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The Psychology of Peace Promotion

Global Perspectives on Personal Peace, Children and Adolescents, and Social Justice

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The Psychology of Peace Promotion

Global Perspectives on Personal Peace, Children and Adolescents, and Social Justice

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This book is dedicated to Sister Mary Gloria, who touched the lives of so many people. She was so wise, full of love, and selfless in her service as she committed her life to improving her community and helping others. Our lives are so much improved because of her generous work, which continues to be such an inspiration to others. We will miss her smile, wit, sense of humor, enthusiasm, and passion. She was truly a light and a force for goodness and peace.

Foreword

This profound volume, inspired by and dedicated to the late renowned peace educator, scholar, activist, and community psychologist Mary Gloria C. Njoku, is directed at the most important problem confronting our world, and constitutes a major benchmark in the history of the scholarship and the practice of peace promotion. There are no significant topics in the psychology of peace promotion that are left out of consideration, and the consideration given to topics is thorough, fresh, and creative. Innovative thinking is the norm here, and fresh ideas for positive change run throughout the chapters. The diversity, range, and ingenuity of topics are outstanding, and necessary to provide for new insights and possibilities in the processes of peace. Throughout the book connections are made to the field of community psychology (Jason, Glantsman, O'Brien, & Ramian, 2019). Many authors have tried to make some connections of their work in peace studies and interventions to the overall community field, on the basis that these links are key to the successful promotion of peace.

The wide range of author backgrounds and orientations brings to the table the possibility of new and exciting consilience in the search for answers. The available relevant literature is well considered, and most importantly, as noted, new ideas for promoting peace arise at every turn. To begin the discussion of peace psychology and its real or potential contributions to achieving peace and reducing the horror (Farley, 1996) must now start with the thorough reading of this amazing volume! We can adopt or derive workable strategies from some of the main ideas herein, strategies that we can build on in the practice of peace in all its relevant facets. This volume should be required reading for all people working to achieve peace, well beyond the discipline of psychology. The history of peace promotion has been awaiting this book!

The contributors are impressive writers, thinkers, scholars, researchers, and activists, and the issues they look at are exhaustive, encompassing the personal facets of peacefulness; the essential need to promote peacefulness early in the lives of children; the cultural dimensions of peace; the central role of social justice concerns; the need to educate for peace; and the often unique features of research methodologies required to advance our understanding in this complex topic with its

existential implications for society and life. No features of the evolving field of peace promotion are left untouched. As a former President of the American Psychological Association and the Society for the Study of Peace, Conflict and Violence, and Fellow of the Society for Community Research and Action, I can attest that the field of peace promotion now takes a leap forward upon the arrival of this landmark work.

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Acknowledgments

The idea for this book arose from Mary Gloria C. Njoku, who tragically died during the past year. Below we provide information to the readers about her life and contributions. Sister Mary Gloria received a PhD in Clinical Psychology with an emphasis in Community Psychology from DePaul University, Chicago, USA. Mary Gloria had been part of an Myalgic Encephalomyelitis/Chronic Fatigue Syndrome (ME/CFS) research team, and her doctoral dissertation was a landmark epidemiologic study estimating rates of ME/CFS in Nigeria, Africa, and it remains the only community-based epidemiologic study of ME/CFS that has been conducted outside of Europe or the USA. Mary Gloria was active as an adjunct teacher within both our Psychology Department and the Department of Education.

Mary Gloria also held a postdoctorate in Psychopharmacology and a Master of Education in Information Technology. After returning to Nigeria, she became a professor of clinical Psychology and the Dean of the School of Postgraduate Studies, Godfrey Okoye University, Enugu, Nigeria. Her special interest was in understanding and developing interventions that promote overall quality of life, spirituality and religion, attention being given to invisible disabilities, coping behavior, peace, education, mentoring, and community-based peace and quality-of-life studies.

During her lifetime, Mary Gloria was involved in several community psychology projects. Her first project targeted toward peace promotion was the institution of an annual youth peace conference in 2011. This conference brought together people from varied backgrounds to learn about peace and generate positive action plans. The conference has been held for secondary (high) school students, university students, teachers, and the general public. Mary Gloria established other peace projects as a result of action plans generated from the peace conferences. She established a peace club at Godfrey Okoye University in 2013. The primary goal of the peace club is to help its members develop a culture of peace and promote peace. More peace clubs have been established at neighboring high schools in Enugu, Nigeria. The second project is a book project, Stories of Peace. Through the Stories of Peace, selected articles presented at the annual peace conferences are compiled and published. The third project is a radio talk program that went by the simple name: Peace. Mary Gloria wrote and anchored the weekly radio talk, Peace, which was

aired by Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria, Coal City FM 92.9 Enugu. In this program, Mary Gloria told stories of peace and used the stories to explore psychological factors and other challenges people experience in life and methods for managing the identified challenges. The fourth project was founding a registered nongovernmental organization, the Psychology and Peace Foundation. The primary objective of this organization is the promotion of psychology and peace. Mary Gloria and her team offered psychological services and programs geared toward creating and sustaining peace.

Mary Gloria also began research ethics training at Godfrey Okoye University. This training was established to help researchers in Nigeria to learn research ethics. Through this project, both undergraduate and graduate students of Godfrey Okoye University receive relevant research ethics training and certification before they commence their research project and thesis, respectively. Mary Gloria also helped another university, Imo State University, to offer ethics training to their academic staff and students. The training offered at Godfrey Okoye University has also been opened to staff and students from other Nigerian universities. Through this research ethics training, Mary Gloria was able to support efforts targeted toward improving research output from Nigeria. Mary Gloria also established an important research team, the Interdisciplinary Sustainable Development Research Team, whose primary activity involved conducting research ethically and for sustainable development.

As a professor of Godfrey Okoye University, Mary Gloria worked on using community psychology concepts to develop her lectures and experiential learning. She ran a weekly radio program, Psychology Hour, on GOUni Radio 106.9 FM. She also had been involved in bringing consolation to communities experiencing trauma related to human-induced disasters such as community clashes, farmers/herdsmen clashes, and family disputes. Mary Gloria received the 2016 Nigerian Psychological Association award for Exceptional Delivery of Psychological Services in the Public Interest.

Mary Gloria was a strong and feisty advocate for positive change, and was a kind person loved by thousands. Her days were filled with joy and activity, trying to help others, whether they were students in her classes, faculty at her university, or families in her order. She was constantly involved in "giving away psychology" such as her weekly call-in radio program that provided listeners strategies for dealing with mental health issues. When young Nigerian women had been abducted several years ago, she was active in efforts to have them released.

Her students were touched by her passion, engagement, and commitment, and they became in the truest sense missionaries filled with inspiration to change the world. When Mary Gloria was promoted to Full Professor, there was a celebration that lasted for several days at Godfrey Okoye University, and university professors from around Nigeria took part in this festive occasion.

For the past 2 years, we had the privilege of working with Mary Gloria on this edited book. It was born from a posting on the Society for Community Research and Action listserv, and over 35 individuals agreed to write chapters for this edited volume. Mary Gloria believed that peace is a basic human rights issue, involving the

promotion of human dignity, altruism, empathy, sense of community, fairness, and the satisfaction of basic needs. Mary Gloria hoped this volume would increase knowledge of how to promote and sustain peace in varied settings around the world.

We are immensely proud of Mary Gloria, and her impact on us and so many others. In working on the context from which problems arise, in helping to understand problems in a truly ecological way, she adroitly demonstrated to a generation of students how they can truly change the world; in a sense, a peaceful revolution that provides us all with a firmer foundation for a more positive future.

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Leonard A. Jason
R. Burke Johnson

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Introduction and Overview

This volume builds on previous volumes of peace psychology, extending their contribution by drawing on peace research and practice in five continents as well as discussing emerging interdisciplinary and disciplinary theories and actions. This volume demonstrates, through theory and applications, the intellectual and heuristic leadership of psychologists engaging in promoting and sustaining peace around the world. Over the past few decades, several current psychology of peace books have focused on the concept of peace as an absence of issues such as violence, conflict, war, prejudice, and discrimination. This volume is consistent with a turn in the peace psychology literature toward peace promotion, which is seen in the publication of *Peace, Conflict, and Violence: Peace Psychology for the 21st Century* (Christie, Wagner, & Winter, 2001). We believe that peace is a basic human rights issue, involving the promotion of human dignity, altruism, empathy, communication, sense of community, sense of control, fairness, wellness, environmental harmony, environmental safety, and the satisfaction of basic needs, such as food and shelter (United Nations, 1948). We hope this volume will increase its readers' knowledge of how to promote and sustain peace in varied settings around the world.

Although the content of the current volume covers some of the same terrain as previous works, including the *Handbook on Building Cultures of Peace* (de Rivera, 2009), *Forgiveness and Reconciliation: Psychological Pathways to Conflict Transformation and Peace Building* (Kalayjian & Paloutzian, 2010), *Personal Peacefulness* (Sims, Nelson, & Puopolo, 2014), *The Handbook of Conflict Resolution: Theory and Practice* (Deutsch, Coleman, & Marcus, 2006), and *Psychological Components of Sustainable Peace* (Deutsch & Coleman, 2012), this volume adds to the body of knowledge in these areas through its emphasis on a wide range of cultural contexts. In particular, a global perspective is showcased through coverage of peace promotion efforts in Africa, Asia, North America, South America, and Europe. While the chapters are written by authors from these continents and represent multiple perspectives and theoretical approaches, it is clear that they share common interests that converge on a promotive rather than reactive approach to peace. In addition to representing a wide range of cultural contexts, a second unique

aspect of this volume is its incorporation of over 16 different specialties in psychology, ranging from biopsychology to community psychology.

This psychology of peace book focuses specifically on aiding the peace researcher, practitioner, and teacher in learning about relevant, cutting-edge peace promotion strategies. It presents several innovative approaches and illustrates their applicability to specific social problems, settings, and populations. Many of the authors of these chapters use quantitative, qualitative, and mixed methods (Jason & Glenwick, 2012, 2016) along with community-based participatory research themes emanating from the field of community psychology (Jason, Keys, Suarez-Balcazar, Taylor, Davis, 2004).

Each chapter is organized as follows: the first part of the chapter is a theoretical framework for understanding peace within the psychology subdiscipline represented (e.g., social, developmental). The second part is a critical review of research and practice that has taken place on the topic of the chapter or section (e.g., peace education, promoting personal and interpersonal peace through mindfulness, social networks that promote peace, social justice and peace). The third part presents an application of the topic in either a narrative format or an empirical investigation. Our overarching goal is for each chapter to provide an overview that informs individuals on how to create and promote peace in varied specialties and settings around the world.

We hope that this volume stimulates both practice-based and academically based scientists, as well as mental health professionals, administrators, educators, and graduate students from various disciplines to contribute to the promotion and sustenance of peace using theoretically sound, yet innovative and creative approaches. As expressed by John W. Ashe, former President of the United Nations General Assembly, "…peace does not occur by happenstance." Promoting and sustaining peace requires targeted and sustained effort. Our hope is that this book inspires its readers to develop a better understanding of peace and provides the means for promoting peace in a sustainable way.

Table of Contents and Chapter Summaries

The volume consists of four parts: personal peace, children and youth, peace in diverse cultural contexts, and promoting peace and social justice. We very much appreciate the thoughtful foreword, written by Frank Farley, and afterword, written by Bradley Olson, two outstanding scholars in the field.

Part I: Personal Peace

The chapter "Promoting Peace Through Meditation," by Mirjam Quinn, develops a theoretical framework for the understanding of peacefulness through the lens of mindful awareness, emotion regulation, and stress responsiveness, rather than

reactivity. The author addresses existing research illustrating the ways in which increased mindful awareness, better emotion regulation, and decreased stress responsiveness correlate with individual participation in issues related to peace at multiple ecosystemic levels of analysis, including the effects of mindfulness on the reduction of direct and structural violence and the promotion of strategies for peace. Applications of these principles through a mindfulness meditation program for first responders are illustrated in a case study.

The next chapter, "Mindfulness in the Peacebuilding Process," by Lynn Waelde, Adriana Panting, and Andrew G. Heise, focuses on the roles that mindfulness might play in peacebuilding dialogue. Because mindfulness training is associated with stress reduction, empathy building, emotion regulation, positive reappraisal, forgiveness, perspective taking, conflict management, and problem-solving, it may be a useful tool for addressing the underlying stress component that interferes with peacebuilding efforts. This chapter reviews the theoretical and empirical basis for using mindfulness as part of peacebuilding work and describes the ways in which mindfulness has been adapted for use in traumatized communities in the Philippines.

Carlos Hoyt's chapter, titled "Empathy in the Service of Intra- and Interpersonal Peace," recognizes empathy as essential for creating peace intra- and interpersonally. A clear explanation of the concept of empathy, along with a step-by-step guide for how to apply it in day-to-day living, is provided. *Empathic assessment*, *empathic attunement*, and *empathic response* are described as practices that everyone can adopt to successfully navigate life's challenges and negotiate social conflict in ways that optimize the likelihood of positive outcomes. The reader comes away equipped with a powerful and reliable method of seeing beyond the frustrations of interpersonal conflict and recognizing the universal factors that can lead any human being to be recalcitrant, resistant, or even combative. Once achieved, an awareness of oneself as well as an empathic attunement with the perspectives, motivations, and vulnerabilities of others enables the practitioner to find practical solutions to difficult problems with compassion and equanimity.

Barbara Kidney's chapter, "Promoting Peace: Some Perspectives from Counseling Psychology," describes a conceptual framework for exploring issues of peace at the local, national, and international levels, from the standpoint of the ordinary person. This framework is drawn from some fundamental concepts from the field of counseling psychology, including basic, and often implicit, moral values and values about healthy psychological functioning at intrapersonal and interpersonal levels. By means of strategies often used by counseling psychologists in assisting their clients to develop specific ideas for intra- and interpersonal improvements, readers are invited to gain clarity on how they define and recognize the presence (and absence) of peace, and to consider how their present and potential future feasible actions as average citizens impact peace on local, national, and global levels.

Part II: Children and Youth

Erin Paavola's chapter, "The Role of Secure Attachment, Self-Efficacy, Social Support, Stress, and Community Engagement in Peaceful Parenting," indicates that now more than ever a peaceful generation is needed in our modern-day world. The art of helpful and adaptive parenting, education, and civic engagement are key factors in raising a generation that can promote harmony within themselves and between others. This chapter draws upon the fields of psychology, counseling, and community psychology to identify how self-awareness, emotional regulation, parenting practices, social support, and community building can be in the service of fostering a peaceful mindset in youth.

The next chapter, "Raising a Peaceful Generation: The Perspective of an Asian American," by Sherry Cheng is written from the perspective of cultural psychology and focuses on the experiences of recent immigrants to New York City. The author discussed how have immigrants survived and raised their children in contexts where there are contentious political, economic, and societal barriers. She also explores how do the immigrant parents help shape their children's identities. In addition, she reviews some of the challenges and obstacles in terms of raising their children in New York City. Moreover, the chapter seeks to explore how different cultural groups have maintained and sustained peace within different communities. Finally, in an empirical investigation format, narrative stories are explored from communities in New York City to further examine the question of how to have a peaceful generation where there are diverse groups of people.

The chapter "Cultural Scars, Lost Innocence, and the Path to Restoration: A Rebirth of the African Child" by Kathleen Malley-Morrison and Chukwuemeka Emmanuel Mbaezue mentions that most African societies are predominantly collectivist in nature, with social relations forming the core of group identity. An affinity for protecting the interests and identity of the group has evolved not just as a source of strength for these societies, but also as their bane, especially in regard to the development of the African child. The authors of this chapter begin with a consideration of the corrupted forms of the *almajiri* discipleship system and the persistence of female genital mutilation (FGM) in parts of Africa today, including the cultural and historical context in which these practices survive. The chapter next presents three major psychological theories providing insight into the persistence of these practices—Albert Bandura's theory of moral disengagement, Henry Murray's theory of personology, and Johan Galtung's theories of cultural violence and positive and negative peace. Brief case studies of eight Nigerian respondents illustrate the applicability of these constructs to the persistence of *almajiri* and FGM practices today. The authors conclude with perspectives on intervention and prevention strategies in regard to cultural violence. They recommend that priority should be given to encouraging conflict transformation, peace education, balancing between individual and cultural needs, instilling moral values, and advocating practices such as social cohesion, dialogue, truth-telling, and empathy.

