

Feminism and Peace: Seeing Connections

KAREN J. WARREN AND DUANE L. CADY

In this essay we make visible the contribution of women even and especially when women cannot be added to mainstream, non-feminist accounts of peace. We argue that if feminism is taken seriously, then most philosophical discussions of peace must be updated, expanded and reconceived in ways which centralize feminist insights into the interrelationships among women, nature, peace, and war. We do so by discussing six ways that feminist scholarship informs mainstream philosophical discussions of peace.

INTRODUCTION

What do feminism and peace have to do with one another? What is peace, if it isn't just the absence of war? Do we get anywhere in a search for connections between feminism and peace if we ask, "Where do women fit in to concerns for peace?" What if we take conventional accounts of peace and just "add women and stir"?

We can add women to mainstream accounts of peace just to the extent that what we are adding about women is consonant with the basic presuppositions of mainstream accounts. Women are combatants and military personnel; women are political leaders, protesters, and grassroots organizers; some women believe in just-war theory and others are pacifists; women are hostage-takers and hostages—women "fit in" in many of the ways men fit in. Seeing these sorts of ways women fit in means making visible what is often invisible or undervalued, namely, the full extent of women's roles and participation in social structures. By "adding women and stirring," mainstream accounts of peace are reformed.

But many feminists argue that one cannot always fit women in by the "add and stir" method.¹ When the basic beliefs, attitudes, values or assumptions added conflict with those already in place, we are more likely to get a very

different substance—or an explosion—than a simple mixture. This is because what one is adding challenges the very conceptual framework already in place.²

Our goal in this essay is to make visible the contributions of women even and especially when women do not “fit in.” To do this, we must reframe the discussion by asking different questions: “Why don’t women fit into mainstream accounts of peace? How does the exclusion or marginalization of women bias those accounts? In what ways does a feminist perspective affect how we understand the nature of peace and what we entertain as solutions to conflicts?” Only if we ask questions like these will we begin to see the complexity and diversity a feminist perspective brings to thoughtful considerations of peace. And, only if we ask such questions are we in a position to take seriously connections between feminism and peace.

In what follows we argue that if feminism is taken seriously, then most philosophical discussions of peace must be updated, expanded, and reconceived in ways which centralize feminist insights into the interrelationships between women, nature, war, and peace. We do so by discussing six ways that feminist scholarship informs mainstream philosophical discussions of peace.

FEMINISM-PEACE CONNECTIONS

The scholarly literature suggests many of what we will call “woman-peace connections” relevant to feminism. We discuss six such connections: Conceptual, empirical/experiential, historical, political, symbolic/linguistic, and psychological connections. For our purposes, they provide numerous interrelated sorts of answers to the question “What has feminism to do with peace?” They thereby set the stage for showing something we do not explicitly argue for here, namely, the ethical and theoretical imperatives of including feminism in discussion of peace issues.

1. Conceptual Connections.

Of special interest to feminist philosophers are “conceptual frameworks.” A conceptual framework is a set of basic beliefs, values, attitudes, and assumptions that shape and reflect how we view ourselves and others. It is a socially constructed lens through which one views the world. When it explains, justifies, and maintains relationships of domination and subordination, a conceptual framework is oppressive. An oppressive conceptual framework is patriarchal when it explains, justifies, and maintains the subordination of women by men (Warren 1987, 1989, 1990, 1994).

Perhaps the most obvious connection between feminism and peace is that both are structured around the concept and logic of domination (see (5) below). Although there are a great many varieties of feminism, all feminists agree that the domination/subordination of women exists, is morally wrong,

and must be eliminated. Most feminists agree that the social construction of gender is affected by such multiple factors as race/ethnicity, class, affectional preferences, age, religion, and geographic location. So, in fact, any feminist movement to end the oppression of women will also be a movement, for example, to end the multiple oppressions of racism, classism, heterosexism, ageism, ethnocentrism, anti-Semitism, imperialism, and so on (see Warren 1990).

War, the "decision by arms," the "final arbiter of disputes," "an act of force which theoretically has no limits" (Clausewitz 1976) amounts to domination pushed to the extreme: Imposition of will by one group onto another by means of threat, injury, and death. Genuine peace ("positive peace"), on the other hand, involves interaction between and among individuals and groups where such behavior is orderly from within, cooperative, and based on agreement. Genuine peace is not a mere absence of war ("negative peace"), where order is imposed from outside by domination (Cady 1989, 1991). It is the process and reality where life-affirming, self-determined, environmentally sustainable ends are sought and accomplished through coalitionary, interactive, cooperative means.

Feminism and peace share an important conceptual connection: Both are critical of, and committed to the elimination of, coercive power-over privilege systems of domination as a basis of interaction between individuals and groups. A feminist critique and development of any peace politics, therefore, ultimately is a critique of systems of unjustified domination.

