and her husband, Kenneth, in 1965, was an outgrowth of work done by the Quakers and WILPF with funding from UNESCO. Peace research institutes were founded to study war, its causes and cures. The key players in these institutes were overwhelmingly men.

Peace education in the late 19th century was begun in earnest in the United States by women social reformers, such as Addams and Fanny Fern Andrews, a pacifist writer and founder of the American School Peace League. Addams, a founder of WILPF, was one of the first to make the connections between the social conditions underlying the oppression of women and families and the violence propagated in communities and in the world. Elise's early ideas on educating for peace, grounded as they were in her social activism, were inspired by the work of the many women reformers of the past century.

Later, evolving ideas of peace education, including its relational and transformative potential, arose partly as a result of the women's movement and its influence on the field of peace studies (Brock-Utne, 1989). Feminists such as Elise, who taught women's studies at the Uni-

versity of Colorado, were concerned about the emphasis in the peace movement, largely dominated by men, on the technical aspects of the arms race, to the neglect of the more human and personal consequences of violence. One of Elise's early research projects was on the women who participated in the Women's Strike for Peace in the early 1960s. Her research showed that women were overwhelmingly concerned about these social issues and that, for many, the strike was their first foray into peace activism.

Building Cultures of Peace

The aim of Elise's book, *Cultures of Peace* (Boulding, 2000) was, in part, to point out that there are and have historically been places where peace cultures may be found, both locally and globally, and that a central task of peacemakers is to make these places known, to celebrate them, and to learn from them. To build peace, we must learn, as a beginning, what these "hidden spaces" can teach us about making connections.

Cultures of Peace was written partly as a celebration of the Decade for a Culture of Peace and Nonviolence. Although UNESCO originated the idea of the Culture of Peace Program in the 1980s, enthusiasm for the concept soon spread to other United Nations (UN) agencies. In November 1998, at the urging of all the living Nobel peace laureates, the UN General Assembly adopted a resolution naming the decade 2001 to 2010 the International Decade for a Culture of Peace and Nonviolence for the Children of the World. At that time, Elise had a long history of involvement with various UNESCO activities. UNESCO's role in helping to shape the emerging field of peace education in the 1970s was an important one in which she was a key player.

Because of the importance that Elise placed on women and women's cultures, a great deal of *Cultures of Peace* dealt either directly or indirectly with women and peacemaking. Women have been in the forefront of peace education, she wrote, beginning in the past century. As she noted, "Peace education, to a large degree, is a product of many different women's groups—teachers, social workers, peace activists" (Boulding, 2000, p. 117). These groups helped to lay the foundation for UNESCO (Kurtz, 1999).

It was women in the peace research movement who insisted that the movement move beyond its association with international relations and who came to realize that peace studies must be inclusive of social, economic, environmental, and human rights issues. Women were able to envision ideas of the holistic nature of peace because historically they had been marginalized, allowing them, as "outsiders," to develop new approaches to world order, according to Elise.

Elise has been unapologetic in celebrating the importance to peacemaking of the traditional work done by women, such as nurturing, caring for children and the elderly, mediating, and negotiating. She credited the feminist movement with creating a more public space for the practice of peace cultures and with legitimating the networking and relational skills that women have long practiced in private spaces out of the public eye. If her ideas on education may be summed up in one word, that word would be *networking*—sharing the knowledge gained in one sphere with colleagues, friends, and acquaintances in other settings. Central to her ideas on connectedness has been the importance of integrating and building on her immediate and past experiences.

To promote peacefulness, it is important to recognize and capitalize on the peaceful behaviors that go on all the time in most societies. Most human life revolves around the work of feeding families, organizing the work of production, and solving problems in meeting human needs. Celebrations and rituals are interspersed throughout as well. Although every society is a blend of peaceable and warrior cultural themes, for the most part, everyday behavior involves negotiating, dialoguing, and listening, much of which is learned in families. The work of socializing children to learn these skills has largely fallen to women. Elise has argued for the importance of partnering in parenting. Men have much to learn from women. "Raising children and shaping attitudes and behaviors determines how peacefully or violently individuals handle behavior" (Boulding, 1999, p. 451).