The chapter "Developmental Psychology and Peace," by Gabriel M. Velez and Maria Cecilia Dedios, reviews research dating from the 1960s and shows that as children age, their understandings, and conceptions about peace change along with cognitive and social development. This work highlights the importance of context, interpersonal relationships, and cognitive capabilities in how children develop ideas and behaviors related to peace. The literature draws from three theoretical bases to situate peace attitudes within ontological development: socialization theory, Piaget's cognitive stages of development, and social-cognitive theory. Using these frameworks, empirical findings demonstrate that children generally move from concrete and material notions (i.e., negative peace) to abstract, norm-related concepts that incorporate interpersonal dynamics. At the same time, these processes vary due to factors like cultural norms, historical context, and gender. The authors argue that an ecological model—Spencer's PVEST (Spencer et al., 1997)—provides an effective conceptualization of how individuals process historical and cultural contexts in developing understandings of peace and becoming peacemakers. They present empirical evidence gathered in Colombia to demonstrate this approach's utility and suggest that an ecological framework would provide a more effective guide for peace education programs and policies.

Part III: Peace in Diverse Cultural Contexts

The chapter "Social Networks That Promote Peace," by Leonard A. Jason, Angela Reilly, and Ted Bobak, indicates that those most in need of the refuge of peace are the very same groups that have the most difficulty attaining it. This adversity can be attributed to living in war-torn countries or within certain violence-prone organizations or communities. For example, prisons and jails are social settings where punishment is often the objective, rather than restorative justice or the development of peace-oriented skills and dispositions. In addition, when people leave prison, jail, or substance abuse treatment settings, they are in need of employment and a safe place to live; however, most do not receive these necessities. Some return to social networks of friends and family members that are abusing substances or engaging in illegal activities. Confronted with such maladaptive types of social networks, few are able to escape these influences. Therefore, low-cost but effective ways of replacing maladaptive social networks with ones that feature individuals who are employed in legal activities and do not abuse substances are needed. Mutual help systems, like Oxford House recovery homes, can facilitate access to supportive networks that are in the service of health, altruism, and peace. Identifying these types of inexpensive settings through which social networks can produce social justice outcomes can contribute to restructuring and improving other community-based settings that can promote peace.

The chapter "Achieving Peace Through Culturally Relevant Humanitarian Programs," by Kyle A. Msall, focuses on the current global humanitarian crisis that

has reached the highest number of displaced persons in history. Among these displaced persons are minority populations who face discrimination in a variety of forms, including direct discrimination from host countries, political and policy discrimination, and perceived discrimination through humanitarian organizations and aid workers. There are several international organizations, committees, and projects that provide guidelines for humanitarian organizations, such as the Inter-Agency Standing Committee, the Sphere Project, the Humanitarian Accountability Project, and the Core Humanitarian Standard on Quality and Accountability. Although their guidelines are well intentioned and provide a much-needed foundation for the organizations, they often lack focus regarding minority populations, a weakness which can hinder the ability of such organizations to provide aid effectively. Because of this, individuals within the target populations may believe they are being discriminated against, which can reduce peaceful rapport and lead to an increase of extremism in regions that contain a large number of displaced persons. Throughout the chapter, Msall discusses the deleterious effects of unfocused guidelines and presents current examples of how the lack of culturally relevant humanitarian programs affects the Yezidi displaced population in Iraqi Kurdistan. Recommendations and guidelines for psychologists, consultants, and organizations are discussed to help establish cultural relevancy in humanitarian programs and promote peace and decrease extremism among displaced populations.

The chapter "Traditional Methods of Promoting Peace in Southeast Nigeria," by Mary Gloria C. Njoku, Christian C. Anieke, Richard C. Okafor, Prisca Isiwu, and Babajide Gideon Adeyinka, takes the perspectives of cultural psychology and psycholinguistics to examine traditional methods of promoting peace in Southeast Nigeria. The authors illustrate the implementation of these methods in times of relative peace and show their utility during crisis periods. The authors also compare the Southeast Nigerian approaches to peace promotion.

The chapter "Forgiving, Reconciling, and Peace-Building in Refugee Contexts: Theory, Research, and Data from the War in Syria," by Raymond F. Paloutzian and Zeynep Sagir, discusses the relationships between forgiveness, reconciliation, and truth and transparency in dialogue between people on opposing sides of violent conflicts. Although it is widely assumed that forgiveness must precede reconciliation, it may be that initial steps to reconcile in the context of truth may be more effective in promoting peace, and depending on other factors, forgiveness may be an outcome. The authors suggest this outcome is increased to the degree to which people go beyond the tendency toward in-group bias, and instead develop a personal identification with all of humanity as one group. These issues are explored in an examination of responses of refugees who suffered multiple extreme traumas as victims of the war in Syria, and who then lived in Turkey for up to 6 years. In this chapter, participants' attributions of responsibility for the conflict, intent to make the transition to their new culture and to keep their home culture, and inclination toward, perceived capability of, and requirements for reconciling or forgiving versus favoring revenge and harm toward the perpetrators are assessed among refugees who have acculturated to their new environment in various ways.

Part IV: Promoting Peace and Social Justice

The first chapter in this part is titled "From a Junkyard to a Peace Promotion Sports Park: A Transdisciplinary Approach," by María C. Izquiel, Ignacio Cardona, Manuel Llorens, and Martin La Roche. The goal of this chapter is to describe the process of designing and constructing the Mesuca Sports Park in Petare, Caracas, as a way to promote peace through the increase of dialogue and resilience in the community. Venezuela is a country which is currently experiencing severe political, economic, and social turmoil. While it is unclear whether Venezuela is on the verge of a civil war, what is certain is that Venezuelan institutions have partially collapsed and generated a state of violence and chaos that is reflected in high rates of homicide. The country holds one of the highest rates of homicide in the world at 90 per 100,000 Venezuelans. One of the main tools to promote peace was involving the community of Petare in the design of this Sports Park through Participatory Design Workshops (PDWs) with a transdisciplinary approach between mental health providers, urban designers, and sport specialist. The PDWs were the main tool to foster dialogue among the diverse participants involved in designing and constructing the Sports Park. It is suggested that this dialogue was instrumental in reducing violence. The number of homicides in the Mesuca sector before and after the construction is used as an indicator of the effectiveness of this intervention. In addition, qualitative indicators such a 1-year ethnographic research project are also used to reflect the impact of this intervention that seeks to activate the resources of the community despite adversity.

"Social Justice and Peace," by Linda M. Woolf, shows that social justice, peace, and psychology are intertwined threads in the broad, global tapestry of life. Without social justice, this tapestry becomes fundamentally distorted; peace for many individuals and entire communities becomes nonexistent. Social justice is grounded in the presumption of equity, human rights, respect and value of diversity, and the promotion of equal social, political, and economic opportunities. Woolf examines the concepts related to social justice that impact the psychological well-being of individuals and communities, such as cultural, structural, and direct forms of violence, the public versus private sphere, marginalized and at-risk populations, positive and negative peace, and human rights. For example, psychology informs us that peace is not just the absence of direct violence, but also the reduction and elimination of cultural and structural forms of violence. From a social justice perspective, all individuals have the fundamental right to live free not only from the threats of harm, brutality, torture, or genocide, but also free from the burdens of inequality, lack of access to health care or legal services, and inadequate education. Grounded in the research literature, Woolf makes explicit the connections between social justice, human rights, peace processes, and psychological well-being and provides an analysis of child sex tourism as a case example.

In "Peace Stories: A Model for Creating and Sustaining Peace," Mary Gloria C. Njoku and Jessica Senehi use multiple perspectives to show how shared narratives can be effective in creating and sustaining peace. For example, one program has been instrumental to reconciliatory activities in some individuals and families.

In this case, following the presentation of a story about one family's ability to be at peace despite their diverse religious affiliations, a pastor went to his community and settled a long-standing conflict they had. There were also reports of couple and family reconciliations that occurred as a result of listening to the peace story. Some individuals described feeling inner peace after listening to the stories and others indicated that they were inspired to promote peace in their workplaces. In this chapter, three peace stories are presented to highlight the role of such narratives in peace promotion.

In "Social Movements: Transforming Problems into Solutions," Rachel M. MacNair shows that there are several features of social movements that are commonly seen as problems, but when underlying psychological dynamics are understood, they can be explained and accommodated. At times, problems can even be reframed and transformed into positive developments. One common psychological problem is the perception or attribution that one's own social movement has many distressing problems but the opposition movement is running smoothly. However, the opposition, similar to one's own group, is not likely to publicize its personality clashes, territorial squabbles, financial difficulties, and insufficient volunteers. Another problem is when a diversity of perspectives is seen as producing divisiveness. The solution is to understand the differences not as divisions, but as multiplications—"schools of thought"—that constitute complementary perspectives. Though conflicts can arise from differences, newcomers also provide much-needed energy and, when they are experienced, provide knowledge of what has actually worked and what has not worked in the past. Finally, there is the problem of constantly feeling that events are worsening at a time when they are objectively improving, resulting in unfounded and unrealistic discouragement. MacNair demonstrates how many seemingly intractable problems common to social movements can become much easier to handle when the underlying psychology is understood. Reduction of unwarranted discouragement can help make movements more effective.

August John Hoffman's chapter on "Creating an Edible Dialogue for Peace: Community Gardening, Horticulture and Urban Fruit Tree Orchards" addresses the psychological and community benefits of interdependent and collaborative community growth projects. An important component of his research addresses the psychological need for people to feel as though they have something to contribute to a shared community experience. Peace, growth, and prosocial advancement can only occur when communities provide opportunities for growth and development to occur. A shared growth experience enhances peace because we see what common themes bring us together in a less divisive manner. These topics are covered in this chapter, along with suggestions for community development and shared growth in an increasingly polarized and hostile world.

In "Public Enlightenment and Climate Change Impact: Need for Civil Society Intervention," Olaifa Temitope Abimbola shows that one of the primary aims of education, formal or informal, is to effect positive changes in behavior. Every unit of instruction will potentially infuse enlightenment and produce positive change in the lives of learners and ultimately have a utilitarian effect on the society.

Climate change is one issue currently gaining global attention, and its impact on the environment is seen as a threat to human well-being and survival. The existence of many communities is precarious because they are constantly washed away by flood, erosion, rainstorm, and other variable disasters that are due to climate change. Multiple levels of government all over the world are converging to find ways of ameliorating the impact of damages that have already incurred because of climate change. In this chapter, Abimbola focuses on the effects of climate change in Nigeria and explains how the government of Nigeria is fostering awareness of this problem among its people. The author examines how peacebuilders can, through formal and informal channels of education, effectively impart necessary awareness and motivation about the preservation and conservation of the environment, with a view to preserving a symbiotic relationship between humans and their environments. Abimbola also examines viable ways in which governmental and nongovernmental organizations can collaborate in the mass mobilization of the people of Nigeria for effective reduction, if not prevention, of climate change impact.

Part V: Peace Education and Research

In the first chapter in this part, titled "Restorative Justice in Schools: Theory, Implementation, and Realistic Expectations," Mikhail Lyubansky asks the provocation question: "What's working and what isn't working in our school justice systems?" After problematizing exclusionary discipline and other forms of punishment, Mikhail describes (a) the principles of restorative justice, (b) the challenges associated with implementing a school-wide restorative system (e.g., getting buy-in, addressing power dynamics), and (c) what we might reasonably expect from such a system in terms of utilization, resistance, and outcomes.

The next chapter in this part, "Peace Education in Psychology," by Matthew Bereza, examines, and questions, entrenched biases that peace education is a by-product of conflict and best administered by "experts." Indeed, peace studies and psychology as a profession have been forced to address a deprivation of diverse viewpoints as the world opens to immediate information sharing and exposure via social media. All too often the Global North and centers of power in the West have dominated conversations surrounding diversity in education, peace, and the creation of a sound society. Bereza discusses the theoretical foundations of peace studies, highlights historically diverse peace movements, and promotes current theories and practices of diversity that challenge mainstream peace dialogues. Examples are pulled from the Global South, women, LGBTQ, indigenous cultures, and the marginalized peoples of our planet.

The chapter "Entrenching and Strengthening Peace Education in the Nigerian School Curriculum for Peacebuilding and Sustainability in Nigeria," by Danladi Abok Atu, assesses the psychological basis of Peace Education in Nigeria. This is predicated on the major challenges of interethnic and communal co-existence in this country and Africa at large, and the specific issues facing the six geographic regions

in Nigeria are addressed. At the present time, there is no deliberate and pragmatic formal peace education as an area of study in our schools, as it is the case in other African countries of Rwanda and Kenya despite the conflict challenges in the country. The Nigerian educational policy, however, sees education as an instrument per excellence in addressing the challenges of its development. In inculcating desirable peace norms in the younger ones as a panacea for building a culture of peace therefore, the chapter examines key psychological and philosophical principles in articulating transformative peace education pedagogy in this regard. This includes curricular, co-curricular, and extra-curricular content and mythologies.

The chapter "Using Qualitative Research Methods for Advancement of Peace," by Kristen Gleason and L. Kate Corlew, provides readers with the ideas of how peace and violence can be used in a research context. They review the methods that have the potential for making compatible the *process* of peace research with the *goal* of bringing about peace on our planet. In their chapter, these authors explore research designs that pertain to sociocultural features of peace and violence, and multi-level complexity of systems of peace and violence.

In the last chapter, "Mixed Methods Research in Peace Promotion," Judith Schoonenboom and R. Burke Johnson describe how mixed methods research (MMR) was born from a longstanding intellectual war about what knowledge is, who has knowledge, and what the standards for knowledge are (called the "Paradigm War"). On one side of the argument is the common qualitative research assumption of ontological relativism/multiple truths; on the other side is the quantitative research assumption of absolutism/single truths. Johnson discusses how MM researchers are convinced that there are many different and important "truths" and strategies provided by both qualitative and quantitative research and their paradigms. As a solution, MMR often rejects binaries and prefers "both-and," "win-win," and dialectical logics/strategies. Through the use of the metaparadigm, or philosophical theory of *dialectical pluralism*, Johnson contends that MMR is in a strong place to help peace research continually move forward in new ways that capitalize on the strengths present in different worldviews and research approaches.

Conclusion

There are several audiences we hope will benefit from this book. The first audience involves scholars desiring peace promotion books for teaching peace psychology courses. The second audience involves students in psychology, public policy, urban studies, education, political science, sociology, and other disciplines designed to prepare students for careers in applied research, public administration, and the helping professions. The third audience involves practitioners in peace psychology, social justice, and related areas who are interested in learning more about approaching peace efforts from a promotion perspective.

In 2016, we posted an announcement on the Community Psychology listserv in order to solicit contributors for this book. We were very happy that 38 individuals

agreed to write 24 chapters for this edited volume, and as we have assembled this volume, it has been gratifying to learn of the collaborative peace work being conducted by community researchers and practitioners from around the world. Our open, participatory process of creating this scholarly work from the ground up is consistent with the values of the field of Community Psychology field, and a similar process was used in assembling two recent edited community psychology methods books (Jason & Glenwick, 2012, 2016). We are appreciative of the positive response we received from solicitations on this Community Psychology listserv.

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Promoting Peace Through Meditation

Mirjam Quinn

Introduction

Much of the research on peace psychology has examined the teaching, building, and keeping of peace through an exo- or macrosystemic lens, focusing on peace only as an interpersonal concept. However, in more recent years, a number of researchers (e.g., Blumberg, Hare, & Costin, 2006; Kool, 2008) have argued that nurturing peace within the individual is a prerequisite toward peacebuilding on a larger ecological scale. Similarly, a growing number of psychologists (e.g., Jason & Glenwick, 2016; Moritsugu, Vera, Wong, & Duffy, 2013) have highlighted the importance of considering individual and intrapersonal factors in community peace work, as they define the work of community psychology as integrating strengths-based interdisciplinary approaches centered on a contextual understanding of individual needs in building community-wide preventive programs. In this chapter, I develop a theoretical framework for understanding the practice of peacefulness through the lens of intrapersonal, protective socioemotional skills including mindful awareness (being "in tune with" and aware of, but not reactive to, our own thoughts and emotions), emotion regulation (the capacity to experience strong emotions without becoming overwhelmed by them and either becoming emotionally flooded or shutting down), and compassion (the empathetic recognition and care for another's experience). Further, I will address some ways in which a combination of two meditation practices (mindfulness meditation and metta meditation) can help teach the mindful awareness, emotion regulation, and compassion that individuals need to successfully recognize and navigate opportunities for peacebuilding.