What constitutes such systems of unjustified domination? Warren has explicitly argued elsewhere (Warren 1987, 1988, 1990, 1994, N.d.) that at the conceptual level they consist of at least five oppressive ways of interpreting the world and acting in it. These are five characteristics of an oppressive conceptual framework and the behaviors linked with their implementation: (1) value-hierarchical thinking, that is, Up-Down thinking which attributes higher value (status, prestige) to what is "Up" than to what is "Down"; (2) value dualisms, that is, disjunctive pairs in which the disjuncts are seen as oppositional (rather than as complementary) and as exclusive (rather than as inclusive); value dualisms include reason/emotion, mind/body, culture/nature, human/nature, and man/woman dichotomies; (3) conceptions of power as power-over (in contrast to power-with, power-within, power toward, and power-against power);³ (4) conceptions of privilege which favor the interests of the "Ups"; and (5) a logic of domination, that is, a structure of argumentation which presumes that superiority justifies subordination.

In a patriarchal conceptual framework, higher status is attributed to what is male-gender-identified than to what is female-gender-identified. Many feminists claim that, at least in Western culture, emotion, body, and nature have been historically female-gender-identified and considered inferior to reason, mind, and culture, which have been male-gender-identified.

Conceptually, a feminist perspective suggests that patriarchal conceptual frameworks and the behavior they give rise to, are what sanction, maintain, and perpetuate “isms of domination”—sexism, racism, classism, warism,⁴ naturism⁵ and the coercive power-over institutions and practices necessary to maintain these “isms.” If this is correct, then no account of peace is adequate which does not reveal patriarchal conceptual frameworks; they underlie and sustain war and conflict resolution strategies. (Examples of why we think this is correct are laced throughout the remainder of the paper.)

One glaring example of how the dominant cultural outlook manifests this oppressive conceptual framework is seen in macho, polarized, dichotomized attitudes toward war and peace. Pacifists are dismissed as naive, soft wimps; warriors are realistic, hard heroes. War and peace are seen as opposites. In fact few individual warists or pacifists live up to these exaggerated extremes. This suggests a reconceptualization of values along a continuum which allows degrees of pacifism and degrees of justification for war (Cady 1989).

Feminist philosophers regard conceptual considerations to be at the core of peace issues because many of the other women-peace connections can be explained theoretically with an analysis of patriarchal conceptual frameworks in place. The evidence for the existence of such conceptual connections comes from a wide variety of sources: empirical data and history; art, literature, and religion; politics, ethics, and epistemology; language and science. Although we cannot discuss all of these sources here, we do consider several. They are evidence of woman-peace connections that, in turn, help to establish the nature and significance of the conceptual connections.

2. Empirical Connections

Empirical connections provide concrete data linking women, children, people of color, and the poor, with environmental destruction and various forms of violence, especially war. Military operations such as the Persian Gulf War not only kill humans; they wreak havoc on the environment by releasing toxics, pollutants, and radioactive materials into the air, water, and food. In the Middle East and in large portions of the southern hemisphere women and children bear the responsibilities, determined by gender and age roles, of collecting and distributing water; thus the women and the children are the ones who are disproportionally harmed by the presence of unsafe, or unpotable, water. Hence, the environmental effects of a war such as the Persian Gulf War threaten the lives and livelihood of those humans least able to escape the immediate effects—women, children, and the poor. A feminist perspective—especially an ecofeminist perspective that focuses on the interrelationships between the treatment of women and other subdominants, on the one hand, and the treatment of the nonhuman natural environment, on the other

hand—shows how and where such effects will be borne disproportionately by women, children, racial minorities, and the poor.⁶

Consider chemical sensitivity. Persistent toxic chemicals, largely because of their ability to cross the placenta, to bioaccumulate, and to occur as mixtures, pose disproportionate serious health threats to infants, mothers, and the elderly. In the United States this is a crucial issue, for example, for Native Americans living on reservations, recognized by the federal government as “sovereign nations.” Navajo Indians are the primary work force in the mining of uranium in the United States. According to a report, “Toxics and Minority Communities” (Center for Third World Organizing 1986), two million tons of radioactive uranium tailings have been dumped on Native American lands. Cancer of the reproductive organs occurs among Navaho teenagers at a rate seventeen times the national average. Indian reservations of the Kaibab Paiutes (Northern Arizona) and other tribes across the United States are targeted sites for hazardous waste incinerators, disposal and storage facilities. Many tribes, “faced with unemployment rates of eighty percent or higher, are desperate for both jobs and capital” (*The Christian Science Monitor* 1991). The infamous report *Toxic Wastes and Race in the United States* (Commission for Racial Justice of the United Church of Christ 1987) identified race as the primary factor in the location of uncontrolled, hazardous waste sites in the United States. Three out of every five African Americans and Hispanic Americans and more than half of all Asian Pacific Islanders and Native Americans live in communities with uncontrolled toxic waste sites.

Native American women face particular health risks. A survey of households and hospitals on the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota revealed that in 1979 in one month thirty-eight percent of the pregnant women on the reservation suffered miscarriages, compared to the U.S. population rate of between ten and twenty percent. There were also extremely high rates of cleft palate and other birth defects, as well as hepatitis, jaundice, and serious diarrhea. Health officials confirmed that the Pine Ridge Reservation had higher than average rates of bone and gynecological cancers.