An analysis of Elise's ideas on women and peacemaking reveals her belief in women's superior capacities for peace building. It is the multiplicity of women's roles through the work of "breeding, feeding," and productive labor, done mostly "out of sight and mind," which have helped to provide women with the skills that are necessary to build peace and to envision healthy futures (Boulding, 1992a, p. 16).

Elise's research revealed that women have primarily been responsible for the process of human development throughout history. Education, which is necessary for passing on cultural values to subsequent generations, has primarily been a woman's profession, both in formal (schools) and in informal settings. Women's socialization has taught them the skills needed to build a peaceful world, including listening and dialoguing. Because of societal pressures and patriarchal structures, women have not always valued themselves or been given affirmation for these skills, which are essential for the maintenance of society and for contributing to new visions of a different world.

Elise's writings have affirmed the power that women possess, a power that women themselves do not always recognize or appreciate. Feminine power is "power with," rather than "power over." It is found in connections, rather than in the competitive clamoring to possess and to rule over others, which is characteristic of male-dominated cultures. In *Cultures of Peace* (Boulding, 2000) and in many of her other publications, this kind of power—power "in relationship," not power in hierarchy—is discussed.

The early feminists who helped to found WILPF were interested not only in gaining the vote for women but also in improving the lot of the underclass and in contributing to the development of society, albeit molded to their own middle-class standards. These goals were to be achieved chiefly through the process of education. For example, Hull House, founded by Addams in 1889 in Chicago, heralded as its mission the transformation of American society, beginning on the local level.

Addams was part of a long line of feminists, of which Simone de Beauvoir and Elise are conspicuous later examples, whose lives provided the material for the testing of their theories against their life experiences (Addams, 2002a). Addams wrote of the need for political action to concern itself with human needs and for women to have a stake in the political process for the sake of a better world for their children (Addams, 2002b).

During the latter part of the second wave of feminism, in the 1970s and 1980s, the ideas of a number of psychologists and social thinkers (see, e.g., Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger, & Tarule, 1986; Gilligan, 1982; Miller, 1986; Ruddick, 1989) helped to identify as theoretically important the process of human growth and gave credence to the role of "connectedness" in

women's lives, both for women's development and for their part in the physical, moral, and cultural development of others. Elise's ideas resonate with these thinkers, predating much of their later scholarly work.

According to Ruddick (1989), mothers are responsible for the "preservation, growth, social acceptability and the nurture of children's developing spirit" (p. 83). This process describes and defines the work of mothering (Ruddick did not exclude men from the role of mothering) and, if done well, can contribute to the ongoing work of making peace. Ruddick acknowledged (as did Elise) that women have not been and are not always peaceful. There have been many women warriors throughout history. Women also carry the double burden of giving birth to and nurturing men, who often must go off to war. If women resist this notion of sending their sons to war, it can be a source of peace and social change, according to both Ruddick and Elise.

The writings of Belenky et al. (1986), Gilligan (1982), Miller (1986), Ruddick (1989), Boulding (1988, 1989), and others during the 1970s and 1980s marked an important step toward a recognition among scholars that women's cultural, moral, and psychological "ways of being" are different from those of men and, in some ways, are arguably superior. Shortly thereafter, there was criticism that these ideas were "essentializing" women, placing them within a paradigm of caretaking, which many feminists believed devalued women (Forcey, 1991). Elise vehemently denied being an essentialist (in an informal interview with me when she believed that what I had written was suggesting that she was).