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Peacebuilding Within a Systemic Context

Among the numerous definitions of peace, some are more and some are less formally/precisely operationalized. Some definitions focus on intrapersonal states of being, some focus on interpersonal relationships, and others focus on exosystemic processes. Some definitions focus on peace as negative space—the absence of strife, war, or struggle. Others focus on peace as a positive gestalt—the presence of calm, equanimity, or quiet. In my work as a psychotherapist, I have found it useful to think of peace as not a static *state*, but rather as the *process* of moving toward increased inter- or intrapersonal congruence through repeated cycles of rupture/crisis and repair. As such, the practice of peace building is both possible and necessary throughout all the systems in which we live and breathe—from the mother–child dyad to the international community. Peacebuilding in each situation will occur on vastly different scales and at different levels of complexity, and the influences of underlying systems of oppression will be present and visible to differing degrees. Yet, different situations will share in common the general overarching theme of stasis-crisis-rebalancing (i.e., the constant nature of crisis and rebalancing within evolving relationships) and there are particular socioemotional skills, including mindful presence, emotion regulation, and compassion that are necessary to skillfully navigating this process.

Here are several diverse examples of shared human experience that illustrate this process of rupture/crisis and repair, from the microsystemic to the macrosystemic:

(a) An infant may be looking at a caregiver, cooing and smiling and attempting to make eye contact—but the caregiver may be preoccupied with a different task. The infant might redouble her efforts, then begin crying—and the caregiver responds by setting aside his other tasks, picking up the child, and soothing her.

(b) A teenager is struggling with friendships. The parent, with her own painful history of loneliness and unmet need triggered, reacts by trying to intervene in the situation and solve the problem the teenager is facing. Overwhelmed by the parent's anxiety, the teenager then withdraws. Finally, the parent recognizes this withdrawal and, rather than continuing to try to problem-solve, she joins the teenager in his sadness.

(c) An adult feels a growing sense of distance from her wife, which triggers feelings of vulnerability, grief, and fear. Because she struggles with feeling and expressing these emotions, she in turn withdraws from her wife. The wife senses this withdrawal and approaches her partner, and creates an opportunity for connection.

(d) A black teenager is murdered by a white off-duty police officer who is later acquitted. This injustice is an impossible-to-ignore enactment of the underlying structural systems of violence within the city. The resulting protests force the beginnings of difficult conversations between those that (intentionally and/or unintentionally) work to uphold systemic violence and oppression and those that work to dismantle it.

(e) On an international level, a refugee crisis that seems sudden but has been developing for centuries through systemic colonialism and ecological oppression, begins to force serious conversations about identity, white supremacy, and the impact of existing economic systems on the world's population and the planet itself.

Obviously, there are dramatic differences between the call and response of an infant and her caregiver, and the global refugee crisis. As the circles of the ecological system widen, the impact of these ruptures/crises increase exponentially, evolving from issues that *can* damage relationships to issues that *are* literally about life and death. As the circles widen, the distance (both literally and figuratively) between the individuals involved increases—and this distance makes repair much more complicated for a number of reasons, including that (a) it is more difficult to empathize with, and easier to otherize, people who are not physically or emotionally close to us (Meyer et al., 2013), (b) there is a larger number of people (with intersecting goals and needs) involved, and (c) the associated violence and oppression becomes increasingly explicitly structural *as well as* interpersonal. These factors create the need for explicit dismantling of structural discrimination/violence as well as individual behavioral change.

Socioemotional Peacebuilding Skills

Of course, the *tools* that we use for peacemaking in these disparate situations differ depending on the scope of the system within which these processes of rupture and repair occur, and much of the research and theory of peacemaking focuses (rightly so) on the teaching, building, and keeping of peace as a macrosystemic, interpersonal concept centered around systemic change. However, I believe that our ability to openly and bravely participate in these various tools of peacemaking rather than participating (both intentionally and non-intentionally) in direct and structural violence depends on a specific socioemotional skill set based in mindful awareness, emotion regulation, and compassion. Harriet Lerner (1990) noted that when the intensity of a relationship or interaction is high, we tend to handle difficult situations in a reactive manner characterized by overfocusing on the "other" and the ways in which we believe others to be at fault in creating existing tensions, while rigidly insisting on our own polarized position. This action may decrease our momentary anxiety (recreating a sense of stasis), but it prohibits the interpersonal communication and connection with "the other" that are a necessary beginning step toward peacemaking and positive growth. Within all of the systemic spaces we occupy, managing the anxiety caused by change sufficiently so that we are able to fully participate in peacemaking behaviors requires the ability to notice and "sit with" our emotions (mindful awareness), to manage these emotions (emotion regulation), and to hold the other individual or group involved in a compassionate regard that recognizes their personhood, dignity, and needs and wants.

In the example of the infant and parent, the parent needs to recognize his distractedness (mindful awareness), acknowledge the child's needs without becoming distracted by shame or irritation (emotion regulation), and approach his child with the understanding that she is crying not to make her father's life harder, but because she, like all humans, is seeking connection and acknowledgement (compassion). A step toward emotional attunement and congruence within the relationship has been taken. Conversely, a parent who lacks these skills might ascribe the child's behavior to "being a fussy baby" rather than as an expression of need, and as a result the parent may feel irritated by the child's "fussiness" and continue to ignore the baby until the baby ceases her attempts to connect. The difficult emotions associated with the situation are deflected, and the status quo is reestablished, but no real repair or movement toward emotional congruence between parent and child occurs.

In the example of the married partners, the unhappy partner needs to recognize the underlying causes of her unhappiness (e.g., loneliness, anxiety about the future, a feeling of being overwhelmed with life stressors). If she is unable to "sit with" or regulate these emotions, she may reestablish a deceptive sense of balance by muting those emotions, perhaps through alcohol or drug abuse, refusing to acknowledge the emotions' existence, and/or by having an affair. Conversely, if she manages to regulate her emotions, and to recognize her partner as an individual with her own history and needs (who perhaps seems withdrawn because she is struggling with depression or difficulty at work) and to hold those needs in compassion, then repair can occur and the relationship can move toward greater congruence.

When we look at conflicts on a community, national, or international level, the process of mindful self-awareness begins to depend more heavily on our emotion-regulation skills because, here, the themes become more heavily entrenched in shame. Given the intersectional nature of our identities, every person will at different times participate in, and benefit from, structures of oppression to some degree. The continued existence of these structures depends on their invisibility, as they are inconsistent with values that many communities and countries explicitly claim to espouse (take for example the U.S. American dictum that "all men are created equal"). These communities and countries often cope with the dissonance between explicitly stated values of equality and implicitly functioning, normalized systems of inequality by localizing the causes of oppression and injustice within extreme, fully otherized archetypes of those who are oppressed (Hardiman, Jackson, & Griffin, 2007; Pharr, 1996; Young, 1990).

Of all of the systems of oppression that operate within US culture, possibly the clearest example occurs within the context of racism. Despite (or, arguably, because) of the United States' history being inextricably entwined with racial oppression and violence, the term "racism" itself is so loaded with shame that even individuals who explicitly espouse racist beliefs do not typically identify as being racist (in a notable example, Peter Cvjetanovic, one of the participants of the white supremacist march in Charlottesville, Virginia in the USA went on record in an National Public Radio interview explaining that he is "not [an] angry racist" and that he "loves all people").

Being able to engage in the difficult conversations that must occur if we are to effect meaningful change within systems of racial oppression requires that the conversation partners who are benefiting directly from a racist societal structure do

the hard work of acknowledging the existence of structures of oppression and violence, and their participation in them (mindful awareness), without becoming so flooded by shame that they derail, shut down, or otherwise hamstring these conversations in order to escape the difficult emotions that go along with acknowledging these truths (emotion regulation).

In the example of the murdered teenager, many white community members will likely feel a great deal of discomfort as the community discusses police violence, structural racism, and continued inequality in their country. It requires a great deal of emotion-regulation skills to "stay in" the conversation rather than derailing it by focusing on what the teenager may or may not have been doing that led the police officer to believe that it was reasonable to shoot him.

It will be helpful to people of color (and others) who take on the burden of participating in these conversations to rely on mindful awareness as a means of self-preservation—to allow them to recognize when the emotional burden of educating others about the long, traumatic past and present of racialized violence and oppression becomes injurious and traumatic in and of itself, and to respond with self-protective behaviors (such as leaving a conversation, or asking a trusted ally to speak up).

White community members will need to develop the empathy and compassion necessary to listen respectfully and openly to people of color, and to view the murdered teenager as an individual rather than as a faceless threat. White community members will also need to utilize compassion and empathy of the other to become and stay aware of the impact these conversations can have on the people of color who participate with them. They will also need to recognize their own responsibility to help structure these interactions in such a way as to avoid placing an undue burden of emotional labor on community members of color. It is this compassion, this sense of *shared* humanity, that will add a sense of urgency to the conversation. This sense of urgency will help produce positive change, as it will allow communities to understand that change is not just the right thing to do, but that the longer we wait to work toward change, the more suffering we will experience in our communities.

Mindfulness Meditation, Metta Meditation, and Socioemotional Peacebuilding Skills

Mindfulness and metta (loving-kindness) meditation are two closely related practices that are uniquely positioned to help individuals "train" these necessary socioemotional skills of mindful awareness, emotion regulation, and compassion. Learning these skills, and becoming "fluent" in practicing them, will help equip people with important skills they need to participate in the peacemaking process in a brave and vulnerable way (Tang, Hoelzel, & Posner, 2015).

Mindfulness meditation is a meditation practice centered around the psychology of presence. The term connotes the fact that there is no specific end goal in mind, but that we need to practice new ways of being in and relating to the world, moment after moment, and day after day. Specifically, mindfulness meditation is the practice of

"paying attention in a particular way: on purpose, in the present moment, and non-judgmentally (Kabat-Zinn, 1996)." The idea is to become more aware of, and attentive to, our own thoughts, physical sensations, and emotions in any given moment, and to practice allowing ourselves to experience these emotions fully and nonjudgmentally. As a wise mentor of mine once said: "Don't just do something—sit there!"

Thus, the practitioner trains her attention (often on the breath) and works on noticing when her attention drifts. When this drifting attention invariably occurs, the practitioner gently redirects her focus back to the breath. The practitioner also attempts to hold her emotional state in conscious awareness; when emotions (such as irritation, frustration, or boredom, but also calm, equanimity, or peace) surface, she works to acknowledge these emotions and to allow them to be present (rather than reacting to them or attempting to eradicate uncomfortable emotions) until they dissipate again.

We know from existing neuroplasticity research (e.g., Nelson, Parker, & Siegel, 2014) that the architecture of our brains is constantly changing, creating new neuronal connections with each experience—connections that become stronger every time we physically practice or even think about that experience. We are, in essence, what we practice. When we are practicing mindfulness meditation, we are practicing two of the emotional skills that help individuals successfully participate in peacemaking: mindful awareness and emotion regulation. Mindfulness meditation is the practice of mindful awareness skills because it is the practice of being aware of our own internal states (thoughts, emotions) as they occur ("I am feeling unsure of myself, and I am worried about the future"), rather than becoming distracted by a focus on the past ("this is just like that time in third grade when I embarrassed myself!"), future ("what if I say the wrong thing?"), or toward others ("this person is such a jerk; I bet they're just waiting for me to make a fool out of myself!"). It is also a practice of emotion-regulation skills because uncomfortable emotions (most frequently boredom, irritation, and frustration) invariably surface as we meditate, giving us the opportunity to practice "sitting with" them. For many individuals, allowing emotions to be present rather than reacting to them is an important learning experience—it is a practice of distress tolerance skills (the skill to be uncomfortable without attempting to stop the situation) and includes as an awareness of the fact that emotions are impermanent and will, with time, soften and then dissolve on their own. Unsurprisingly, the practice of mindfulness meditation is associated with increased mindful awareness in everyday life (Chiesa, Carati, & Serretti, 2011; Desbordes et al., 2012; Eberth & Sedlmeier, 2012; Lykins & Baer, 2009; Tang, Yang, Leve, & Harold, 2012), which in turn is associated with a host of positive effects including decreases in fear of emotion, decreases in hostile attribution bias, improved behavioral self-regulation, and better recognition of thought processes (Kelley & Lambert, 2012; Lykins & Baer, 2009).

The intentional building of compassion and a sense of commonality with others is a critical component of peacebuilding because we feel (rather than cogitate about) another individual's experiences most directly and acutely when we feel a sense of kinship or similarity with that person (Hein, Silani, Preuschoff, Batson, & Singer, 2010; Meyer et al., 2013). Loving-kindness, or metta meditation, is a form of meditation that focuses on building and wishing and enacting compassion

toward oneself and others; it explicitly focuses on developing a sense of connection to others. One type of metta meditation that focuses on shared humanity and thus seems particularly suited for peacebuilding practices is the "Just Like Me meditation" developed by Chade-Meng Tan (2014). In Just Like Me meditation, the practitioner brings to mind an individual that he or she is distant from or has had a minor conflict. The practitioner then holds this person in their mind as they bring to mind the basic human experiences that they share with this individual, such as belongingness and safety needs, the need to be loved, and past experiences of shame, sadness, and heartbreak, but also peace and joy. Finally, the practitioner speaks a benediction to the individual, wishing them peace, happiness, love, and abundance.

Although most meditation research focuses on mindfulness meditation as well as mindfulness-based stress reduction programs, existing research into metta meditation is also promising. Metta meditation practices have been linked to increased happiness, empathy, and compassion, as well as to decreased implicit bias against stigmatized groups (Alba, 2013; Hutcherson, Seppala, & Gross, 2008; Kang, Gray, & Dovidio, 2014; Leppma, 2012; Lutz, Brefczynski-Lewis, Johnstone, & Davidson, 2008).

Conclusion and Implications

Taken together, the literature reviewed in this chapter strongly suggests that a combination meditation practice consisting of both mindfulness meditation and metta meditation (ideally in community settings such as schools, places of worship, town halls) can help individuals in developing the mindful awareness, emotion regulation, and compassion that are the intrapersonal building blocks of interpersonal peace. While meditation is not easy, it is free, simple, and straightforward and can be learned independently as well as in group settings (an inherent benefit of group meditation being that communal meditation can, in itself, help create a sense of community). Finally, both mindfulness and metta meditation can be taught even to very young children, rendering it uniquely useful for teaching and promoting peace across the lifespan, including the home, schools, and various community settings. For these reasons, meditation should be considered a useful and important component of all peace education, and meditation practices should be integrated into preventive and restorative community peacebuilding initiatives.

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Mindfulness in the Peacebuilding Process

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Peacebuilding dialogue is intended to help participants transform relationships, including enemy relationships, into forms that would promote peacebuilding efforts. It is designed to inspire the vision, perspective-taking, and strategic thinking that are necessary to overcome relational barriers to resolving conflict (Powell & Maoz, 2014). Given its associations with stress reduction, empathy building, emotion regulation, positive reappraisal, forgiveness, perspective-taking, conflict management, and problem-solving, mindfulness training may facilitate these shifts in thinking, feeling, and relating to others required by peacebuilding efforts. The current chapter will review the theoretical and empirical bases for using mindfulness as part of peacebuilding work and will describe the ways in which peacebuilding dialogue can be adapted to include a mindfulness perspective.

Peacebuilding Frameworks

Although some form of peacebuilding has likely been around as long as conflict has existed, modern psychology's contributions did not occur until the early 1940s and did not receive much attention until the Cold War of the late 1950s (Christie & Montiel, 2013). A review of the peace psychology literature informed Hoshmand and Kass' (Hoshmand & Kass, 2003) argument that peacebuilding efforts would likely be more effective with greater collaboration across sub-disciplines of psychology, as well as other disciplines. They argued that community groups engaging in peacebuilding should understand their respective cultural identities and potential differences, engage in civic communal dialogue, develop skills necessary for conflict resolution and interactive problem-solving, find solutions to power imbalances

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and incidents of injustice, and provide support for psychospiritual development and trauma healing.

Given the hundreds of models for peacebuilding that have been described in the literature, the Search for Common Ground organization utilized a multiparty action-reflection process to identify ten broad theories of change for peacebuilding, although the authors acknowledged other types of change in peacebuilding may also exist (Church & Rogers, 2006). Five of the ten change theories they reviewed are described below, based on their apparent applicability to psychological contributions to peacebuilding. Church and Rogers described individual change theory as involving peacebuilding through change in attitudes, behaviors, and skills on the individual level. The authors provided examples of specific changes that might fall within this framework, such as tolerance of different perspectives, having an understanding of rights and how justice systems work, and the skill to move from power-based negotiations to interest-based negotiations. A second theory of change is the healthy relationships and connections theory, which is the idea that peacebuilding occurs after reducing polarization and division, isolation, prejudice, and group stereotypes. Church and Rogers suggested strong relationships among all parties are a necessary ingredient for peacebuilding. Importantly, contributions from the field of community psychology over the past several decades have emphasized the interdependency of individuals within the larger networks to which they belong, noting that individuals are more willing to make personal sacrifices for a group when they feel they exist in a larger interdependent network (Jason et al., 2016). Thus, strong relationships might strengthen interdependency and contribute to the peacebuilding process.