What does this have to do with peace? In addition to the obvious point that these toxics maim, harm, and kill their victims, the United States government plays a major role in the proliferation of these wastes. According to Seth Shulman’s *The Threat at Home: Confronting the Toxic Legacy of the U.S. Military* (Shulman 1992), the U.S. military is one of the leading producers of unregulated toxic wastes, hidden from public view, control, and knowledge, at military and other installations in every state. For instance, Basin F, a phosphorescent toxic lake on the outskirts of Denver, is believed to be the earth’s most toxic square mile (Shulman 1992, xi). The liquid filling this 100-acre lagoon contains “nearly 11 million gallons’ worth of wastes, including by-products of the manufacture of nerve gas and mustard gas—chemical weapons whose

lethality is normally measured in minute quantities such as milligrams" (xi). While most people associate the problem of toxic wastes with

corporate industrial giants like Union Carbide, Exxon, or Du Pont. In fact, the Pentagon's vast enterprise produces well over a ton of toxic wastes every minute, a yearly output that some contend is greater than that of the top five U.S. chemical companies combined. To make matters considerably worse, the military branch of the federal government has for decades operated almost entirely unrestricted by environmental law. Billions of gallons of toxic wastes—a virtual ocean—have been dumped by the U.S. military directly into the ground at thousands of sites across the country over the past decades. (Shulman 1992, xiii)

According to Shulman, the national military toxic burden is "a figurative minefield. The nationwide military toxic waste problem is monumental—a nightmare of almost overwhelming proportion. And like JPG's [Jefferson Proving Ground in Madison, Indiana] bombs, the military's toxic legacy is sequestered from public view, waiting, politically at least, to explode" (Shulman 1992, 7).

The Pentagon's own account ranks it "among the worst violators of hazardous waste laws in the country" (Shulman 1992, 8). The Pentagon has already identified approximately 20,000 sites of suspected toxic contamination on land currently or formerly owned by the military worldwide; to date only 404 have been cleaned up (Shulman 1992, 8). The nearly unthinkable worry is whether a real cleanup of this toxic legacy is technically possible. These empirical examples show fundamental feminism/peace connections, namely, those involving the placement of uranium tailings and other toxic wastes, since the military bears primary responsibility for exposure to toxics in the United States.

Consider a different sort of case: In Somalia today, women, children, and the elderly are most in risk of starvation and violent death in part because they are least empowered and are most vulnerable to rape and disease in their war-torn country. Their defenselessness is cultural and political as well as practical. While men and boys are not immune to starvation and suffering, they have greater access to various means of self-defense and military protection.

In Bosnia-Herzegovina, women and girls have been raped and molested in horrific numbers in addition to the death, injury, and dislocation they have experienced as the "generic" victims of war. A recent article on war rape (gang rape by soldiers, beatings, and sexual enslavement) reports that victims are largely "being ignored in Croatia, where predominately male, Roman Catholic, and conservative health officials are too discomfited by the subject to provide care or compassion (*Minneapolis Star/Tribune* 1992). Most of the

victims will be ostracized in their tradition-bound societies once the war ends; many already have been cast out of their homes and left to fend for themselves. Their experiences are horrifying and legion. In the same article, according to Zorica Spoljar, a volunteer with the Kareta feminist organization who has been visiting refugee shelters to talk to rape victims, says, "Men rape during war because it is considered an act of the victors. In traditional societies, like those in the occupied areas [of Bosnia], women have always been considered property, so violating them is a way for the winners to show who now controls that property." Women's groups and antiwar organizations constantly protest that nothing is done for the innumerable victims of sexual violence which is viewed as a logical, predictable, rightful consequence of war. The Zagreb feminist movement has been making such appeals with virtually no success.

3. Historical Connections

Sadly, current reports of huge numbers of war rapes in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Rigoberta Menchú's recent testimony of rape and sexual violence against women by military oppressors in Guatemala (Menchú 1983) are just contemporary extensions of a patriarchal legacy documented by Susan Brownmiller in *Against Our Will: Men, Women, and Rape* (Brownmiller 1975). The history of rape shows it to be a "natural" part of war. Such empirical data itself establishes important historical connections between how one treats women, the poor, racial minorities, and the nonhuman environment, on the one hand, and engagement in military, war, and other violent conflict resolution strategies on the other. But one can look elsewhere as well.