It is interesting that Elise's work has never reached the prominence of some other women scholars whose writings have dealt with relational issues. It has not, I believe, for three reasons. First, Elise's work has been primarily on peace, a marginalized area of academia and traditionally a field of study that has been overwhelmingly male. Second, much of her work has been in the early stages of various movements, including the peace, women's, and futures movements. Theoretical concepts in these fields have reached their fruition only when the movements took hold and, by that time, Elise had gone on to other things. Third, Elise has been unapologetic about the importance of family in laying the foundation for peace and change and, in the spirit of the work of Maria Montessori, wrote of the possibilities of transformation that are inherent in adults learning from children. In the patriarchal world of much of academia, ideas that elevate the importance of the role of children and families have not traditionally been considered respectable.

According to Elise, it is being part of the "underside of history" that has allowed women to possess their unique capabilities as peacemakers and as visionaries for change. Because women (and children) have historically been marginalized, they are less invested in the status quo and are therefore in a unique position to envision and work for change. Women have not always taken advantage of these opportunities for growth. Patriarchal structures have greatly impeded this process.

Early Life

Elise was born in Oslo in 1920, the eldest child of Birgit Marianne Johnsen and Josef Biörn-Hansen. One of her earliest memories is of her mother standing at the window in their new home in New Jersey crying. Birgit had not wanted to move to the United States, believing that Americans were crass and materialistic. Soon after the family arrived, Birgit's young-

ger sister Tulla, who had come to the United States shortly after the family arrived, died of cancer, leaving Birgit bereft. Elise's mother always dreamed of returning to Norway, although the family made only one trip back during Elise's growing years. Depression has figured prominently in Elise's family. One of Elise's sisters committed suicide in her early 50s, one of the reasons being (Elise believes) their mother's relentless pursuit of that sister's musical career.

Her mother profoundly influenced Elise. "I grew up seeing the world through my mother's eyes," she told me during one of our many interviews. As part of the last wave of Norwegian immigration to America, the family emigrated when Elise was 3. At the time (1923), there was an economic depression in Norway, and Elise's father feared for his job as an engineer. The family relocated to the Newark, New Jersey, area, where Joseph worked for Carrier, helping to design the newly designed air conditioners. Partly because of her mother's influence, Elise retained the idea that Norway was a "safe place" until the Nazis invaded in the early 1940s during her last year in college. This was a time of profound personal crisis for her, an epiphany that was to determine the course of the rest of her life. At that point, she decided that if there was no safe place in the world, then it was up to her to help make the world safe by working for peace.

After graduating from Douglas College, Elise moved to New York City, where she stayed for 5 months, working at two consecutive jobs that entailed "first running a billing machine in one publishing house and then rewriting impossible high school texts in another" (Boulding, 1989, p. 51). This period in her life was a time of "reckoning," of coming to terms with the values with which she had been raised, and marked the beginning of the integration of her inner commitment to social justice and her developing sense of spirituality. Elise then literally "fled" New York City to return home to Syracuse, New York, where her parents had relocated.

These experiences in New York City were Elise's first real forays into the peace movement. Elise also worshipped among pacifists and occasionally attended Quaker Meeting. Quakers are one of the historic peace churches, whose common method of worship is to wait in silence, in Meetings for Worship, the silence occasionally broken when a worshiper feels that he or she has been given a message to speak.

When she moved to Syracuse, Elise began attending Quaker Meeting more regularly, a meeting she has described as "famous for their activism." Soon thereafter, she met Kenneth Boulding, an economist, who was already well known in Quaker circles as a gifted speaker and poet. Kenneth was visiting Syracuse for the Quarterly Meeting. Quaker Quarters are monthly meetings gathered regionally that meet several times a year.

Three weeks after they met, Kenneth and Elise announced their engagement, at the same time as she applied for membership in the Syracuse Friends Meeting. She was 21 years old, and Kenneth was 10 years her senior. Although their courtship was brief, it was obvious to all the Quakers in their respective meetings that they were "meant for each other," as Elise told me in an interview.