Another theory of change examined by Church and Rogers was the root causes/ justice theory which places emphasis on injustices (past and ongoing), oppression, exploitation, and victimization. It encompasses the idea that peace becomes possible when all participants of a conflict are able to place issues on the public policy agenda, wherein the focus is shifted from criticisms of individuals to focusing on underlying issues. A fourth theory of change, known as public attitudes theory, is the idea that peace can be promoted through media sources to change public attitudes, due to the fact that conflict among people is often motivated, in part, by misperceptions, prejudice, and intolerance of differences. The last theory of change chosen for the current review is grassroots mobilization theory which holds that if ordinary citizens organize peacebuilding events, leaders will follow. These efforts are primarily done through advocacy events and nonviolence campaigns, utilizing local media sources to share their message (Church & Rogers, 2006).

These theories of change may underlie frameworks for guiding peacebuilding dialogue among parties in post-conflict communities. Three of these frameworks for dialogue are described below: The personal narrative framework, the psychosocial framework, and the four-question framework. All three frameworks address psychological barriers to peace and as such seem inherently to place high demand on self-regulatory, cognitive, and emotional resources for those engaging in the peacebuilding process.

The Personal Narrative Framework

Chaitin's (2014) personal narrative framework stated that there are types of narratives that act to promote peace and reconciliation efforts and there are types of narratives that act to obstruct peace. Chaitin described a four-point continuum with narratives that call for (1) vengeance, then (2) victimhood, followed by narratives of (3) confusion, ending with (4) embracing the other, without relinquishing one's own pain. The former two narratives tend to thwart peacebuilding, while the latter two tend to promote it. Chaitin argued that it was important to note that people do not necessarily move in a linear fashion through the continuum but may bounce around from various narratives over time. Others have suggested more positive outcomes with narratives that promote victimhood, noting the possibility of increased solidarity among group members (Yildiz & Verkuyten, 2011). Although narrative efforts appear to have occurred primarily on the individual change level, it could be argued that such attempts also act to influence communal, intergenerational, and perhaps even societal levels.

Auerbach (2009) argued that narratives of past and present traumas (and glories) are essential to national and ethnic identity yet are also potentially flexible. In this framework, attitudes can only be changed through a deep and long process of reconciliation involving the various narratives that inform identity. The author described a multi-stage reconciliation pyramid in which certain conditions must be met, beginning with knowing the facts of the others' narrative (acquaintance) and moving up through acknowledgement, empathy, restitution, responsibility, apology, and incorporation. The author noted that in the case of ongoing conflicts, there is often a preoccupation with the idea of identifying who is the victim and who is the victimizer. Similarly, the term competitive victimhood has been used to describe the need for parties within a conflict to compete for the status of suffering the most injustices in efforts to determine who is more of a victim; when competitive victimhood is decreased, willingness to engage in forgiveness is increased (Noor, Shnabel, Halabi, & Nadler, 2012). The ability for participants on either side of a conflict to see beyond this dichotomous way of thinking likely requires substantial cognitive and emotional capacities at the individual and collective level.

The Psychosocial Framework

The psychosocial model of peacebuilding refers to a wide range of peacebuilding activities. Although many programs are in existence and share common goals of trying to improve social conditions, self-esteem, and the ability to talk about problems, programs such as youth groups, sports, theater, and other programs may not be referred to as psychosocial interventions at the community level but are designed to promote peaceful and collaborative interactions among people in conflict areas (Hamber & Gallagher, 2014). Hart and Colo (2014) argued that coexistence leads to

reconciliation as long as there are meaningful emotional and awareness-raising experiences among all conflicted parties. They placed emphasis on the influence that former soldiers and other survivors of wars had in creating and maintaining mistrust among individuals and within larger communities. Another component within this model was the power of storytelling among those in the same group that consequently increased the willingness of those people to engage in rebuilding trust with members of the outgroup, bearing some resemblance to the narrative framework previously described.

The Four-Question Framework

The four-question framework identified four relational barriers to peacebuilding efforts (Bland, Powell, & Ross, 2012; Powell & Maoz, 2014). First, the parties to a conflict must be able and willing to describe a vision of a shared future. Next, is the consideration of trustworthiness; that is, are both sides able to trust each other to honor commitments for a shared future? It becomes particularly important to ask what will ensure commitments when past promises between conflicted parties have been broken (Bland et al., 2012).

The third question of the framework addresses loss acceptance, flowing from the recognition that the involved parties will likely feel that in order for the agreement to be truly equitable, the other side would need to give up more than currently agreed upon. Thus, both parties must understand that this sense of loss and inequity will exist regardless of the neutrality of agreed upon terms, necessitating acceptance of loss. Similar to the third question, the fourth component places emphasis on the assumption that inequity is agreed upon terms may lead to feelings that the agreement is therefore unjust. Herein lies the question of how to navigate just entitlements, as surely one or both sides may feel that the other side has to make fewer or less significant concessions and may feel the other side receives things they were never entitled to in the first place. Bland et al. (2012) suggested that as long as symmetric concessions can be made on both sides, just entitlements may not present much of an issue. The authors postulated that in the long run, people will likely see that the benefits of the peace deal, as evidenced by improved quality of life, will outweigh the perceived costs. There has been a recent call to apply the framework to various examples of ongoing and past conflict in efforts to test its assumptions and to inform any necessary revisions (Powell & Maoz, 2014).

The Impacts of Mindfulness on Peacebuilding

Mindfulness has come to be defined as continued redirection of one's attention to their experiences as it occurs moment-to-moment through a lens of openness, non-judgment, and acceptance (Bishop et al., 2004; Kabat-Zinn, 2011). The term mindfulness refers to the ability to maintain an object in the mind while still maintaining

awareness and attentiveness to occurrences in the present moment (Lutz, Jha, Dunne, & Saron, 2015). This self-regulation involves awareness of mental processes, such as changing thoughts, emotions, and sensations, as they occur and is facilitated by a perspective of curiosity and acceptance toward mental contents (Bishop et al., 2004; Chiesa, Calati, & Serretti, 2011). Mindfulness is thought of as a human capacity that is further developed and improved with continued practice (Bishop et al., 2004; Waelde & Thompson, 2016).

In addition to periods of dedicated practice in sitting meditation, mindfulness may be practiced while completing most tasks. In fact, there have been many studies regarding the practice of mindfulness during varied activities such as eating (Dalen et al., 2010), exercising, taking classes (Netz & Lidor, 2003), showering (Bögels & Restifo, 2014), singing (Elliott, 2010), and more. The item or process that is the focus of attention during mindfulness practice can differ depending on preferences or habits of the user. The portability of mindfulness into daily tasks suggests that it has potential for enhancing constructive engagement in peacebuilding dialogue.

Stress Reduction

Mindfulness can serve as a buffer against stress from various sources (Brown-Iannuzzi, Adair, Payne, Richman, & Fredrickson, 2014). Individuals who more regularly engage in mindfulness experience lower levels of stress and anxiety and an increased ability to respond adaptively and self-regulate when stress occurs (Kiken & Shook, 2012; Kraemer, Luberto, O'Bryan, Mysinger, & Cotton, 2016). Mindfulness can also be used to manage and reduces stress, making it especially important when dealing with interpersonal relationships, and the stress that often arises in them (Laurent, Laurent, Lightcap, & Nelson, 2016). The ability of mindfulness to reduce stress and negative behaviors related to stress has also been demonstrated physiologically through neuroendocrine stress responses, such as cortisol (Laurent, Hertz, Nelson, & Laurent, 2016). The use of mindfulness during interpersonal conflict enhanced hypothalamic pituitary adrenal (often known as a stress response system) regulation in the presence of negative behaviors by others; those who were more mindful during the conflict demonstrated quicker cortisol recovery, indicating regulation of physiological stress responses (Laurent, Hertz, et al., 2016). This capacity for managing stress that is enhanced by mindfulness appears essential for managing the stress that comes with peacebuilding or conflict resolution.

Emotion Regulation

Emotion regulation is the modification of a component of how one experiences emotions or responds to them (Gross, 1998). The emotional experiences and expressions being targeted may be responses that are automatic or intentional processes (Gyurak, Gross, & Etkin, 2011). One of the specific strategies that can be used to

combat emotion dysregulation is mindfulness (Mandal, Arya, & Pandey, 2011). Mindfulness enables change in neurocognitive networks involved in emotion regulation and intention (Vago & Silbersweig, 2012). The capacity that increased emotion regulation through mindfulness has to modulate repeated arousal of a fight-or-flight response (Guendelman, Medeiros, & Rampes, 2017) triggered in those exposed to conflict and trauma may serve to reduce repeated automatic responses to fight or flee that prevent effective peacebuilding dialogues. The ability to regulate emotions is linked to better ability in handling interpersonal differences (Rizkalla, Wertheim, & Hodgson, 2008).

Mindfulness allows for regulation of emotions and cognitions related to automatic stereotypic behavior (Djikic, Langer, & Stapleton, 2008). The more one participates in mindfulness, the less likely they are to engage in automatic prejudices and act on stereotypic behaviors (Djikic et al., 2008). In a study conducted by Alkoby, Halperin, Tarrasch, and Levit-Binnun (2017), individuals who were exposed to mindfulness experienced a reduction in negative emotions and perceptions, reducing their level of threat perception by those they are in conflict with.

Empathy

The ability to feel empathy for another and communicate empathically fosters helping behavior and increases dialogue between different individuals or groups (Block-Lerner, Adair, Plumb, Rhatigan, & Orsillo, 2007). Mindfulness and the nonjudgmental, present-moment awareness it fosters contributes positively to the development and maintenance of empathy and empathic responding to others (Block-Lerner et al., 2007). The ability to regulate one's own emotions and empathize are central to productive conflict management, problem-solving, and forgiveness, as it allows for recovery of positive affect and perspectives following stress or negative events (Rizkalla et al., 2008). In a study conducted by Rizkalla et al. (2008), individuals who empathized less with others were more likely to engage in conflict and not concede while increased empathy predicted the longer lasting, constructive problem-solving and forgiveness (Rizkalla et al., 2008).

Positive Reappraisal

Cognitive reappraisal occurs when modification of the original appraisal of a stimulus occurs as a result of the mental feedback from the individual (Garland, Gaylord, & Park, 2009). Cognitive reappraisal allows for the restructuring of emotional cues prior to the onset of the emotional response (Nyklíček, 2011). Reappraisal can be a valuable tool and healthy strategy that does not pose cognitive harm for those affected by trauma (Moore, 2008; Westphal & Bonanno, 2007). The use of cognitive reappraisal may prevent or relieve stress-related difficulties and can be seen as

a resilience factor for those exposed to trauma (Moore, 2008). Those who reappraise have less need for maladaptive or harmful coping styles (Weinstein, Brown, & Ryan, 2009).

Mindfulness promotes and increases the use of a more adaptive process of cognitive reappraisal called positive reappraisal (Weinstein et al., 2009). This is done by reducing the perceived strength or impact of a negative appraisal of a stimuli or event (Goldin & Gross, 2010; Hanley, Garland, & Black, 2014; Mandal, Arya, & Pandey, 2017). Through mindfulness, one more often perceives stressful events as valuable, manageable, beneficial, and transitory experiences (Garland et al., 2009). Positive reappraisal is a potent mechanism for regulating strong emotions and healthy adaptation when faced with significant life stressors (Halperin, Porat, Tamir, & Gross, 2013). Indeed, there is some evidence that brief training in positive reappraisal, a form of emotion regulation that suggests emotions can be altered when one changes the meaning of a situation, may increase one's willingness to support conciliatory policies, even in the case of intractable conflict (Rizkalla et al., 2008).

Forgiveness

Healthy forgiveness occurs when negative affect, emotions, and behaviors are transformed into positive ones and occurs through acceptance and awareness of strong emotions, letting go, reframing, empathy, and construction of a new narrative of self and other (Rizkalla et al., 2008). Forgiveness has been studied and results indicate benefits to one's mental and physical health (Rizkalla et al., 2008). The ability to manage emotions is key to the forgiving process (Jeter & Brannon, 2017). Mindfulness is a promising technique in promoting forgiveness (Jeter & Brannon, 2017). In one study, individuals who participated in a mindfulness program were more likely to promote positive attitudes toward giving and seeking forgiveness, regardless of the participant's previous level of exposure to mindfulness training (Jeter & Brannon, 2017).

Interpersonal forgiveness has been well documented as a variable that leads to the reduction of interpersonal conflict. Forgiveness is a protective factor against depression, anxiety, and stress symptoms and those with higher disposition to forgive have higher problem-solving abilities and tend to act in a manner that reduces conflict (Jarrett, Pickett, Amsbaugh, & Afzal, 2017). One's ability for perspective-taking is also essential to the forgiveness process (Jeter & Brannon, 2017).

Perspective Taking

Perspective-taking is the capacity to mentally portray an outlook that one does not personally hold (Frick, Möhring, & Newcombe, 2014). Perspective-taking allows an individual to tolerate or appreciate the views, beliefs, or customs of diverse

individuals or groups, or simply an outgroup much different from oneself, without negative bias (Derntl et al., 2010). Perspective-taking engages regions of the brain associated with cognitive and affective functioning (Guttman & Laporte, 2000). Trauma exposure is associated with difficulties with the cognitive processes involved in perspective-taking and empathy while still being able to display affective cues of it to others (Frick et al., 2014; Grecucci, Pappaianni, Siugzdaite, Theuninck, & Job, 2015). Perspective-taking has been demonstrated to reduce negative bias and allows for emotional regulation and minimization of harmful group conflict (Frick et al., 2014).

Mindfulness strengthens perspective-taking ability by allowing the practitioner to observe their own aversive thoughts and sensations about themselves or other groups or individuals (Grecucci et al., 2015; Kabat-Zinn, 1982) without engaging in them, creating distance between the observing self and the aversive sensations (Ludvik & Goldin, 2017). Through mindfulness practices, which involve non-reactivity and acceptance, understanding may be fostered for others who are from different backgrounds, identities, values, cultures, and groups which would prevent escalation of emotions to an intensity that can cause harm and destruction, while not compromising one's own sense of self (Ludvik & Goldin, 2017).

Increased perspective-taking is associated with increased forgiveness and problem-solving. Rizkalla et al. (2008) demonstrated that individuals who more regularly engage in perspective-taking also more regularly demonstrate an interpersonal style that does not promote conflict. They showed that perspective was related to the ability to repair emotions, forgive, and to problem-solve during interpersonal conflict. They also reported that perspective-taking also allows for better anticipation of the behaviors and reactions of another, allowing for selection of behaviors that would not threaten others, permitting more stable interpersonal relationships. These findings suggest that enhanced capacities for perspective-taking would serve an important role in peacebuilding.

Conflict Management

More mindful individuals have been shown to be better manage interpersonal conflict (Alkoby et al., 2017). In a study conducted in 2016, Jewish–Israeli individuals were presented with an "anger-inducing" video depicting an Israeli parliament member representing an opposing political party, giving a harsh speech against their government's actions (Alkoby et al., 2017). Individuals that received mindfulness training for the study were more supportive of peacebuilding policies with the opposing party compared to participants that received no mindfulness training and the increased support was mediated by a decrease in negative emotions and perceptions (Alkoby et al., 2017). During times of interpersonal stress exposure, an individual's use of mindfulness (regardless of other mindfulness practice during lesser times of stress) is important for psychosocial functioning and global well-being (Laurent, Laurent, et al., 2016).

Problem-Solving

Humans often engage in routine and outdated problem-solving strategies that are not applicable or most effective for the problems they are trying to solve due to habitual patterns in behavior (Ostafin & Kassman, 2012). Effective problem-solvers of interpersonal conflict are those who can regulate negative emotions and examine the feelings and perspectives of others in order to seek solutions to meet the needs and interests of both groups (Rizkalla et al., 2008). Mindfulness involves nonelaborative awareness which reduces habitual responses and increases responses appropriate to the immediate experience, which can facilitate insight problem-solving (Ostafin & Kassman, 2012).