Consider the actions of the Navy brass in the so-called Tailhook scandal, in which "officers and gentlemen" man-handled female officers at an annual fliers convention. The brass did nothing at first. According to journalist Amanda Smith, this is because "Naval officers knew perfectly well this behavior was quite ordinary" (Smith 1992). Carol Burke, a professor at the Naval Academy at Annapolis for seven years, describes woman-hating as deliberately taught at that tax-supported institution, often in marching songs and the way soldiers are penalized for unsoldier-like behavior. Examples of a marching song sets the stage for the depth and historical reality of this hatred: "My girl is a vegetable . . . my girl ain't got no eyes, just sockets full of flies." The song continues to boast of "cutting a woman in two with a chain saw or ramming an ice pick through her ears, then using the pick as a handlebar to ride her like a Harley motorcycle." Men keep "Hog Logs" of female visitors to the Academy reception office whom they deem unattractive, and "male midshipmen wear Chiquita and Dole banana stickers in their hats to mark each time they have sex with a date on the academy grounds" (Smith 1992).⁷ As recently as October 4, 1993, *Time* magazine reported that "in heterosexual litigation, meanwhile, the Navy withdrew all charges against a pilot in one of the 120

sexual harassment cases stemming from the infamous Tailhook Association convention two years ago. Prosecutors abandoned the case against Lieutenant Cole Cowden after determining there wasn't sufficient evidence to go to court. The Navy has now dropped half of the Tailhook cases" (*Time* 1993). The Tailhook scandal is just one more piece of evidence that the historical connections between the military and the treatment of women as inferior subordinates. Any peace politics which fails to centralize the treatment of women in war and by the military in general will simply be male gender-biased (if not blind) and, hence, grossly inadequate.

4. Political Connections (Praxis)

Francoise d'Eaubonne introduced the term *ecofeminisme* in 1974 to bring attention to women's potential for bringing about an ecological revolution (d'Eaubonne 1974, 213-52). Ecofeminism has always been a grassroots political movement motivated by pressing pragmatic concerns (see Lahar 1991). These range from issues of women's and environmental health, to science, development, and technology, the treatment of animals, and peace, antinuclear, antimilitarism activism. The Seneca Falls and Greenham Commons Peace Camps, the 1981 Women's Pentagon Action, the Puget Sound Women's Peace Camp, FANG (a small all-women's feminist antinuclear action group), Women's Strike for Peace (WSP) are just a few of the grassroots feminist peace groups. In addition, hundreds of grassroots environmental organizations and actions initiated by women and low-income minorities have emerged throughout the world. As Cynthia Hamilton claims, "Women often play a primary role in community action because it is about things they know best" (Hamilton 1991, 43).

Las Madres de la Plaza de Mayo, women who march every Thursday in the main square in Buenos Aires, Argentina, to commemorate the lives of "the disappeared" in the "Dirty War" (the *guerra sucia*), certainly illustrate the courageous peace politics of women. Week in and week out they protest the victimization of people, mostly between the ages of 17 and 25, who have been imprisoned, tortured, often shot. Over 30,000 have simply disappeared without a trace. For feminists, it is no wonder that a woman like Rigoberta Menchú wins the Nobel Peace Prize for similar activism in Guatemala.

A wonderful example of women as political agents of change that clearly shows woman-peace connections is provided by the Chipko movement. In 1974, twenty-seven women of Reni in Northern India took simple but effective action to stop tree felling. They threatened to hug the trees if the lumberjacks attempted to fell them. The women's protest, known as the Chipko (Hindi for "to embrace" or "hug") movement, saved 12,000 square kilometers of sensitive watershed.⁸ The grassroots, nonviolent women-initiated Chipko movement was a *satyagraha* protest movement in the Gandhian tradition of nonviolence.

It illustrates a peace action initiated by women which gives visibility to women's objections to the replacement of valuable indigenous forests by teak and eucalyptus monoculture (Center for Science and Environment 1984-85, 94).⁹

Water collection and distribution, food production, and forest management activities are precisely those which women engage in on a daily basis. They are also often "invisible" to mainstream theorists and policy-makers. Conceptually, this "invisibility" is significant: It accounts for the mistaken assumption that such accounts are not gender-biased. Failure to see these women and what they know—their epistemic privilege—results in misguided technologies, imposed development strategies, and the absence of women from most peace-initiative discussions at high-ranking decision-making levels. As an aside, it is interesting to note that one ecofeminist physicist, Vandana Shiva, a founding member of the Chipko movement, who, until recently, was probably best known for her book *Staying Alive: Women, Ecology, and Development* (Shiva 1988), has just won the Alternative Nobel Peace Prize for 1993.

5. Symbolic/Linguistic Connections

Much of feminist critique regarding war and violence focuses on language, particularly the symbolic connections between sexist-naturist-warist language, that is, language which inferiorizes women and nonhuman nature by naturalizing women and feminizing nature, and then gets used in discussions of war and nuclear issues. For example, naturist language describes women as cows, foxes, chicks, serpents, bitches, beavers, old bats, pussycats, cats, bird-brains, hare-brains. Sexist language feminizes and sexualizes nature: Nature is raped, mastered, conquered, controlled, mined. "Her" "secrets" are "penetrated," and "her" "womb" is put into the service of the "man of science." "Virgin (not stud) timber" is felled, cut down. "Fertile (not potent) soil" is tilled, and land that lies "fallow" (not cultivated) is "barren," useless. Language which so feminizes nature and so naturalizes women describes, reflects, and perpetuates the domination and inferiorization of both by failing to see the extent to which the twin dominations of women and nature (including animals) are, in fact, culturally (and not merely figuratively) connected (Adams 1988, 61).