For Elise, her marriage and her entrance into the Society of Friends, which both occurred in 1941, were two epiphanies that were to transform and ground all her future work. Spiritual issues have played pivotal roles both in bringing her deeply together with Kenneth and, later at times, driving them painfully apart. Kenneth died in 1993, when they had been married for more than 50 years.

In 1941, shortly after they were married, Elise and Kenneth moved to Princeton, New Jersey, where Kenneth took a job with the Economic Section of the League of Nations. In Princeton, Elise became interested in the concept of nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) as she began to learn about the workings of what would later become the UN system. It was here that she met and became friends with the Swedish sociologist Alva Myrdal, wife of the economist Gunnar Myrdal and an international expert on social welfare and disarmament, later to become Swedish ambassador to India and a member of Parliament. At that time, Alva became a strong role model for Elise as she worked and advocated for peace and showed Elise the importance of integrating her life as a wife, mother, potential scholar, and international traveler. Fifteen years her senior, Alva was to influence Elise's thinking on the multiple roles of women. Elise learned from Alva to appreciate her immediate experiences and to use them as models for viewing the world. Elise began to see important connections between local grassroots involvement and global civic culture. These ideas would later bear fruit in her seminal work on the importance of transnational NGOs in building world peace, articulated in *Building a Global Civic Culture* (Boulding, 1988) in which she outlined her philosophy of educating for peace.

After Kenneth was asked to leave the League of Nations for writing a document urging Americans to resist taking up arms against the Germans and the Japanese, which was considered seditious, and after a short stint for Kenneth at Fisk University in Nashville, the Bouldings moved to Ames, Iowa, where Kenneth took a teaching post at Iowa State University, then called Iowa State College. Elise decided to pursue a master's degree in sociology, beginning her studies in 1945 at age 25. She became a research assistant to Reuben Hill, her thesis adviser. Her work involved interviewing Iowa farm families on the effects of wartime separation. Her master's thesis was incorporated into Hill's (1949) book, *Families Under Stress*. She received her master's degree in 1949, having taken time off for the birth of Russell, the Bouldings' first child. At that time, Elise thought about becoming a marriage and family counselor.

Families and Peace

Families are the "practice ground for making history," Elise stated in her essay of the same name, reprinted in *One Small Plot of Heaven* (Boulding, 1989), her seminal work on families. As she became more involved in academia, Elise increasingly came to believe in the relevance of her own "apprenticeship" in the areas of homemaking, child rearing, and community activism.

The importance that Elise placed on the family as a major grounding for individuals for all their future endeavors cannot be underestimated. Rooted in her strong Norwegian family of origin, Elise's ideas on how families are the link between individuals and the world took shape as her career as an academic sociologist evolved. But Elise often stated that she learned much of what was needed to know about children and families through observing her own children as they grew up. Her theoretical ideas on the links between the local and the global were partly rooted in her attempts to make sense of each phase of her life. As her daughter, Christine Boulding Graham (personal communication, December 8, 1999), stated, "I learned from my mother that life can be lived in stages, that it isn't necessary to be doing everything at once." Indeed, Elise often proudly stated publicly that in the first 18 years of her married life,

she was a homemaker. Family laid the backdrop for Elise's subsequent theoretical work, and, as a longtime friend Giffin (personal communication, July 15, 1999) stated, after she was a more respected international sociologist, Elise "just dressed up her language in fancier terms, but essentially she was talking about the same things"—the role of the family in grounding all other peacemaking functions.

In 1949, the Bouldings moved to the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor, where Kenneth joined the economics faculty. Elise became a doctoral student for a year, taking baby Christine with her to classes, until it became too much for her. Two years later, Elise had all but given up the idea of work on a Ph.D. and instead named their fourth child, Philip Daniel, as her Ph.D.