Ostafin and Kassman (2012) conducted two studies which demonstrated that individuals who had more mindful awareness were better able to solve insight problems that demanded the ability to overcome automatic responses learned from past experiences. Mindfulness training also led to an improvement in social problem-solving (problems related to social structures, situations, or issues). The association of mindfulness with better social problem-solving ability has also been studied in individuals with mood issues with difficulties regulating their emotions and cognitions, such as those that engage in rumination at a high rate (Sanders & Lam, 2010). Mindfulness can increase conflict-related problem-solving ability and allow for different groups and individuals to recognize others' interests, while not sacrificing their own (Rizkalla et al., 2008). Constructive problem-solving can lead to effective and lasting forgiveness as it may allow for solutions to address past hurts and differing needs without harboring negative emotions (Rizkalla et al., 2008). This may lead to longer lasting change than that which may occur by one group blindly yielding to another which had caused them hurt.

Self-Regulation, Mindfulness, and Peacebuilding

The foregoing review indicated that peacebuilding efforts require extensive personal resources, involving vision, perspective-taking, and strategic thinking in order to transform relationships into forms that would promote peacebuilding efforts (Powell & Maoz, 2014). There are numerous capacities that may be impaired by exposure to conflict which may be enhanced by mindfulness practice in the service of peacebuilding dialogue. As the review indicated, the attention control and stimulus selection benefits of mindfulness might reduce avoidance of difficult topics and promote non-evaluative present-moment attention, including monitoring of one's own reactions without letting them become the predominant focus of attention, fostering the ability to engage in dialogue. Metacognitive processing encourages insight into one's own biases and reactions, possibly enhancing the ability of practitioners to consider others' viewpoints. Because positive reappraisal encourages consideration of past stressors as manageable, it may promote the capacity to

consider creative solutions to conflict. Bodily awareness enhances self-monitoring of emotional arousal and regulation of stress reactivity, promoting the distress tolerance necessary to navigate the difficult and stressful interactions entailed in peacebuilding. Perspective-taking enhances the ability to tolerate and cope with expressions that are in conflict with one's own beliefs and values, fostering constructive dialogue, without necessitating agreement with opposing viewpoints. Habitual responses, particularly hyperarousal, can be interrupted through mindful self-awareness and self-monitoring allowing for the cognitive flexibility necessary for recasting relationships with other parties to a conflict. Avoidance and suppression directly interfere with the continuity of present-moment attention and experience of trauma-related thoughts and feelings and as such would impede efforts to engage in dialogue.

Implementations of Mindfulness in Peacebuilding

If mindfulness holds these potential benefits for overcoming barriers to peacebuilding, in what forms might it be practiced? Our previous work about uses of mindfulness in trauma contexts indicates a spectrum of usage intensities, ranging from momentary efforts to redirect attention to the present moment in order to promote distress reduction to regular daily practice designed to impart mindfulness skills (Waelde, Thompson, Robinson, & Iwanicki, 2016). Conventional wisdom about mindfulness is that it involves weeks of dedicated training and practice to produce self-regulatory benefits. Indeed, previous work has shown that the amount of daily sitting meditation practice over a period of weeks, but not momentary efforts to be mindful in daily life, was associated with benefits for psychological symptoms (Carmody & Baer, 2008). Thus, in peacebuilding as in other intervention contexts, there are a variety of implementations of mindfulness that might be considered.

Implementations of mindfulness to enhance peacebuilding efforts should flow from a clear formulation of the goals of the practice. The impacts of individual, collective, and historical trauma on the peacebuilding process have yet to be clearly elucidated, so attempts to mitigate these effects should flow from a clear conceptualization of the problem to be addressed and the rationale for including mindfulness. The cultural appropriateness of mindfulness should be considered as part of this process. Although many scholars regard mindfulness as a fundamental neurodevelopmental capacity, many writers have conceptualized it as inherently associated with Buddhism, raising the question of its acceptability across diverse contexts (DeLuca, Kelman, & Waelde, 2018; Waelde & Thompson, 2016).

Our own experience using mindfulness in conflict and post-conflict contexts indicates that the momentary use of mindfulness exercises can be beneficial for reducing the heightened distress that often attends dialogue. In this type of implementation, with the consent of participants, meetings may begin and end with a few moments of silent attention to one's own breathing. Participants can also request to take a break from the proceedings at any time to engage in this momentary practice

of breath focused attention. More extensive mindfulness training could also be considered. There is some research to indicate that mindfulness trainings for responders in international disaster contexts is feasible, acceptable, and helps reduce the impact of exposure to ongoing and pervasive community trauma (Hechanova, Ramos, & Waelde, 2015; Waelde et al., 2008; Waelde, Hechanova, Ramos, Macia, & Moschetto, 2017), raising the hope that mindfulness may be useful for advancing peacebuilding activities.

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Empathy in the Service of Intra- and Interpersonal Peace

Carlos Hoyt

Introduction

What is empathy? What is its relation and relevance to peace psychology? How can we understand and apply empathy in ways that are most conducive to peaceful intra- and interpersonal dynamics? This chapter provides accessible and practical answers to these questions in hopes that the reader will gain new or deepened knowledge and skills with which to make the world a more peaceful place.

Two Perspectives on Humanity

> I urge you to beware the temptation…of blithely declaring yourselves above it all and label both sides [United States and Soviet Union] equally at fault, to ignore the facts of history and the aggressive impulses of an evil empire, to simply call the arms race a giant misunderstanding and thereby remove yourself from the struggle between right and wrong and good and evil…[The Soviet Leaders] are the focus of evil in the modern world (Reagan, 1983, pp. 363–364).

Christie, Wagner, and Winter (2008), in their *Introduction to Peace Psychology*, remind us of Ronald Reagan's representation of the dynamic between the United States and the Soviet Union during the Cold War. The world-threatening hostility between two nations that characterized the Cold War catalyzed the emergence of peace psychology.

Pursuing ways to deescalate and defuse hostilities between forces that had come to see each other as alien and irremediably antagonistic through the insights and practices of psychology was a virtuous response to a vicious situation. Reagan's

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vituperative characterization of the Soviet Union, and his determination that the conflict between the Super Powers was not resolvable by seeking improved mutual understanding, but was instead a struggle between good and evil, represented a foreclosure on the value and power of empathy.

In contrast, the following quote by Richard Rorty epitomized the basis of empathy and the key to the successful pursuit of peace between people—whether at the intrapersonal, interpersonal, or geopolitical level: "Our common susceptibility to humiliation is the only social bond that is needed" (Rorty, 2009, p. 91)

The Evolution of Empathy and the Definition Most Conducive to Achieving Peace

In *The Selfish Gene* (1976), Richard Dawkins coined the term "meme" to serve as the cultural analog for the biological units of replication: DNA or genes. By birthing into human language the term and concept, "meme," Dawkins revealed by explanation and by example the paradoxically dual nature of language. Language is both organic and a product of human craft, arising in the minds of humans, often mutating amongst minds from context to context and time period to time period, and frequently deliberately appropriated and reengineered for special purposes. In fact, this has happened to Dawkin's term. *Meme* has come to mean something in this age of viral videos and easily transmissible quips that Dawkins never could have foreseen. A word is planted in the soil of human imagination and parlance, like a cultivar. Its original properties are then liable to change in response to environmental pressures. It might diverge into two or more strains of the original. It might become its opposite in the minds and meanings of some who wield it. It might go extinct.

As it is with many words, so it is with "empathy." Having its roots in a term coined in the context of the Germanic discourse on aesthetics, scholars attribute its original coinage to German philosopher, Rober Vischer, who in 1873 sought to denote the phenomenon of the projection of subjective sensibilities into natural objects (Depew, 2005). In Vischer's view, art does or does not have beauty depending on the beholder's imbuement of beauty into the object. With time and variable usage and interpretation (by German psychologists including Theodore Lipps and E. B. Tichener), Vischer's original term, *Einfuhlung*, the literal translation of which is "feeling into," evolved into the English term *empathy* and gained a meaning that transposed the original (Depew, 2005). Instead of applying to the experience of understanding into an object of art, empathy came to connote the phenomenon of feeling into the emotional state and psychological worldview of other persons.

American psychologist, Carl Rogers, was influential in establishing empathy as an essential element of the therapeutic process.

> The state of empathy, or being empathic, is to perceive the internal frame of reference of another with accuracy and with the emotional components and meanings which pertain thereto as if one were the person, but without ever losing the "as if" condition. Thus it means to sense the hurt or the pleasure of another as he senses it and to perceive the causes

thereof as he perceives them, but without ever losing the recognition that it is as if I were hurt or pleased and so forth. If this "as if" quality is lost, then the state is one of identification (Rogers, 1995, p. 140).

While there has been some variation on how empathy is conceptualized in the realm of psychotherapy, Rogers' definition and description provide the core of what empathy means and also what it does not mean. As stated by Bohart and Greenberg (1997), psychotherapists following Rodgers provided useful elaborations of his construction of empathy.

> The therapist attempts to imaginatively enter the client's experience of struggling to articulate, share, and dialogue with the therapist, as well as to try to grasp the content of what the client is striving to communicate. To quote Brodley (1996), client-centered empathy responses emphasize "the client's perceptions and the ways in which the client as a self is an agency or an active force and source of meanings, reactions and other experiences" (p. 23). Raskin (1974) defines empathy as "an understanding of what the client is aware of and trying to convey to the therapist, so if the latter is accurate in his empathic endeavor, the client will feel and may say, 'Yes, that's it! That's how I feel! That's what I meant!'" (p. 11) (Bohart & Greenberg, 1997, p. 7).

Further clarifying what empathy is, Bohart and Greenberg provide explicit differentiation between it and *sympathy*, a concept with which empathy is very frequently confused and conflated.

Whereas empathy means to feel *as if* one were in the worldview and motivational state of another (the "em" prefix meaning *in* or *into*), sympathy means to share the same feeling, to not merely walk as if in the same shoes as someone else, but to actually co-own the shoes, and to have no other shoes that are distinctly one's own and in which one walks through one's separate and autonomous life (the prefix "sym" meaning *together* or *with*). Sympathy is identification *with* another person's feelings and views, as illustrated in the statement: "I feel the same way you do. We share sensibilities, convictions, a worldview, motivation, and intentions." Empathy is the accurate identification *of* another person's feelings and views (e.g., "I do not necessarily feel the same way you do but, regardless, I am aware of your sensibilities, convictions, worldview, motivation, and intention, and I understand how they factor into who you are and how you are in the world").

Bohart and Greenberg (1997) explicate that while coincidentally the therapist and client might share a feeling or perspective, doing so is not the goal of empathy, and in fact it could be problematic.

> To feel the same feelings, in fact, might be dangerous. It could lead to the therapist's emotionally over-identifying with the client. This could lead to counterproductive attempts to "rescue" the client or to a failure to differentiate the client's experience from that of the therapist, with the therapist imposing her view of the situation on the client. In this regard, both client-centered and psychodynamic therapists…draw a sharp distinction between empathy and sympathy, usually explicitly cautioning the therapist against adopting a sympathetic stance (Bohart & Greenberg, 1997, p. 25).

Empathy has a well-established definition in the realm of psychotherapy as the effort to decenter from one's own mores, beliefs, motives, values, and modus operandi in order to nonjudgmentally and neutrally understand another person's

perspective and predicament. Beyond the field of psychotherapy, however, the term has been inconsistently defined, deployed, and deconstructed. An analysis of a recent consideration of the concept will demonstrate how easy it is to misconstrue empathy, and provide a corrective understanding of what empathy actually is.

In *Against empathy: The case for rational compassion*, Paul Bloom (2016) denounces empathy. "I am against empathy, and one of the goals of this book is to persuade you to be against empathy too" (Bloom, 2016, p. 3). Bloom states this at the start of his treatise, and for the remainder of the book he mounts a case against the general consensus that empathy is a useful concept and practice. Bloom's objections to empathy include that empathy blinds us and leads us, paradoxically, to act immorally, or at best sub-optimally morally because it "causes us to overrate present costs and underrate future costs" (p. 55) and it focuses our concerns and efforts myopically and preferentially on the concerns of one or a very few people versus the scores of people who might share the plight and need equal care and help.

If, however, one were to replace the term "empathy" with "sympathy," all of Bloom's (2016) concerns would become moot, or at least they would be reassigned to a legitimate target. In other words, Bloom's thesis is predicated on a fundamental misunderstanding of what empathy is. For reasons that are not clear in his writing, Bloom purveys a definition of empathy that is actually a definition of sympathy.

Bloom (2016) defines empathy as "*the act of coming to experience the world as you think someone else does"* (p. 16, italics in original), stating (without any supporting data) that this is "the most typical" definition (p. 16). Notably, Bloom seems well aware that he is conflating empathy with sympathy, yet he seems to choose to ignore the distinctions between empathy and sympathy so well explicated in the realm of psychotherapy in order to mount his "attack" (p. 54) on the concept. Referring to his preferred definition, Bloom supports it by stating that philosophers of the Scottish Enlightenment shared his sense of the meaning of empathy, "though they called it 'sympathy' (p. 16)". He then cites Adam Smith's and John Updike's constructions of empathy with apparent awareness that they too were referring to sympathy. Bloom creates two subspecies of empathy, one that he refers to as *emotional* empathy, basically sympathy by another name; and the other, which he refers to as *cognitive* empathy. In describing cognitive empathy, Bloom makes it clear that he, in fact, has a very good grasp of empathy as distinct from sympathy.

> …there is another sense of empathy or, to put it differently, another facet of empathy. There is the capacity to understand what's going on in other people's heads, to know what makes them tick, what gives them joy and pain, what they see as humiliating or ennobling. We're not talking here about me feeling your pain but rather about me understanding that you are in pain without necessarily experiencing any of it myself. Am I against this sort of "cognitive empathy" as well? I couldn't be (Bloom, 2016, p. 36).

Bloom goes on to acknowledge that being a good moral agent requires an understanding of "how people work" (p. 36). He notes that making people happy, avoiding harm, and being a good judge all require what he calls cognitive empathic awareness. Bloom also makes it clear that what he refers to as cognitive empathy can actually be employed for negative and malicious ends. He describes cognitive empathy as "amoral" (p. 37), meaning that it can be deployed neutrally or with benevolent or malicious intent.

> Cognitive empathy is a useful tool, then—a necessary one for anyone who wishes to be a good person—but it is morally neutral. I believe the capacity for emotional empathy, described as "sympathy" by philosophers such as Adam Smith and David Hume, often simply known as "empathy" and defended by so many scholars, theologians, and politicians, is actually morally corrosive (Bloom, 2016, p. 39).

Of course, Bloom is right about what he has termed "emotional empathy." He is wrong, however, to have fused sympathy and empathy into this needlessly unwieldy, obtuse, and almost oxymoronic concept. Bloom's *emotional empathy* is simply *sympathy*. He is right that many people do not understand or maintain the clear distinction between the two crucial concepts, but he would have been more intellectually precise and provided a more useful consideration of the topic had he made it clear that what he is against is sympathy, not empathy. Instead, he conjured a straw man, the attack upon and burning of which left the genuine article under undue suspicion.

As a better alternative to empathy, Bloom (2016) promotes *compassion*. Whereas, in his construal, empathy is feeling *with*, compassion is feeling *for* another person (i.e., feeling "warmth, concern and care for the other, as well as strong motivation to improve the other's well-being," p. 138). The promotion of compassion as a useful factor in positive moral behavior is uncontroversial. It is also unrelated to empathy properly understood. As explicated in the realm of psychotherapy and as stated by Bloom himself in his definition of cognitive empathy, the concept is about knowing and understanding; it is not about feeling one way or another. Empathy is a mode of inquiry that results, if successful, in information upon which to base one's actions, should one choose to act at all. Whether or not the acquisition of empathic awareness is or is not attended by feelings of sympathy, compassion, enmity, or indifference are beside the point insofar as a clear understanding and application of empathy are concerned.

Bloom (2016) ends his attack on empathy by reiterating that he is only against empathy (actually sympathy) when it comes to morality. In his concern about empathy as a factor in moral behavior, Bloom shares the spirit of peace psychology. How can our capacity to know the interior landscape of another person be used to foster positive social action and interaction? From Bloom's perspective, we must be careful to not overly identify with others lest we find ourselves judging myopically and acting based on parochial bias. Fair enough, but with a corrected understanding of empathy we need not be concerned that it is a faulty tool in the pursuit of positive social interaction. In fact, with an accurate understanding of empathy we can see how to apply it to overcome the terrible fear, feeling, or conviction that we cannot understand, relate to, or live positively with others.

I have regularly encountered graduate students in my clinical skills courses who come into a discussion of empathy with varying degrees of confusion about how or whether to distinguish it from sympathy. This is not unusual, and it is always gratifying to see the students gain a sense of clarity and empowerment upon adding the differences between *em-* and *sym-/in* and *with* to their funds of knowledge. *"I get it now! It's like diving into someone else's existential ocean, but with your wetsuit on. You're in it, but you're not of it* !" a student once exclaimed in an epiphanic moment.