The adoption of sexist-naturist language in military and nuclear parlance carries the inequity to new heights (Warren N.d.). Nuclear missiles are on "farms," "in silos." That part of the submarine where twenty-four multiple warhead nuclear missiles are lined up, ready for launching, is called "the Christmas tree farm"; BAMBI is the acronym developed for an early version of an antiballistic missile system (for Ballistic Missile Boost Intercept). In her article "Sex and Death in the Rational World of Defense Intellectuals," Carol Cohn describes her one-year immersion in a university's center on defense technology and arms control. She relates a professor's explanation of why the

MX missile is to be placed in the silos of the new Minuteman missiles, instead of replacing the older, less accurate ones "because they're in the nicest hole—you're not going to take the nicest missile you have and put it in a crummy hole." Cohn describes a linguistic world of vertical erector launchers, thrust-to-weight ratios, soft lay downs, deep penetration, penetration aids (also known as "penaids", devices that help bombers of missiles get past the "enemy's" defensive system), "the comparative advantages of protracted versus spasm attacks"—or what one military advisor to the National Security Council has called "releasing 70 to 80 percent of our megatonnage in one orgasmic whump"—where India's explosion of a nuclear bomb is spoken of as "losing her virginity" and New Zealand's refusal to allow nuclear-arms or nuclear-powered warships into its ports is described as "nuclear virginity" (Cohn 1989, 133-37). Such language and imagery creates, reinforces, and justifies nuclear weapons as a kind of male sexual dominance of females.

There are other examples of how sexist-naturist language in military contexts is both self-deceptive and symbolic of male-gendered dominance. Ronald Reagan dubbed the MX missile "the Peacekeeper." "Clean bombs" are those which announce that "radioactivity is the only 'dirty' part of killing people" (Cohn 1989, 132). Human deaths are only "collateral damage" (since bombs are targeted at buildings, not people). While a member of the Senate Armed Forces Committee, Senator Gary Hart recalled that during military lobbying efforts under the Carter administration, the central image was that of a "size race" which became "a macho issue." The American decision to drop the first atomic bomb into the centers of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, instead of rural areas, was based on the military's designation of those cities as "virgin targets," not to be subjected to conventional bombing (Spretnak 1989, 55).

As the Tailhook scandal reminded many, traditional military training reinforces sexist-naturist language and behaviors, with the attendant values of considering women a foul and lowly class (Cook and Woollacott; Ruddick 1993). Recruits and soldiers who fail to perform are addressed as faggot, girl, sissy, cunt, prissy, lays. The ultimate insult of being woman-like has been used throughout history against the vanquished (Spretnak 1989, 57). Even references to stereotypically female-gender-identified traits of childbearing and mothering are not free from patriarchal co-opting. In December 1942, Ernest Lawrence's telegram to the physicists at Chicago concerning the new "baby," the atom bomb, read, "Congratulations to the new parents. Can hardly wait to see the new arrival" (Cohn 1989, 140). As Carol Cohn shows, the idea of male birth with its accompanying belittling of maternity, gets incorporated into the nuclear mentality. The "motherhood role" becomes that of "telemetry, tracking, and control" (Cohn 1989, 141). Once the sexism of the co-opted imagery is revealed, the naming of the bombs that destroyed Hiroshima and Nagasaki—"Little Boy" and "Fat Man"—seems only logical (even if perverse). As Carol Cohn claims, "These ultimate destroyers were . . . not just any

progeny but male progeny. In early tests, before they were certain that the bombs would work, the scientists expressed their concern by saying that they hoped the baby was a boy, not a girl—that is, not a dud” (Cohn 1989, 141). Cohn concludes: “The entire history of the bomb project, in fact, seems permeated with imagery that confounds man’s overwhelming technological power to destroy nature with the power to create—imagery that inverts men’s destruction and asserts in its place the power to create new life and a new world. It converts men’s destruction into their rebirth” (Cohn 1989, 142).

Lest one suppose this sexist-naturist language that informs military and nuclear parlance is an aberration of rational discourse, consider how well-entrenched sexist domination metaphors pervade the way rationality, rational or logical thinking, and rational behavior is described in Western philosophical contexts (Burtt 1969; Cady 1989; Cohn 1989; Cope-Kasten 1989; Warren 1989). Good reasoners knock down arguments; they tear, rip, chew, cut them up; attack them, try to beat, destroy, or annihilate them, preferably by nailing them to the wall. Good arguers are sharp, incisive, cutting, relentless, intimidating, brutal; those not good at giving arguments are wimpy, touchy, quarrelsome, irritable, nagging. Good arguments have a thrust to them: They are compelling, binding, air-tight, steel-trap, knock-down, dynamite, smashing and devastating bits of reasoning which lay things out and pin them down, overcoming any resistance. “Bad” arguments are described in metaphors of the dominated and powerless: They “fall flat on their face,” are limp, lame, soft, fuzzy, silly, and “full of holes.”