Christine, the only Boulding daughter, was born in 1951 (Russell was born in 1947, Mark in 1949, Philip in 1953, and William in 1955). As her children grew, so did Elise's involvement in many of their activities, including helping to write a school peace curriculum for the Ann Arbor schools, involvement in the PTA, and leadership in the Scouts in which her children were participating.

One Small Plot of Heaven (Boulding, 1989) represents in its most complete form Elise's thoughts on families, parenting, and the important interplay among the family, God, and Quaker worship. In this book are many of Elise's ideas on "the personhood of children," the importance of times of solitude, creative play, and interaction across age spans.

Elise's use of metaphor is almost universal in her writings, and nowhere does it appear more often than in her writings on families. Families may be considered metaphors themselves for society as a whole. In her writings, she paradoxically viewed the family as both the basic unit of society and society itself in microcosm. Again using metaphor, Elise, calling on her experiences in India, referred to the Hindu myth of Indra's jeweled net to explain this phenomenon. Each family may be seen as an individual jewel within the net, the entire net being society. But each jewel (family) is reflected in the image of every other jewel, and all are necessary to make the entire net. Here is also seen the emphasis on the importance of families in relation to their communities, an interchange without which society cannot adequately function. One can see, using the jewel metaphor, that neither can any family sustain itself alone.

The use of analogy has allowed Elise to integrate issues related to locality with a view of the world, taking into account global issues and seeing the similarities between the two. This particular lens has not only allowed her to make sense of her experiences as she has lived them but also has grounded her in the importance of what she was doing at any particular time during her early years of raising five active children, as learned earlier through her associations with Alva Myrdal. It also helped her to realize the importance of reaching out to others in her community who were in similar situations as she.

Families are cultures in which crucial peacemaking skills are learned and practiced, including negotiating, mediating, resolving conflicts, and learning how to deal with differences in creative ways. Parenting offers practice in the crucial skills that are needed for peace building, including listening, dialoguing, and learning to reconcile. Women more often than men are exposed to these skills, but men need to learn them as well, and parenting can offer opportunities for men to learn them.

The various networks in which each family member participates are the basis of connections among the individual, the family, the community, and the world. NGOs offer a more formal way to bridge these local-to-global connections. Grassroots groups are also a way for

individuals to participate in social change. While leading her children's Scout troops, Elise would often point out the children's connections to the world Scouts movement, thus offering a global view that might ordinarily have been lost. These connections, she believes, are the basis for a particular kind of "ministry" for social change, which links individuals to a world order on the basis of citizen participation as an adjunct to the international system of nation-states. As she stated, "If we are to have a more realistic and viable planning for world order, more people must see the connections between the family, the local habitat, and the international sphere" (Boulding, 1989, p. 163). The key word here is *participation*. Although Elise has not always been specific about exactly how involvement may occur, her intent has been clear: that activism and involvement are necessary to effect change.

Although emphasizing the role of the family in creating a culture of peace, Elise's writings also reflect her belief that not all families are loving or nurturing. The role of intentionality is important. By understanding that she wanted to undo in her own child rearing the things that she felt were egregious in her own childhood, Elise stressed the possible roles that families could play in visioning and building a more peaceful world. Families may not always be healthy, nor do they always offer continual love and support, yet even the most dysfunctional families often provide some semblance of love and support. Elise therefore argued for the *fiction* of the family as a loving unit.

WILPF

The 1950s marked Elise's passage from a young wife who was married to an influential academic, through a decade of heavy involvement writing and speaking for the Religious Society of Friends, to intense activity with WILPF. Elise's activism reached its peak in the mid-1960s, when she realized that she was led back to academia and to a life as a scholar, integrating activism while continuing her extensive networking. WILPF was to provide a major grounding for much of Elise's future work in peace research and education, including her theories on women and peace and her evolving ideas on the role of NGOs in peacemaking.