Some believe that empathy is a capacity that either one has or does not have, similar to the ability to carry a tune. The fact is that understanding and applying empathy is more like learning to read music than being able to carry a tune. Anyone can learn to read music. It is true that after that some will be better than others at singing or playing the tune indicated, but even then, practice invariably leads to improvement. Empathy can be taught (Chiaet, 2013; University of British Columbia, 2017); empathy can be learned; and the application of empathy can make the world a more peaceful place. As demonstrated in the previous section, empathy can also be misunderstood and misconstrued. The next part of this chapter will solidify a clear and applicable understanding of empathy and introduce a method for achieving and using empathic awareness to constructively navigate real or perceived dissonance.

Empathy in Action

For a number of years I worked as supervising clinician at a school for children with learning and/or behavioral challenges. These students, ages 7–16, were referred to my school after their local public schools found that they had insufficient resources to meet their needs. Each student had suffered a combination of life circumstances that required the development of adaptive strategies that, though they served to preserve their ability to move one way or another from one day and into the next, proved to be maladaptive in environments that were not characterized by instability, abuse, neglect, drug and alcohol use, and impoverishment. Some lived with their biological parents, some with extended family, some at foster or group homes, and some lived in residential treatment centers. Each had learned ways to cope with extremely adverse situations: talk loudly and threaten in order to not be ignored; say as little as possible in hopes that attention (too often brutal and/or exploitative) would not be paid to you; hit, kick, bite, and scream even in the absence of a real threat because a real threat could come any minute (called a counter phobic response); exaggerate, prevaricate, and create fictions about one's background and current life circumstance because the reality of one's world is too bleak and menacing to be confessed. My school provided these children with small class sizes; an abundance of adult presence and support; a thoughtful, consistent, and educative behavior management system; and individual, group, and family counseling.

The mere presence of these resources did not, of course, trigger an immediate cessation of maladaptive behaviors by the students. To the contrary, the students took full advantage of the safe holding environment to present the full range of their concerns and coping strategies. On any given school day, students "acted out" their traumas, confusion, anger, depression, or anxiety by running away, breaking items, speaking to other students and staff in extremely offensive ways, and being violent towards others and/or themselves, including suicidal gestures that sometime required emergency hospitalization.

This meant that at the end of any given school day, the staff would have to gather to review the difficult day that one or more students had and determine what the best response would be. In the case, for example, that a student attacked another student, causing injury, should that student stay out of school for a day or would it be better for the student to come to school the next day to have a conflict resolution meeting? When a student who had been repeatedly self-injurious actually threatened suicide, should an attempt have to be made to arrange an inpatient psychiatric observation and evaluation? In discussing a student who bit a teacher so severely that blood was drawn, what was the right decision for the student, the staff, and the other students in the milieu? There was always a range of strong feelings among the staff to such situations. Some would feel that the student was too unsafe to remain at the school. Some would be sympathetic to the combination of stressors that led to the student's behavior. Some would feel that there was no excuse for the student's behavior.

It was in such discussions that I came to realize the power and utility of empathy as a means by which to bring everyone into a common, unbiased understanding of the factors that may have contributed to the challenges presented by the student—as well as the factors that may be contributing to how each staff member was feeling about it all. As a psychotherapist, I was accustomed to trying to help clients ascertain underlying dynamics at play in challenging interactions with others and within their own selves.

"Why in the world does my partner have to act like that?" "The way my boss treats people is just crazy! What would drive a person to be such a jerk?" "I just find myself either getting angry or shutting down or both when my partner requests 'space.' If she loves me so much, why should she need space from me?" "My black colleague told me I should 'check my privilege' when I was telling folks at lunch about the promotion I just got. She said we should all look around and notice who gets promoted and who doesn't. She called it racism. So now I'm a racist? Now I didn't earn the things I've worked my butt off for?" We are all prone to experience-vexing instances of failure to understand the interior state and motivation of others.
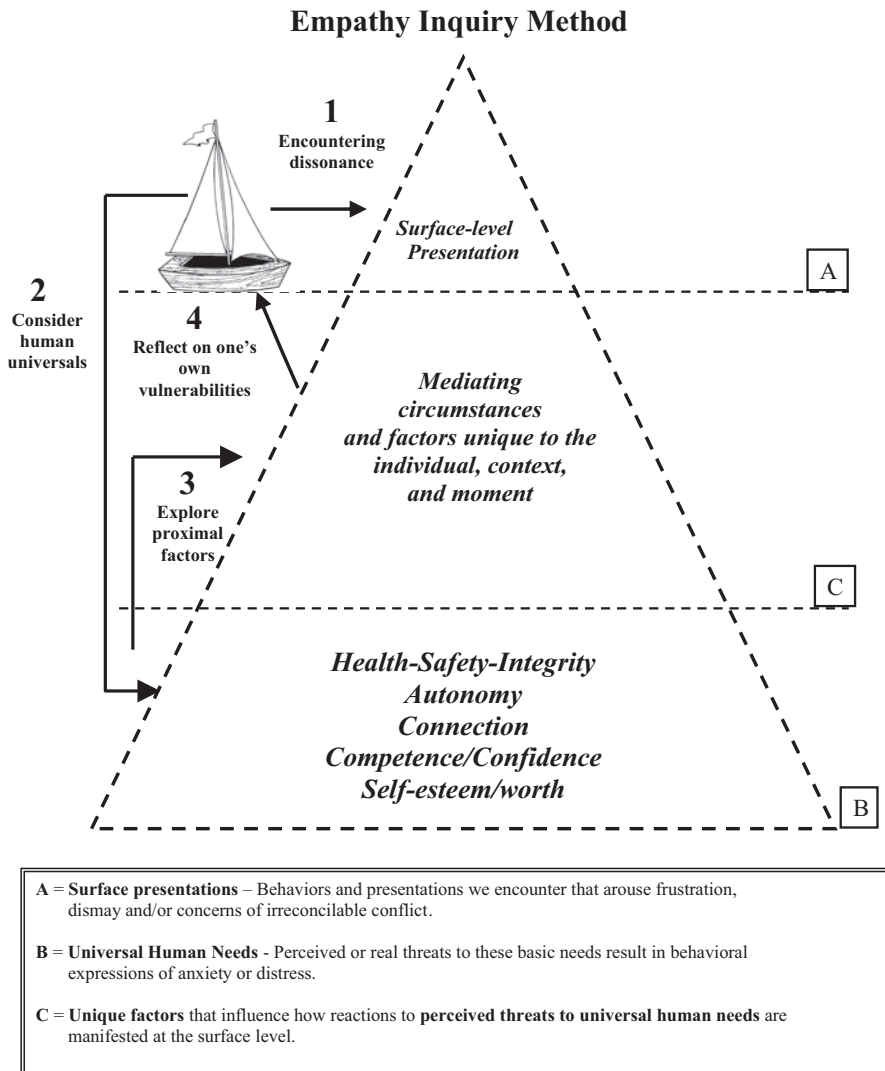
Years of facilitating processes by which clients could gain an understanding of the universal human needs and vulnerabilities that dispose us all to acting in ways that are defensive, avoidant, and even combative led me to derive a method of empathically assessing the underlying dynamics of challenging human behavior. I refer to that methodology as the Empathic Inquiry Method (EIM).

The Empathic Inquiry Method

Psychologist, Michael Basch defines empathy as "the ability to feel, or, more accurately, to find one's way into another's experience" (Basch, 1990, p. 145). Similarly, psychologist, Martha Stark explains, "Empathy is about understanding, and an empathic response is one that conveys to the [person] that understanding" (Stark, 1999, p. 182)

But exactly how does one accomplish this? How does one decenter from one's own subjectivity and effectively enter another person's subjectivity? How does one step out of one's own shoes and step into another person's shoes to get the clearest sense possible of how that person walks through the world? This section provides a detailed guide to conducting an empathic inquiry.

Figure 1 presents a graphic illustration of the EIM. For decades now I have relied on it in my professional and personal life, I have taught it in clinical and anti-bias teaching and training contexts, and I have lent it to friends facing challenges

Empathy Inquiry Method

1
Encountering
dissonance

*Surface-level
Presentation*

A

2
Consider
human
universals

4
Reflect on one's
own
vulnerabilities

*Mediating
circumstances
and factors unique to the
individual, context,
and moment*

3
Explore
proximal
factors

C

*Health-Safety-Integrity
Autonomy
Connection
Competence/Confidence
Self-esteem/worth*

B

A = **Surface presentations** – Behaviors and presentations we encounter that arouse frustration, dismay and/or concerns of irreconcilable conflict.

B = **Universal Human Needs** - Perceived or real threats to these basic needs result in behavioral expressions of anxiety or distress.

C = **Unique factors** that influence how reactions to **perceived threats to universal human needs** are manifested at the surface level.

Fig. 1 Empathy inquiry method

in relationships with partners, family, bosses, and any human beings (including themselves) whose behavior takes them aback, leaves them feeling alienated, angry, or mistreated. Invariably, it has enabled and empowered those who employ it to conduct a detached, nonjudgmental exploration and analysis of complex behavioral dynamics and to then act in ways that are unclouded by emotion, bias, or misunderstanding. As noted in the preceding discussion of empathy, the EIM does not necessarily result in sanctioning of the behavior at issue or accommodating the agent of the concerning behaviors. In fact, as was the case sometimes at my school, the method might result in the levying of consequences.

A proper empathic inquiry simply and effectively affords a clear view of the subjectivity of another person and of oneself so that one's responses can be based on an understanding of the full range of factors that might have contributed to the challenge. One might think of an empathic inquiry as the psychological analog to an X-ray or a magnetic resonance imaging (MRI) scan. Whereas X-rays, using radiation, and MRI, using magnetic fields to provide accurate views of the subcutaneous structures and functioning of bones, tissue, and organs, an effective empathic inquiry reveals the interior emotional and motivational constitution and workings of a person—and without having to resort to the use of radiation or magnetic fields! As with X-ray and MRI, which provide information that serves as the basis for deciding how to respond, but do not in and of themselves dictate treatment, so to an empathic assessment yields accurate information that can serve as the basis for determining appropriate responses.

As with its physical-medical analogs which require knowledge of how to operate the technology, so an empathic inquiry is optimized by knowing what one is looking for and knowing how to most efficaciously conduct the exploration of another person's feelings and motivations.

Figure 1 illustrates a four-step procedure by which to apperceive the factors and circumstances that contribute to the challenging presentations and behaviors or others. The method includes a means by which to gain insight into one's own reactivity when confronted with challenges, as well.

Elements of the Empathic Inquiry Method

The triangular frame at the center of the illustration represents an iceberg, the significance of which lies in the fact that about 90% of an iceberg's volume and mass lie beneath the water's surface. Had the Titanic's encounter with its lethal iceberg been a collision with only the portion that floated visibly above the waterline, the steamship would have easily brushed aside that amount of mass. The problem was the nearly eight times more of ponderous ice lurking under the surface and rendering the visible portion too formidable an object to plow through.

The EIM presents a sailboat to stand for the individual who runs into the iceberg-like challenge of trying to understand and effectively navigate the interior psychological terrain of another person. As explicated in the box at the bottom of

the illustration, what one perceives when one runs into problematic presentations and behaviors is merely the surface-level manifestation of what is likely a far larger and complex dynamic. Step one is the encounter with and reaction to the challenge (section "A" of the triangle/iceberg).

Step two (section "B" of the triangle/iceberg) calls for a shift in perspective from the rather myopic reactivity to the obstacle of unwelcome behavior by another person to the realization that whatever is being manifested in surface behavior is likely rooted in and triggered by a real or perceived threat to one or a combination of universal human needs. Drawing on the incisive writing on human motivation of psychologist, Edward Deci (1995), the EIM posits five universal human needs which, if perceived to be under threat, will likely lead any person to express anxiety, upset, fear, sorrow, anger, or other concomitant emotions. The EIM describes the triggers of our common susceptibility to humiliation—and the problematic behaviors associated with feeling so vulnerable.

Health-Safety-Integrity is the most basic human universal. When we perceive a threat to our bodies, to our basic way of thinking or to our core values, we quite naturally and strenuously resist the source of the threat.

Autonomy is defined by Deci (1995) as self-governance; acting in accordance with ones aims and drives—feeling free and volitional in one's actions. When feeling controlled or coerced by external forces, people act without a sense of personal endorsement, and are likely to instinctively resist the resulting feeling of alienation from their authentic self (Deci, 1995).

Connection: When critical attachments seem on the verge of rupture or dissolution, reactions to repair, defy, or deny that prospect can manifest in emotionally charged and aggressive behavior or in withdrawal as a counter phobic coping strategy.

Competence: "Decades ago," writes Deci, "the psychologist Robert White...argued that people yearn so strongly to feel competent or effective in dealing with their environment that competence could be thought of as a fundamental human need" (1995, p. 65). Each of us has the need to feel capable of accomplishing crucial tasks. When we perceive that we are ineffectual in critical ways, we are bound to express the feelings associated with that perception (anxiety, frustration, anger, etc.).

Self-esteem/worth: Our own self-appraisal is often influenced by how we feel others evaluate us. It is also the case that our sense of self-worth can be indifferent to what others think of us. In either case, a sufficiently positive sense of worth is necessary to feeling entitled to self-assert, participate equally with others, and expect fair treatment from others. When one feels that one's self-worth is being estimated below one's own baseline of sufficiency, it is likely that defensiveness, despair, flight, or other reactions will be expressed.

Even if we are not always sure which need or needs are felt to be under threat, we can rest assured that expressions of defensiveness, resistance, hostility, evasion, or avoidance are rooted in the categories of need at the base of the iceberg.

Exploring the Context of Behavior

Step three (section "C" of the triangle/iceberg) directs us to investigate the immediate, contextual factors that might influence how reactions to perceived threats to universal human needs are manifested at the surface level. In my work at the school for children struggling with learning and behavioral challenges, we sometimes determined that a child who attacked another child without provocation was expressing a counter phobic coping strategy to protect themselves from perceived—though not also real—threat of harm. However, knowing that the student did not always act that way when faced with similar stimuli, we would be left to wonder why the challenging behavior occurred at the time and in the place it did. This crucial contextual aspect of understanding the subjective perspective and motivations of another person requires seeking the proximal conditions of their life that mediate their reactions to perceived threats to universal human needs. If, for example, the student's typically fragile home environment was upended the night before because a family member became intoxicated, erratic, and perhaps violent, that might be a very likely cause for the student's counter phobia to be more easily triggered than on other days when things at home were more or less stable.

Many possible factors can influence how a person expresses the discomfort or distresses that are manifested in behavior. Cultural, environmental, and/or personal idiosyncratic factors might all play a part. Some of us become belligerent and bellicose; some of us withdraw or become passive-aggressive. A given person might be reacting out of fear of losing their position in a hierarchy. Another person may be displacing negative feelings associated with personal relationship issues or other psychological burdens. To the extent that we can detect and identify why the presentation or behavior take the form they do, we are in a better position to understand them and respond in a thoughtful way.

The final step in the EIM, step four, takes one back to one's self. After seeking to recognize what is at play for the person presenting the challenge, the question remains: why does this challenge leave one feeling frustrated by, alienated from, and/or hostile towards the person presenting it?

With step four we see that the EIM is not only about understanding others but also about exploring oneself in the face of conflict. When applied to the self, the method prompts us to recognize that we can get in our own way when our own negative reaction becomes an obstacle in and of itself. When that happens, the self as its own obstacle can best be understood by going through the same steps used to understand another person.

Harkening back to the meeting about the student at my former school, the EIM would be useful not only to gain a sense of the internal landscape of the student, but also for the teacher who feels strongly that the student should be simply forgiven and not sent away from school, at one end of the response spectrum, and for the teacher who insists that the child is too dangerous to remain at the school, at the other end. For the first teacher, perhaps their connection to the child along with the great value they place on loyalty and commitment to relationships might trigger a

strongly felt threat when the prospect of separating from the student is raised (the universal human need for connection). Without taking account of this powerful underlying perspective and need, this teacher might mount an argument for excusing the child's behavior that is actually rooted more in their own needs than what might be best for the student and the school community. On the other side, a teacher who perhaps was once injured by this child, or even another child, and has high sensitivity to their bodily integrity—perhaps along with a strong social justice ethic about protecting people from violence, might argue vehemently about safety, liability, and ethical concerns that stand in the way of maintaining the student as a member of the community. This teacher, if unaware of their own perceived threat to a human universal need (for safety and integrity), might see no other option than to separate the student from the school, even when a short-term intervention (such as an brief residential treatment intervention or medication evaluation) might be in order.