6. Psychological Connections

The imagery that domesticates nuclear and conventional weapons, naturalizes women, and feminizes nature comes at a high psychological cost. Many feminists claim that patriarchal conceptual frameworks generate what ecofeminist Susan Griffin calls “ideologies of madness” (Griffin 1989). Feminist scholarship abounds with discussions of “phallic worship,” or what Helen Caldecott calls “missile envy,” as a significant motivating force in the nuclear buildup (Cohn 1989, 133). Many feminists join psychiatrist R.J. Lifton in critiquing “nuclearism” as an addiction, characterized and maintained by “psychic numbing,” a defense mechanism that enables us to deny the reality and threat of nuclear annihilation. *Denial* is the psychological process which makes possible the continuation of oppression by otherwise rational beings.

Setting aside complicated psychological issues, we can nonetheless ask, “Of what conceptual significance is the alleged psychological data on woman-nature-peace connections? What do feminist *philosophers* glean from such accounts?” We close our consideration of feminist/peace connections by proposing an answer: Such psychological accounts help us understand patriarchy

as a dysfunctional social system which is grounded in a faulty belief system (or conceptual framework) (Warren 1993).

The notion of patriarchy as a socially dysfunctional system enables feminist philosophers to show why conceptual connections are so important and how conceptual connections are linked to the variety of other sorts of woman-nature-peace connections. In addition, the claim that patriarchy is a dysfunctional social system locates what ecofeminists see as various “dysfunctionalities” of patriarchy—the empirical invisibility of what women do, sexist-warist-naturist language, violence toward women, other cultures, and nature—in a historical, socioeconomic, cultural, and political context.¹⁰

To say that patriarchy is a dysfunctional system is to say that the fundamental beliefs, values, attitudes and assumptions (conceptual framework) of patriarchy give rise to impaired thinking, behaviors, and institutions which are unhealthy for humans, especially women, and the planet. The following diagram represents the features of patriarchy as a dysfunctional social system:

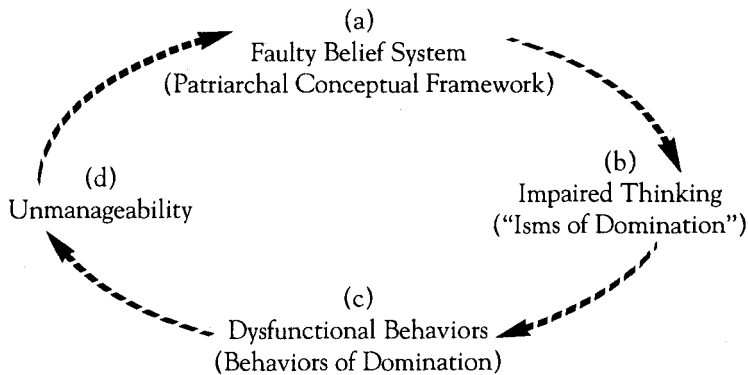


Fig. 1. Warren's Proposed Model of Patriarchy as a Dysfunctional Social System.

Patriarchy, as an Up-Down system of power-over relationships of domination of women by men, is conceptually grounded in a faulty patriarchal belief and value system, (a), according to which (some) men are rational and women are not rational, or at least not rational in the more highly valued way (some) men are rational; reason and mind are more important than emotion and body; that humans are justified in using female nature simply to satisfy human consumptive needs. The discussion above of patriarchal conceptual frameworks describes the characteristics of this faulty belief system.

Patriarchal conceptual frameworks sanction, maintain, and perpetuate impaired thinking, (b): For example, that men can control women's inner lives, that it is men's role to determine women's choices, that human superiority over

nature justifies human exploitation of nature, that women are closer to nature than men because they are less rational, more emotional, and respond in more instinctual ways than (dominant) men. The discussions above at (4) and (5), are examples of the linguistic and psychological forms such impaired thinking can take.

Operationalized, the evidence of patriarchy as a dysfunctional system is found in the behaviors to which it gives rise, (c), and the unmanageability, (d), which results. For example, in the United States, current estimates are that one out of every three or four women will be raped by someone she knows; globally, rape, sexual harassment, spouse-beating, and sado-masochistic pornography are examples of behaviors practiced, sanctioned, or tolerated within patriarchy. In the realm of environmentally destructive behaviors, strip-mining, factory farming, and pollution of the air, water, and soil are instances of behaviors maintained and sanctioned within patriarchy. They, too, rest on the faulty beliefs that it is okay to "rape the earth," that it is "man's God-given right" to have dominion (that is, domination) over the earth, that nature has only instrumental value, that environmental destruction is the acceptable price we pay for "progress." And the presumption of warism, that war is a natural, righteous, and ordinary way to impose dominion on a people or nation, goes hand in hand with patriarchy and leads to dysfunctional behaviors of nations and ultimately to international unmanageability.