Probably no other organization in which Elise has been involved has helped to define her subsequent life and work more than WILPF. From local work in her children's schools, Elise began chairing the national Childhood Education Committee, subsequently serving on the U.S. section's governing board. Moving into service on the international board, Elise was then elected the international chair of WILPF in 1967. This work took her all over the world and helped to solidify and ground her academic writing and speaking on women, including *The Underside of History* (Boulding, 1992a). It also helped foster her connections to many, if not most, of the subsequent organizations in which she became involved during the 1950s and 1960s. Blessed with a high energy level and a great deal of self-confidence, a willingness to work hard, and the ability to hone in on organizational tasks that needed to be done, Elise was able to capitalize on her belief in the importance of networking and her contacts with international scholars and practitioners to move from local activism to the role of an internationally recognized scholar.

WILPF evolved from the International Congress of Women (ICW), convened at The Hague in 1915, with the aim of trying to end the slaughter of World War I. The ICW had been organized by a group of European women and was attended by delegates of 12 countries.

Addams led the U.S. delegation, which included prominent peace activists Emily Greene Balch and Alice Hamilton. Out of this congress came a formulation for a just and lasting peace, which, according to Gordon (n.d.), who wrote a brief history of WILPF, was said by President Woodrow Wilson to be “by far the best formulation which up to the moment has been put up by anybody.” Four years later, the name of WILPF was adopted, and international committees were set up to work toward the adoption of proposals for peace. Additional world members continued to join. Later the headquarters moved to Geneva. WILPF continued its advocacy, organizing, and activist work until World War II. In 1931, Addams received the Nobel Peace Prize for her work in establishing WILPF.

During World War II, it became clear that WILPF had never held a totally pacifist view, that is, “peace at any price,” because the leadership recognized that freedom held sway over the shadow of Nazi persecution in Germany and elsewhere. WILPF was active just prior to the war in aiding refugees. As an organization, it survived the war, but, as Gordon (n.d.) pointed out, “in truncated form.” In 1946, Balch, the newly elected international chair, was honored as a co-recipient of the Nobel Peace Prize under the newly renewed WILPF. WILPF was granted NGO status with the UN at that time. During the 1950s, a big part of WILPF’s work was in opposition to nuclear testing, followed by a call for universal disarmament in the 1960s. During the 1970s, members were involved individually and corporately in speaking out against and protesting the war in Vietnam, the U.S. section in 1963 urging the government to end the war.

What Gordon (n.d.) failed to mention was the relationship between WILPF and the women’s suffrage movement. In her history of WILPF, Foster (1989) noted that WILPF evolved out of the International Women’s Suffrage Alliance in the early 1900s. These discrepancies in the focus of WILPF’s early activities point to tensions within the organization that have existed throughout the years and reached their head in the 1960s, during the second wave of feminism—the time of Elise’s active involvement. In the beginning, both universal suffrage and peace were seen to be two sides of the same issue. Later, particularly during the Vietnam War, it became clear that just getting the vote for women was not enough to ensure not only that war would be abolished but also that full human rights for women would automatically evolve.

Return to Academia

The fall of 1954 saw the Boulding family heading to Palo Alto, California, where Kenneth took part in the inaugural year of the Center for Advanced Study of the Behavioral Sciences at Stanford University. This was a pivotal year for both Elise and Kenneth, as it laid the groundwork for Kenneth’s subsequent work in the founding of the interdisciplinary Center for Research on Conflict Resolution at the University of Michigan, where Elise worked as a research assistant and led seminars. During this time in California, Elise met the Dutch futurist Fred Polak. Polak deeply influenced Elise, who translated his book on futures from Dutch into English, later stating that it was not too difficult because she already knew some German and the languages were similar (Boulding, 1961; Polak, 1953).

Elise dated the process of translating Polak’s book as the real beginning of her scholarly career. Her later work in futures studies was seeded during these days. She became an active member of the World Futures Studies Federation. Beginning in the 1980s, Elise led imaging

workshops in which participants “step into the future” 30 years hence, in which there are no weapons and describe what they see.