Conclusion

Empathy is a mode of inquiry that, if conducted properly, results in a clear understanding of the internal psychological and motivational dynamics of another person, and of oneself. An empathic understanding of another person's perspective and behaviors is a strong prophylaxis against reactions that are driven by reflexive negativity or even hostility. While an empathic inquiry will not necessarily lead to a stance that endorses another person's views or actions, it can lead to a response that is fully and dispassionately informed. Since all human dynamics turn in the perceptions, perspectives, and actions of the individuals involved, the EIM can serve as a useful tool across all variations of challenging human affairs. Even, for example, when the focus of examination and intervention of conflict is community (versus individuals per se), empathy and the EIM can be critical to understanding, preventing, and alleviating difficulties.

The field of Community Psychology is a case in point. As explained by Jason et al. (2016), Community Psychology emerged in the latter part of the twentieth century with the aims of combining "a scientific orientation with collaborative social action in order to empower members of some community of interest and to help them improve their lives (p. 7)," and understanding "the ways that altering specific human contexts (and perhaps the relationships between people and their contexts) alleviates suffering (p. 7)." Even with its focus on the virtuous goal of community empowerment, Community Psychology recognizes that any community comprises autonomous individuals, each of whom inhabits multiple existential contexts relevant to the community conditions they face (e.g., race, sex, gender, sexual orientation, ability, and worldview). Every community's general character, strengths, and challenges are, in effect, a kaleidoscopic representation of the individual perspectives, predicaments and potential of each community member.

Perceived or real threats to the *Health-Safety-Integrity, Autonomy, Connection, Competence/Confidence, and Self-esteem/worth* of every individual manifest at the community level. Therefore, employing a method, such as the EIM is requisite to a thorough assessment and optimal empowerment at the community level.

While there have been and likely will continue to be constructions of empathy that diverge from its purest and most useful definition, readers are encouraged to think practically and parsimoniously about this essential concept. Micro (individual/intrapersonal), mezzo (interpersonal and community/group), and macro (structural, institutional, and geopolitical) conflict are progressively challenging and complex. It would be simplistic to suggest that had President Reagan employed empathy in his inquiry into the dynamics of Cold War tensions, the world might be a more peaceful place today, but it is crucial to recognize the potential good that might have resulted had empathy been thoughtfully applied. When interpersonal dynamics—at any level—veer towards enmity, alienation, and hostility, availing ourselves of all possible tools in the service of de-escalation, reconciliation, and peace makes incontrovertible sense. Understood and applied as a way to ascertain the perspectives and motivations that factor into interpersonal dynamics, empathy can be an invaluable tool in the service of intra- and interpersonal peace.

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Promoting Peace: Some Perspectives from Counseling Psychology

Barbara A. Kidney

Welcome to a place devoted to the contemplation of peace, and of how any of us can contribute to promoting and maintaining peace. Like community psychology (Allen & Javdani, 2017; Jason & Glenwick, 2016), the related field of counseling psychology offers a rich array of concepts from which to explore that topic. In this chapter, we will consider some of those concepts and how they can be applied to issues relevant to peace.

Let's start with an experiential exercise. Your participation is important, so please do not skip ahead without first engaging in this exercise. As you proceed with this exercise, please be aware that there are no right or wrong responses to the questions that this exercise poses. The only mistake of sorts that one could make with this exercise would be to be inauthentic in one's responses. As they are private, there is no one to hide from, nor to impress, except of course, one's self!

(Note to classes and groups: This exercise can be a valuable tool for stimulating group reflection and discussion about peace and peace psychology. However, when the exercise is done in a group setting, or when the results of it are discussed in a group setting, I urge teachers or group facilitators and all group members to completely respect every participant's privacy. All sharing of any and all responses to this exercise should be completely voluntary, and no penalty should be given for withholding of responses. Also, all responses that are shared in a group setting should be respectfully received. Of course, different people are likely to have different responses, and a fruitful discussion can result from earnest examination of different responses in an atmosphere of mutual personal respect.)

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Experiencing Peace: An Exercise

Please seat yourself comfortably, and allow your spine to be erect, but not stiff. Even as you read these instructions, you can turn your attention inward. Quiet your mind and body. Allow yourself to enjoy the sensations of giving yourself an opportunity, through this exercise, to consider peace and how you contribute to peace. After reading each suggestion, you may want to close your eyes as you engage in the suggested activity. Notice when you breathe out and when you breathe in. Pause now, just for a few cycles of breathing, to do this.

As you continue to breathe and relax, you can allow yourself to notice and enjoy the sensation of your body's weight being supported, ultimately, by the earth. Feel and enjoy that support, as you breathe and relax. You can direct your attention to the crown of your head, and even if you are indoors, you can mentally notice the sky, the sun, the stars, above your head. You can appreciate the reality of the earth beneath you, supporting you, and the infinite sky above your head. Notice how your being is supported and sustained by earth and sky.

As you continue to breathe and relax, you can notice how your body gently moves with the wave of your breathing. Allow your body to set the pace of your breathing, and allow yourself to breathe in and out through your nose (although if your body chooses to breathe through your mouth, you can allow that to happen). Avoid forcing a deep breath, but if your body wants to breathe deeply, that's fine. Allow your midriff to expand as you inhale, and to gently shrink as you exhale. You can think of your torso as a balloon that swells with air as you breathe in, and collapses somewhat as you breathe out. You can place your hands on your waistline to feel this movement if you wish. Pause your reading for a few cycles of breathing while you do these things. Remember, you may want to close your eyes.

And now, as you continue to breathe and relax, consider this. Imagine that after your day has ended, and you are peacefully sleeping, something wonderful happens. Imagine that while you are sleeping, all the world enters into a state of real and permanent peace. But, you don't know this yet, as you are still asleep. As you continue to breathe and relax as you read this, consider: when you are awake and start your day, how will you know that this has happened? What might be the first thing you notice that alerts you that something has happened, and that the world is in a state of permanent peace? What would you see, what would you hear? Might you even smell anything different? Breathe, and consider. How might you feel? What would you do? Take a few moments to reflect. You might want to jot down some notes about what comes to mind.

Continue to breathe and relax. Imagine, as your day tomorrow continues, what else you might notice that would enable you to realize the extent of this change, of this new condition of enduring peace in all the world. Breathe, and consider. What might you notice as your week proceeds? How long might it take you to realize the comprehensiveness of this change? Be with these considerations awhile, and take note.

Breathe, and relax. Be with the thought of all the world being in a state of enduring peace. As you contemplate this, and continue to breathe and relax, notice, how does your body feel? How does your mind…your being feel? Do you notice any particular sensation(s)? If so, where? Pause, take your time, consider. What term, or name, can you give to your sensation(s)? Notice, and accept. You can jot down some notes about your experience.

And now, consider: With the world in a permanent state of peace…. What might be different in your home, and in your community? What might be the same? Pause and consider, and take some notes for yourself as you respond to these questions.

Would there be any differences in your routines? Would you notice any differences in your family, your friends, your neighbors, and colleagues? Would they notice any differences in you? What might be the same, for you…for your family… for your friends? Breathe, and relax. Consider your future plans. With the world in a permanent state of peace, do those plans change? Do any of your goals change? How about for your family and friends? How might their goals be affected by this state of permanent peace?   As you continue to relax and imagine, ask yourself this: If the world in a permanent state of peace were represented by a "10" on a 1–10 scale, what rating would you give the actual world in general right now? (If it seems too strange for you to rate this on a 1–10 scale, you can simply make an assessment by using terms such as "not at all," "a little," "a lot." Later you will be asked to make more ratings on a 1–10 scale, but feel free to use this other method if you prefer terms to numbers). What rating would you give your country…your province/ state…your home community? You can write down your ratings.

As you continue to breathe and relax, you can ask yourself, how important is it to you that the world be in a state of enduring peace? If "10" represents "very important" and "1" means "not at all important," what number (or term) do you choose to represent how important it is to you that the world be in a state of peace? Write this down. Pause for a few moments to simply breathe and notice your breathing, remembering to expand your waistline as you breathe in, and let it gently shrink as you breathe out.

Now ask yourself, how much effort are you willing to exert in order to promote peace? How much effort do you feel you exert generally, on a daily, weekly, monthly basis? You can use the 1–10 scale, and make a note of your ratings. How important do you feel your efforts are? To whom and to what are they important? How much leverage do you feel you have in promoting and maintaining peace?….to world peace?

Regardless of your last ratings, how important do you feel it is that you make efforts toward peace?…toward world peace? Once again, record your response.

How do you feel upon completing this exercise? Again, you can breathe, relax, and check in with yourself, noting how your body feels, how your mind feels, and how your being feels. Simply observe and notice. You can appreciate yourself for having engaged in this exercise.

Psychological Theories Underlying the Experiencing Peace Exercise

This "Experiencing Peace" exercise is based on a combination of techniques from counseling psychology, mainly from the use of the relaxation response (Benson, 1975), the "Miracle Question" used in solution-focused therapy (deJong & Berg, 2012), and Eugene Gendlin's (1982) Focusing technique. If you do this exercise on another occasion, some of your responses may change, and that is OK.

In general, relaxation and meditation techniques promote wellness in mind and body by calming the nervous system. Breathing from the diaphragm (the muscle under your lungs) by expanding your midriff as you inhale results in physiological conditions that include decreasing the release of stress hormones (Benson, 1975). Focusing your attention on your breathing calms your brain and your mind, increasing the probability for an experience of feeling more refreshed, and for clearer thought processes afterwards.

Use of Gendlin's Focusing technique, which was partly done in this exercise when you were asked to consider how your body and being felt, provides an opportunity for increased awareness of feelings that might be present and might also be significant for us, yet might have been beneath our conscious awareness. Typically, in some cultures such as in most of the contemporary United States (where I live), we might be so pre-occupied with doing what we think we have to do and with telling ourselves what we think and feel, that we lose touch with what we *really* think and how we *really* feel. Using this technique allows us to develop greater self-awareness, to be more authentic with ourselves, and, if we experience feeling "stuck" in some way, focusing also provides greater opportunity for a constructive shift, an "unsticking," to occur.

The "Miracle Question" (i.e., what if, while you are asleep, a desirable condition comes to be) allows for consideration of that desired condition, in a manner free of excessive judgment and critique which inhibits creative imagination. Often when we experience a chronic undesirable state (e.g., depression, or social injustice, or depression which results from social injustice) we are so focused on and so familiar with the undesired state, that unwittingly we leave ourselves no mental room for envisioning improvement and how we might be able to increase chances for improvement. When through the Miracle Question we envision and thus experience our desired state, our morale increases, providing greater opportunity for our minds to formulate ideas about how we can move closer to improvement. In the opening exercise, when you considered the first part of the Miracle Question (of how you would know that while you were asleep, the world had entered a state of peace), what came to mind?

For those living in direct conditions of war or other significant aggression, perhaps the realization that the world is in a state of peace would occur as concrete conditions drastically and immediately improved. Maybe the sound of gunshots, artillery, drones would be no more; perhaps one would hear elated shouts, joyful weeping. Maybe it would be safe to openly grieve, to tend to the dying and injured,

without fear of further attack. Maybe it would be safe to get water or to relieve one-self without any threat of being raped, killed, or otherwise attacked. For others of us, first realizations would probably come by way of news and social media. Maybe some of us would be incredulous at first.

When I led this exercise with one small group of liberal/progressive-leaning Americans with whom I had prior pleasant acquaintance, many of them could not imagine the possibility of world peace. Apparently their minds threw up impenetrable roadblocks to even imagining such a possibility. I suspect that if, rather than instructing them to consider the world entering into peace as they slept, I had directed them to imagine that they had sprouted wings and now could fly, all of them would have obligingly gone along with the exercise. What I concluded from their reactions was that they had given up all hope of lasting peace. They justified their position with circular, and thus fallacious, reasoning: lasting peace is not possible because it has never happened. Because it has never happened, it never could happen—it must be part of our human nature to engage in behaviors, most notably war, that are counter to peace.

To my psychotherapist mind, these responses made me think of the concepts of learned helplessness and resistance. The first of these concepts will be considered a little later. It is related to the second concept, resistance, which is the term used by Freud to refer to situations in which a patient in psychoanalysis refuses to accept the (presumably) more objective and helpful interpretation, made by the analyst, of some aspect of the patient's narrative. An example of such an interpretation might be "It seems that as much as you hate your partner's faults and see no signs of your partner's willingness to change, hard as it is, it's relatively easier for you to stay in this disappointing relationship and complain about it, than to end it. By staying, you can receive the sympathy of others, be praised for loyalty, and avoid facing the unknown." A resistant client may respond that there's nothing easy about the status quo and give (possibly questionable) reasons why it is impossible to end the relationship. Assuming that the therapist has clearer insight, when the client resists the more accurate therapeutic interpretation, the client feels justified in remaining stuck in the status quo.

When clients respond to the prompt of the Miracle Question in such a way, that the desired state can never happen, they reveal how hopeless and discouraged they are about their situation. Even when prompted by cues to release themselves, if only in their imaginations, from their perceptions of external constraints, they cannot. Apparently they are, at least in that moment, perceiving the constraints as all-powerful and themselves as completely powerless. They are also apparently perceiving that either no allies exist, or that any potential allies are also completely ineffectual.

People who are clinically depressed often exhibit this kind of thinking, which has been termed "learned helplessness" (Seligman, 1972). Sometimes it results from actual experience, when no matter what one does, one cannot improve the situation. Contexts can vary from the relatively commonplace (e.g., for a few years someone interested in finding a life partner may not find one, despite taking appropriate actions to do so, and then give up and feel depressed) to the extremely oppressive

(e.g., someone who survives genocide has experienced traumata including the inability to stop the oppression, and afterwards when living in a more just society may not feel able to make use of constructive opportunities, due to the resulting post-traumatic stress).

Research on psychotherapeutic effectiveness indicates that such effectiveness requires clients to hold positive outcome expectancy about their psychotherapy and also to have belief in their own self-efficacy (Bandura, 1997) or, as my esteemed former (and now deceased) professor Dr. Don Blocher put it, to use vocabulary that has long already existed, to benefit from therapy, people need to have hope and self-confidence. When clients assess their situations as so hopeless and themselves as so powerless that no improvement can be envisioned, a capable therapist would seek to learn how the client drew such bleak inferences, express authentic concern and empathy, and, crucially, when the therapist assesses that the client may be receptive, the therapist will also suggest less bleak interpretations and realistic possibilities of improvement. In order for people to improve via psychotherapy, it is essential that they have hope in the possibility of improvement and belief in their ability to contribute to that improvement.

Psychology and Effective Constructive Change

How might those essential conditions be relevant to the issue of peace? At the close of the opening exercise, you were asked to consider how influential (or not) your efforts toward peace might be. Presumably, those who feel that peace is important and that they have no power whatsoever to contribute to peace might feel depressed and/or angry. Anger might be directed, irrationally, toward themselves for having no power, and/or possibly more rationally, toward those others who are perceived as having power and using it to destroy peace. Another possibility is that such people might feel detached from the issue of peace (and lack thereof). Assuming no possibilities for themselves to contribute to peacemaking, they may fail to recognize the existence of any such opportunities, and so not make use of them when they might arise. The belief that "I am powerless to take any actions toward peace" can also serve to exonerate one from feeling overwhelmed or fearful to take such action and from feeling guilty for not acting. Or, if such powerless-feeling people are in a war zone or other extremely non-peaceful situation, their attention may be entirely taken up with the task of remaining alive, and their belief of being powerless to promote peace may be accurate, at least at times.

However, it is generally possible to influence one's own thought process and to assess one's own thinking for rationality and validity. Even in situations where one cannot take an effective action toward peace in the outer world, one can assess and choose thoughts that promote peace. One can choose, for example, to think "This situation is unjust" rather than "this unjust situation is okay." How one thinks when there is no opportunity for effective action toward peace can certainly influence how one will choose to act later, when there may be such an opportunity. A remarkable

example is clearly articulated in the classic work of Viktor Frankl (1992), a renowned psychiatrist and counselor who survived internment in four Nazi concentration camps during World War II.

Some people might assume that they have some power to contribute to peace-keeping and/or peacemaking. Such an assumption can enable them to indeed contribute to the existence of peace. When we have realistic assumptions about our abilities, our actions might be effective. If we assume we have no such power, very probably we will take no feasible actions. If we assume we have much more power than we do, our actions toward peace may be ineffectual and can lead to discouragement. In general, counselors attempt to help clients to think realistically and to avoid learned helplessness and chronic passivity on the one hand, and unrealistic grandiosity on the other.