Much of the current "unmanageability" of contemporary life in patriarchal societies, (d), is then viewed as a consequence of a patriarchal preoccupation with activities, events, and experiences that reflect historically male-gender-identified beliefs, values, attitudes, and assumptions. Included among these real-life consequences are precisely those concerns with nuclear proliferation, war, environmental destruction, and violence toward women, which many feminists see as the logical outgrowth of patriarchal thinking. In fact, it is often only through observing these dysfunctional behaviors—the symptoms of dysfunctionality—that one can truly see that and how patriarchy serves to maintain and perpetuate them. When patriarchy is understood as a dysfunctional system, this "unmanageability" can be seen for what it is—as a predictable and thus logical consequence of patriarchy.¹¹

The theme that global environmental crises, war, and violence generally are predictable and logical consequences of sexism and patriarchal culture is pervasive in ecofeminist literature (see Russell 1989, 2). Ecofeminist Charlene Spretnak, for instance, argues that "a militarism and warfare are continual features of a patriarchal society because they reflect and instill patriarchal values and fulfill needs of such a system. Acknowledging the context of patriarchal conceptualizations that feed militarism is a first step toward reducing their impact and preserving life on Earth" (Spretnak 1989, 54). Stated in terms of the foregoing model of patriarchy as a dysfunctional social system, the claims by Spretnak and other feminists take on a clearer meaning: Patriarchal

conceptual frameworks legitimate impaired thinking (about women, national and regional conflict, the environment) which is manifested in behaviors which, if continued, will make life on earth difficult, if not impossible. It is a stark message, but it is plausible. Its plausibility lies in understanding the conceptual roots of various woman-nature-peace connections in regional, national, and global contexts.

CONCLUSION

In this paper we have offered six sorts of women-peace connections provided by feminism and ecofeminism which suggest where and how women fit into discussions of peace. We suggested that if one takes feminism seriously, many current discussions of peace and war must be updated, expanded, and reconceived. They must be "updated" because feminist literature which points to women-nature-peace connections is currently available and, as such, needs to be addressed by any informed philosophical perspective. They must be "expanded" because the omission of such discussions will result in inadequate, because exclusionary, accounts of peace. And they must be "reconceived" because, once one looks at peace and war through a feminist lens, one sees things differently: Never again does one have the privilege or luxury of talking about nationalism, and regional conflict, militarism, war, and violence, as if women *and* nature didn't matter. They do. That's what is shown when one takes feminism and peace connections seriously.

NOTES

1. For a discussion of problems with the "add woman and stir" approach in curricular transformation projects, see Warren 1989.

2. Feminists also protest that the question "Where do women fit in?" misidentifies the problem as "the woman problem." One cannot understand white racism in the United States if one sees racism as "the Black problem": White-skin privilege and power are white phenomena that, as a consequence, create a Black condition. Similarly, one cannot understand sexism if one sees sexism as "the woman problem." And some feminists think this is what the question "Where do women fit in?" suggests, viz., that "fitting women in" is the problem.

3. For a discussion of these notions of power, see Warren 1994.

4. Warism is the view, often a cultural predisposition, that war is both morally justifiable in principle and often morally justified in fact. See "Warism" (Cady 1989, ch. 1).

5. Naturism is the view, often a social presumption, that the nonhuman natural environment may be destroyed without justification. Whether this includes warism is left an open question.

6. There is a discussion of a range of empirical issues, including chemical sensitivity issues, from an ecofeminist perspective in Warren (N.d.).

7. For an interesting account of the symbolic significance of Chiquita and Dole bananas, see Enloe (1990).

8. The discussion of the Chipko movement as an ecofeminist concern is taken from Warren (1988).

9. For an excellent discussion of the Chipko movement and its effectiveness as a resistance strategy to what she calls Western "maldevelopment"—first world development policies and practices aimed primarily at increasing productivity, capital accumulation, and the commercialization of third world economies for surplus and profit, see Shiva (1988).

10. The importance of this last point is twofold: Not only can patriarchy, conceived as a dysfunctional system, *not* be properly understood apart from the various historical and cultural contexts in which it is manifest; dysfunctional systems and addictions generally cannot be understood or treated as separate from any historical or cultural context. Any account of "dysfunctional systems" (or addictions) which suggests otherwise would be problematic from a feminist viewpoint.

11. This last point is crucial, for it suggests that the sort of dysfunctional behaviors which are rampant in, for instance, North Atlantic cultures—cultures which also are patriarchal—are a predictable, and, thus "logical," "natural," or "normal" consequences of patriarchy. Seen as predictable consequences of patriarchal values, beliefs, attitudes, and assumptions, these behaviors motivate and explain what we call the "Of course . . ." response: "Of course, you feel crazy when men don't acknowledge your contributions to the project." "Of course, you feel powerless to stop your boss's unwanted sexual advances toward you." "Of course, your life has become unmanageable; your work place is a male-dominated haven of exaggerated rationality." "Of course, you feel frightened to go out alone at night; rape is a very real threat!" "Of course, you feel confused and anxious; by standing up for yourself you're breaking all the rules, rocking the boat."