Peace cultures thrive on and are nourished by visions of how things might be, in a world where sharing and caring are part of the accepted lifeways for everyone. The very ability to imagine something different and better than what currently exists is critical for the possibility of social change. (Boulding, 2000, p. 29)

On the family’s return to Ann Arbor in the fall of 1964, Elise was offered an adjunct position at the University of Michigan teaching “The Sociology of the Family.” As she was preparing to teach, at the last minute the university found someone with a doctorate to teach the course. This event, together with some difficulties that she had in getting her Japan study funded, convinced Elise that she would need to return to school and finish her Ph.D. if she wanted to pursue an academic career.

Meanwhile, Elise had been asked by the local Democratic Party in Ann Arbor to run as a write-in peace candidate for a seat in the U.S. Congress in the 1966 election. She accepted the offer, and her platform reflected issues of the atrocity of war, of U.S. support of the corrupt government in South Vietnam, and of the destruction of homes and crops there, all of which were taking away resources that were needed at home for domestic social programs. Although she did not win the election, Elise continued her activism during the war in several ways, most notably by accompanying several other Quakers from Michigan who transported funds across the Canadian border, an illegal act, to help fund a program of the Canadian Friends Service Committee for medical relief of victims in North Vietnam.

In 1967, Kenneth accepted a job at the University of Colorado, and the family moved to Boulder in the fall, while Elise was continuing to work on her dissertation for a doctoral degree in sociology at the University of Michigan. Kenneth requested that as part of his accepting the job, the university should attempt to find a teaching position for Elise, which it did. Elise divided her time among beginning her teaching career in sociology at the university, working on her dissertation, working on the newsletter of the national section of the IPRA, and beginning in 1968, serving as international chair of WILPF. In 1969, she received her doctorate from the University of Michigan, the title of her thesis being *The Effect of Industrialization on the Participation of Women in Society* (Boulding, 1969).

Time Out

By the end of 1973, Elise was experiencing physical and emotional exhaustion as her hectic nonstop pace of teaching, travel, IPRA and COPRED activities, and growing involvement in peace, women’s, and futures studies were taking up more and more of her time. In addition, the Bouldings’ marriage was suffering strains as their different values and life views came into sharp play. Kenneth, having grown up in lower-class England, was much more willing to embrace the trappings of a capitalist, American society. Elise, a product of her Scandinavian roots, wanted a more frugal lifestyle. In addition, Kenneth never totally understood Elise’s deep need for solitude. Their marriage, beginning with a traditional division of their roles in the early 1940s, evolved into one in which Elise carved out her own identity as an activist, academic and Quaker scholar, speaker, and writer. Although the couple lived apart for several

years in the 1970s and 1980s, the marriage held and was deeply enriched in their later years together, a testimony to their deep commitment and love for one another.

In 1974, Elise gave up most of her outside activities and retreated to her one-room mountain hermitage near Lyons, Colorado, which a friend had newly built for her. This was the year in which she began writing *The Underside of History* (Boulding, 1992a). This was the time in which she came to identify her own struggles in the so-called underside of her own history, a time when she was able to give up many of the demands that had been placed on her by the multiple roles she had been playing since the beginning of her married life. *The Underside of History* is a two-volume treatise on the history of women and their roles, written in part as an outgrowth of Elise's dissertation some years before.

From the 1970s to the mid-1980s, Elise solidified her reputation as an academic sociologist and became a leading expert in the emerging field of peace studies. She continued her busy schedule of teaching during the early and mid-1970s, following her year off, and became intensely involved in two major professional sociological associations, the American Sociological Association and the International Sociological Association. She also served on the American Association for the Advancement of Science's Commission on Science Education for 2 years, beginning in 1972. From the late 1960s to the early 1970s, Elise was among a handful of scholars and activists who founded the World Futures Studies Federation.

In the fall of 1978, Elise and Kenneth were offered joint Montgomery visiting professorships at Dartmouth College in their respective fields. Kenneth was nearing retirement from the University of Colorado but continued his association with the university despite his heavy schedule of international travel. By the end of that academic year, Elise had been offered the position of chair of the Sociology Department at Dartmouth with a full-time ongoing teaching post. Kenneth, although enjoying some aspects of his teaching during the visiting year, did not want to remain at Dartmouth and returned to Boulder. The couple had a "commuter marriage" until Elise retired in 1985 and returned to Boulder.

The years at Dartmouth were important because Elise established herself as an international scholar in her own right, away from and out of the shadow of Kenneth. Most of the work with which she was involved during the Dartmouth years concerned international peace. She was elected to the Council of the UN University in Tokyo and was appointed by President Jimmy Carter to the Commission on Proposals for a National Academy of Peace and Conflict, now known as the U.S. Institute of Peace. She also helped to found the Academic Council of the UN system, just prior to her retirement.

The fall of 1989 saw Elise and Kenneth serving together as visiting professors at the Center for Conflict Analysis and Resolution at George Mason University in Virginia. But the project that probably took up more of Elise's time than any other during the years between her move back to Boulder and Kenneth's death in early 1993 was the assumption of the International Secretariat of IPRA. Elise was elected in 1988 and held the post until 1991.

In 1990, the World Order Models Project had sponsored an international conference in Cairo. Out of that conference arose concerns about the growing crisis in the Middle East. At the urging of several international peace scholars, IPRA formed a 26-person Middle East Commission, with Elise as secretary and project chair, to devote substantial scholarly pursuit to the "identification of the most productive role for the United Nations in the future and to encourage

governments and NGOs in the region and in the West to strengthen problem-solving” (Boulding, 1992b, p. 1). The commission was formed in 1991 and ended its work in 1994.

Elise had originally planned to stay in Boulder, keeping up her active networks in Colorado and engaging in the local and international projects of which she was an integral part. After Kenneth’s death in 1993, however, her family urged her to consider moving closer to Christine, her daughter, who lived in Wayland, Massachusetts. In 1996, she moved east, settling into an apartment in the rear of her daughter’s home and later relocating to a retirement community in nearby Needham.

In her later years, Elise has kept up her voluminous correspondence and networking, eschewing e-mail and the use of a computer. She is a frequent speaker at peace studies events and WILPF and Quaker gatherings. The Boston Research Center for the 21st Century honored her in 1995 with its first Global Citizens Award, and she has continued to be actively involved in the organization as well as to write reviews, book chapters, and articles. Of late, she has slowed down considerably, having given up driving several years ago. Her energy is diminished, owing to heart and hearing difficulties, yet her spirits are strong. She is enjoying her self-described journey into “the country of old age.”

Conclusion

This article has discussed the life and work of Elise Boulding, focusing on her theoretical ideas and work in peace education and peace studies. The writing cannot do justice to the vast amount of Elise’s activities, not only in work for peace but also in women’s and futures studies and for the Quakers. Her work in futures has allowed Elise to take a “long view” of societies and of the world, thus keeping hope alive for her, the need for which has been particularly acute during certain times of her life.

Social workers hear stories as an integral part of the work that we do. Listening deeply is essential. A biographer’s task, so closely related to that of social workers, is to hear and illuminate stories and to weave them into a tapestry, highlighting aspects of a subject’s life. Through the process, we learn about the “other,” about ourselves, and about the world. Our subjects also learn about themselves and about us as interviewers. It is in the hearing of stories that we ultimately are transformed. As we are changed, so is the world.

Elise’s life has been full of determination, high energy, and purposefulness. By affirming and raising up cultural values and activities that have traditionally been associated with women and connecting them to the power of peace building, her life offers us a model, and her work is a beacon for a more hopeful and interdependent world.

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