The "Of course . . ." response affirms that one who feels crazy, powerless, alone, confused, anxious within and under patriarchy is experiencing what one would expect someone trying to get one's needs met within a dysfunctional system to feel; the responses are *appropriate responses for one in a dysfunctional and patriarchal system* based on faulty beliefs—beliefs which recovering people are trying to shed! The "Of course . . ." response is a proper, descriptively accurate, reality-affirming response to people who suffer the ills and abuses of patriarchy. And the ecofeminist response is and must be that "*you are not* crazy, stupid, powerless, alone, or a sexual object."

REFERENCES

- Adams, Carol. 1988. *The sexual politics of meat: A feminist-vegetarian critical theory*. New York: Continuum.
- Brownmiller, Susan. 1975. *Against our will: Men, women and rape*. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- Burtt, Edwin A. 1969. Philosophers as warriors. In *Critique of war*, ed. Robert Ginzberg. Chicago: Henry Regnery.
- Cady, Duane L. 1991. War, gender, race, and class. *Concerned Philosophers for Peace (CPP) Presidential Address, Concerned Philosophers for Peace Newsletter* 11 (2): 4-10.
- . 1989. *From warism to pacifism: A moral continuum*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

- The Christian Science Monitor. 1991. (February, 18): 18.
- Center for Science and Environment. 1984-85. *The state of India's environment: The second citizens' report*. New Delhi.
- Center for Third World Organizing. 1986. *Toxics and minority communities*. Oakland, CA.
- Clausewitz, Carl von. *On war*. Trans. Michael Howard and Peter Paret, 1976. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Cohn, Carol. 1989. Sex and death in the rational world of defense intellectuals. In *Exposing nuclear phallacies*, ed. Diana E. H. Russell. New York: Pergamon Press.
- Commission For Racial Justice of the United Church of Christ. 1987. *Toxic wastes and race in the United States: A national report on the racial and socioeconomic characteristics of communities with hazardous waste sites*. New York: United Church of Christ.
- Cooke, Miriam and Woollacott, Angela. *Gendering war talk*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Cope-Kasten, Vance. 1989. A portrait of dominating rationality. *American Philosophical Association Newsletter on Feminism and Philosophy* 88(2): 29-34.
- d'Eaubonne, Françoise. 1974. *Le féminisme ou la mort*. Paris: Pierre Horay.
- Enloe, Cynthia. 1990. *Bananas, beaches, and bases*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Griffin, Susan. 1989. Ideologies of madness. In *Exposing nuclear phallacies*, ed. Diana E. H. Russell. New York: Pergamon Press.
- Hamilton, Cynthia. 1991. Women, home, and community. *Woman of power: A magazine of feminism, spirituality, and politics* (20): 42-43.
- Lahar, Stephanie. 1991. Ecofeminist theory and grassroots politics. *Hypatia* 6(1): 28-45.
- Lifton, Robert Jay, and Richard Falk. 1982. *Indefensible weapons*. New York: Harper and Row.
- Menchú, Rigoberta. 1983. *I, Rigoberta Menchú: An Indian woman in Guatemala*. Ed. Elisabeth Burgos-Debray. Trans. Ann Wright. New York: Verso.
- Minneapolis Star/Tribune. 1992. War's rape victims have nowhere to turn in Croatia: Women's wounds largely ignored. (December 6).
- Ruddick, Sara. 1993. Notes toward a feminist peace politics. In *Gendering war talk*, ed. Miriam Cooke and Angela Woollacott. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Russell, Diana E. H. 1989. Introduction to *Exposing nuclear phallacies*, ed. Diana E. H. Russell. New York: Pergamon Press.
- Shiva, Vandana. 1988. *Staying alive: Women, ecology, and development*. London: Zed Books.
- Shulman, Seth. 1992. *The threat at home: Confronting the toxic legacy of the U.S. military*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Smith, Amanda. 1992. At naval academy, hatred toward women is part of life. *Minneapolis Star/Tribune*. November 13.
- Spretnak, Charlene. 1989. Naming the cultural forces that push us toward war. In *Exposing Nuclear Phallacies*, ed. Diana E. H. Russell. New York: Pergamon Press.
- Time Magazine. 1993. Another Tailhook pilot flies. (October 4): 18.
- Warren, Karen J. N.d. Taking empirical data seriously: An ecofeminist philosophical perspective. In *Ecofeminism: Multidisciplinary perspectives*. Forthcoming.
- . 1994. Toward an ecofeminist peace politics. In *Ecological feminist philosophies*, ed. Karen J. Warren. London: Routledge.
- . 1993. A feminist philosophical perspective on ecofeminist spiritualities. In *Ecofeminism and the sacred*. Boston: Crossroads/Continuum Books.
- . 1990. The power and promise of ecological feminism. *Environmental Ethics* 12(3): 125-46.

- . 1989. The feminist challenge to the mainstream curriculum. *Feminist Teacher* 4(2/3): 46-52.
- . 1988. Toward an ecofeminist ethic. *Studies in the Humanities* 15(2): 140-56.
- . 1987. Feminism and ecology: Making connections. *Environmental Ethics* 9(1): 3-21.