A fundamental approach used by psychotherapists is to listen to their clients' assumptions about their own "realities." This approach has been termed metaphorically as "listening with the third ear." We all make assumptions; it would be impossible to function normally if we didn't. Typically, we eat our meals assuming they are not poisoned, we assume friends will not attempt to kill us, and we enter buildings assuming they will not collapse. We assume it matters that we work and follow our pursuits. Psychotherapy clients are usually wishing for some improvement in their lives, and therapists listen for unspoken or unnoticed assumptions clients make about themselves, their present conditions, and their future desired states.

Social Structure and Peace

What are some of the assumptions you were making about peace as you engaged in the "Experiencing Peace" exercise? The exercise left the term "peace" undefined, intentionally. How you imagined the manifestations of peace will provide clues regarding your assumptions about peace. Scholars of peace, who come from a variety of academic disciplines (such as anthropology, geography, history, philosophy, political science, psychology, sociology), define peace in varying ways, but one main distinction is made: "negative" peace vs. "positive" peace.

Negative peace refers to the absence of violence, and positive peace refers to the presence of factors that promote peace, such as various forms of social and environmental justice. A society in which a demographic group (e.g., females, dark-skinned people, people without much money) is oppressed may, for a period of time, be free from physical violence, but the inevitable psychological and sociological tensions that occur when chronic oppression is present disturb peace. However, the benefit of a state of negative peace, meaning absence of physical violence, should not be discounted. If a society eschews physical violence but nonetheless oppresses certain groups in less tangible ways, at least such groups can express their dissatisfaction with the status quo without fear of direct physical reprisal. Oppressive conditions might be somewhat more readily removed, than in societies devoid of even negative peace. This implies that where negative peace is present, opportunities are some-

what more available for increasing positive peace, by the promotion of greater social justice. As Reychler (2004) has noted, the absence of violence (the condition of negative peace) also can be described as the presence of personal safety and security (which are indicators of positive peace).

Having said that, strictures that are not blatantly violent can keep injustice (and hence non-peace) going. Metaphorically speaking, the door to the cage can be open, or at least unlocked, and yet the imprisoned remain inside. Earlier we considered the concept of learned helplessness, and how those who have the idea that they are helpless will fail to make improvements, even when it is feasible for them to take opportunities for improvement. If we have internalized common societal beliefs that our demographic group is incapable, or that a pro-peace political candidate cannot win, we may fail to act constructively, thus exhibiting learned helplessness, and contributing to a self-fulfilling prophecy. Intangible constraints can be remarkably effective. Our ideas have a powerful influence on how we choose to act, for better and worse. This realization, incidentally, is a cornerstone of cognitive-behavioral psychotherapy (Beck, 1976).

In the acclaimed American musical, *Camelot* (Lerner & Loewe, 1961), young King Arthur tells his new wife Guinevere that his mentor Merlin once enabled him to shape-shift, and fly as hawk over the land. In reviewing that experience with Arthur later, Merlin prompted Arthur to consider what he did NOT see. In a moment of insight, Arthur realized that he had seen no borders. With great emotion, Arthur tells Guinevere that men kill and die over *things that do not exist!* Yes, ideas can be powerful indeed.

The sociological concept of "structures" refers to prevalent and complex "big ideas," or cognitive-behavioral frameworks, that are both pervasive in a society and seldom directly assessed, and by which our societies influence our assumptions and perceptions about reality (Berger & Luckmann, 1966; Schwalbie, 2005). Because such structures are basically fundamental generalizations which a society tends to take for granted, they tend to go unnoticed, and hence unquestioned, by most of the society's members. These often include societal beliefs about attributes of certain demographics and behaviors considered to be appropriate or not to each demographic group.

Many societies exhibit structural racism (e.g., White supremacism) or structural sexism (male supremacism). It is important to realize that structures such as these tend to go unnoticed as being bigoted—in societies so structured, women and Blacks are believed to really be lacking in positive qualities attributed to men and Whites. In my country, there is a structural belief that all US military members are heroes serving our country. Structures provide us with interpretations of our reality—interpretations that are so entrenched that most of us fail to notice that they are merely interpretations, and mistake (miss take) them for reality. To become aware of the structures of one's society is to be like the proverbial enlightened fish who notices that the water is wet.

This is an excellent time for a pause…for you to take a moment and consider, what are common sociological structures of your community? Some structures may come to your mind immediately. It can be even more useful, more enlightening, to

give yourself time to notice, eventually, what you do not notice at first. You may acquire greater insight and wisdom if you allow yourself to return to this question from time to time. An effective way to notice what tends to go unnoticed, is to imagine that a wise and curious being, who is completely uninformed about your community and culture, who is perhaps from another planet, has arrived in your neighborhood for a visit. What would this visitor notice as the main values and belief systems in your society? Which beliefs would your visitor be more likely to assess as being accurate, which as being arbitrarily contrived, and which as being hypocritical? (If you choose to do this thought experiment, it will be more valuable if you give yourself ample time, and return to it to at intervals).

How Our Ideas Influence Us

Counselors who utilize principles of cognitive-behavioral therapy (Beck, 1976) in their practice use their metaphorical third ear to notice what fundamental unrealistic ideas clients have that contribute to their problems. For example, someone who is depressed by the undesired breakup of a relationship may have the entrenched, chronic belief "I am unlovable," whereas someone else with the same symptoms and situation may instead firmly believe "I could never have a mutually happy love relationship with anyone else." The therapist will be looking for indications of what clients' specific fundamental unrealistic beliefs are, so to devise specific therapeutic plans tailored to counteract specific false and problem-enhancing beliefs (Persons, 1989). Of course, it also is possible that a hypothetical client in that same situation may feel sad, disappointed, and bereft, yet not have the belief of being unlovable, nor that future relational happiness is impossible. Such a client evinces signs of healthy self-esteem and realistic thinking, and would be likely to need less help in transitioning through a period of loss.

What common basic ideas in your culture contribute to injustice and non-peace… to peace and to justice? Does your culture give conflicting messages about these issues? In my culture, since the Gulf War in the early 1990s, ideas that promote ongoing non-peace have become highly esteemed and more common. Since the 2008 election of supposedly liberal President Obama and the continuation of the Mideast Wars, those ideas have strengthened. Our military are all courageous heroes who are not called soldiers but rather "service-men and -women." Who and what they are serving is not stated, but the implication is that it is "our country" (whatever that means; we soon will consider the issue of what broad terms actually mean or imply) and that it is extremely good to do so. (Ironically, some of those who hold these ideas often also rail against "the government.") People in many other occupations serve "our country"—organic farmers, teachers, nurses' aides, truckers, artists, mechanics, and yes, counselors! The list is long indeed. Yet such people are never called "service-men and -women" despite the necessary, worthwhile services they provide toward the common good.

Our consideration of ideas about peace, and non-peace, illustrates that our conceptual formulations of any aspect of reality is a sort of intangible mental map, and, as the saying goes, the map is never the territory. However, some maps are better than others in giving realistic depictions of the territory under consideration, always within some limits. Useful maps will acknowledge what at least some of their limits are.

Making Ideas Less "Fuzzy"

In social science, researchers are interested in learning more about the reality of various intangible ideas, such as "self-esteem," "depression," or "peace." Researchers define observable parameters for the intangible idea that they are investigating, which is termed the variable (because it varies) of interest. This process of definition by clearly stated, observable, and quantifiable means is termed "operationalizing" the variable of interest.

When the Miracle Question and similar techniques are used in psychotherapy, therapists can learn how clients are operationalizing their variables of interest, which are their desired states—how they would prefer their lives to be. The question of "How will you know the miracle (desired improvement) has happened?" elicits indications of how one thinks about and thus would recognize the presence of a desired state, such as a normal mood, rather than a depressed one. Some people might report that the presence of a normal mood and absence of depression would mean they would no longer dread being with friends; for others, it might mean that they would again feel pleasure from activities they used to enjoy. How individuals specifically describe (operationalize) their problematic states and their preferred conditions provide clues about their relevant fundamental beliefs.

Your specific responses to the question of how you would recognize the presence of worldwide peace indicate what you think constitutes a state of peace. Different people would have at least somewhat different responses, and one's responses may vary from time to time. Our life experiences, including structures fundamental to our culture, and our values, greatly influence our operationalizations.

The Experiencing Peace exercise asked you to make various ratings. Rating scales provide ways to get a sense of how the rater assesses the variable under consideration at that moment, and, if future ratings are taken, to see how that assessment might change over time. Ratings of qualitative variables are never as precise as measurements of physically quantifiable ones. For example, a measurement of 5 kg provides an objective assessment of weight, whereas a rating of 5 on a 1–10 scale of personal satisfaction reflects the rater's subjective assessment at a particular moment. Ratings are always somewhat metaphorical, providing a general sense of how much or little the rater perceives the rated quality to be, at the time of the rating.

You were asked to rate the state of peace at various levels of human community (world, country, etc.). Another issue to consider is, for each level of community,

what would have to happen for you to feel able, in all honesty, to give its state of peace a higher rating. If you rated your community as "5" (or "so-so," "50-50") for instance, what would have to be different for you to rate it as "6" (or "somewhat")? Take a few minutes now to do this for your various ratings of peace before reading on. What came to mind? Your responses can enable you to gain greater awareness of your assumptions about what constitutes peace, and of how you are operationalizing (defining and describing) the complex variable and moral value of "peace."

Inherent Values in Counseling and Clinical Psychology and Their Relevance to Peace

In the counseling and clinical psychology literature, seldom is direct attention paid to the underlying moral values inherent in those contexts. Certainly, ethical issues for therapists are addressed; professional organizations have formal ethical guidelines for members' professional behaviors. But, the fundamental moral values from which therapy operates are more often implied than directly expressed.

One value clearly present in the context of psychotherapy is the avoidance of physical violence, and also of significant and chronic non-physical violence. Physical violence, along with non-physical violence such as patterns of chronic verbal abuse and other forms of psychological and emotional abuse, are clearly considered to be maladaptive and unacceptable behaviors. Clients who display such behavioral patterns might be seeking counseling for anger management and/or relationship improvement. If they are not, a competent counselor will bring up the topic of the violent behavior and intervene, with the goals of motivating the client toward nonviolence and mutual respect, and teaching the client cognitive and behavioral responses (usually referred to by the label of assertive, rather than aggressive, behavior) that support those outcomes.

Isn't it interesting that, in some countries, such as in the United States, when violence occurs in the home or local community, it is at least ostensibly condemned, and yet the massive violence inherent in war is glorified, at least when "our side" does the violence? Many years ago, at the start of one of our counseling sessions, my nonviolent client, "Mike," remarked how curious it is, that if a man kills one person, that's seen as a horrific thing, if he kills several people it's even worse, but if he kills thousands or more, he's a hero, like Alexander the Great.

Professional counselors are educated during their studies and guided and reminded by their professional organizations to become aware and ever mindful of cultural norms and values. Our clients may well come from cultures that differ from our own, with different cognitive frameworks, values, and behavioral norms. One might argue, therefore, that the apparent anomaly noted by Mike is really a cultural one. For example, an individual's belief that others are casting spells might, in some cultures, be correctly perceived as delusional, but in another culture, which has a common belief that spells can be cast via the "evil eye" such an individual may be exhibiting a cultural norm. Similarly, one might claim that in the cultures of many

people, killing one or few people is typically seen as murder, but that also in many cultures, the killing of people, including many people, is perceived as acceptable or even laudable if those slain are perceived as belonging in the category of "enemy (of my country)" and if the slayers are "our brave service-men and women."

Let us take a moment to notice what has happened in that example. People, even many people, are killed by other people, and because of certain thoughts present in the minds of those who killed and in the minds of their associates (and maybe, though not necessarily, in the minds of those who were slain and in the minds of their associates) the killing is perceived as being acceptable, perhaps even heroic— the stuff of epics. Yet, whether the killing is done by people who are perceived as heinous criminals or as military heroes, those who are killed are dead, due to direct actions by fellow humans. And, quite commonly, killings done by those typically perceived as murderers are far fewer in number than by those perceived as military "serving" their country. Even culturally accepted martial violence commonly plays a highly significant, mostly detrimental role in the lives and psyches of the military people and of the people close to them. Post-traumatic stress and/or chronic guilt are common among former military combatants and has been referred to as the condition of "soldier's heart." Again, isn't it interesting what we humans can do with our minds, and what immense power we give to some of our ideas? Based on some of our fundamental thoughts (ideas), we can think very differently about the same basic phenomenon: the killing of people is heinously criminal, or it is laudable and heroic, or at least OK. And, what we think usually strongly influences how we act.

Counselors typically view verbal and nonverbal interactional violence (e.g., disrespectful, destructively critical communication) as dysfunctional. Apropos of our prior consideration of positive and negative peace, intangible violence might be less immediately dangerous physically, compared to a punch or a bullet, but physiologically there are immediate physical consequences, as both the doer and receiver of the non-physical violence experience internal biochemical stress responses, including the so-called fight-or-flight reaction. Chronic intangible violence can lead to tangible results. The receiver of it might experience feelings and thoughts that lead to behavioral choices such as withdrawal from constructive activities, and/or engagement in harmful behaviors, such as self-mutilation, suicide, addiction, and/or abuse of others. Bullied people can become bullies themselves, even to the point of killing others, as has been sometimes the case with school shootings in the United States. The doer of intangible violence can escalate to becoming physically violent. Typically, people who become physical abusers first abuse intangibly, with disrespectful communication, unreasonable expectations and assumptions (such as, "you are inferior to me; I am in charge of you; you should and must feel/think/do as I want"), before physically attacking the other person. (See Hines, Malley-Morrison, & Dutton, 2013; Nicolson, 2010).

When you considered what the world would be like in a permanent state of peace, what thoughts did you have regarding the issue of violence? Besides possibly the absence of military violence, did you imagine the absence or decrease of physical violence in other contexts as well…such as within local communities, within fami-

lies, between women and men, homosexuals and heterosexuals, cis- and transgendered? If you did not, what do you think about that issue now? Would the absence, or at least a minimal appearance, of physical violence be required for the world to be in enduring peace? What about intangible forms of violence, and of physical violence that is not as obvious as militaristic violence? An example of the latter could be the US executive policy of child (and family) abuse of June, 2018, in which children were indefinitely separated from parents when refugee families appeared at the southern US border. Another could be the US government allowing private fossil fuel companies to enter private property against the wishes of the owners and, for example, destroy groves of mature maple trees that for generations had provided the family's livelihood via maple-sugaring (Hurdle, 2016). What role does the presence or absence of intangible violence play in your vision of enduring world peace?

Besides the primacy of nonviolence, another fundamental moral value taken by psychotherapists in the context of their work is fairness. Ethical therapists act from that value, reinforce it when working with clients, and are aware of the presence or absence of fairness in the material clients present during therapy. Unfairness is a common feature in dysfunctional family relationships, and a typical form it can take in a dysfunctional family is via the cognitive-behavioral process of scapegoating (Nicolson, 2010; Vogel & Bell, 1960).

Scapegoats, Black Sheep, and Systems Theory

A scapegoat is a person or group who is no more guilty of misbehavior than anyone else, and may be entirely innocent, but nonetheless is arbitrarily designated by the others as the guilty one. (The term comes from an ancient religious practice, in which the guilt of the people—who, presumably, had actually transgressed in some way—was ritualistically placed on a goat, who was then driven out to the wilderness, and the people were then perceived as being released from guilt).

In contemporary dysfunctional families, a parent, for example, may arbitrarily and consistently think and talk about one of the children in disparaging terms, as having undesirable traits, and/or treat the child significantly more unkindly than the other(s). In situations of this kind, family counselors consider the child thus treated as the psychological scapegoat. Scapegoating serves the purpose of diverting attention from other, more fundamental, problems that the more powerful family members would rather ignore; for example, marital discord or parental addiction. Scapegoating also allows the other family members to create stronger bonds among themselves as they join together in complaining about and disparaging the scapegoat. If such a family seeks the services of a counselor, typically the parents will perceive and present the scapegoated child as the problem child, the one causing the trouble which the parents hope the counselor will "fix." Such parents will typically present themselves as victims of the scapegoat, for whom they want only the best. Family counselors refer to the child in this example as "the identified patient" and they will perceive the interpersonal dysfunction that the other family members

create as the crux of the problem needing correction. (Keep in mind that not all children who are perceived by parents as having problems are being scapegoated; rather, the point is, people who are scapegoated are described as culprits by those who do the scapegoating.)

Scapegoating can also occur at the group level. When one group of people tends to consider another group its enemies, typically that "enemy" group is scapegoated. Recent examples in the United States include the derogation of Muslims and Central American refugees, and the belief that African-Americans and (dark-skinned) immigrants who are unemployed are lazy freeloaders and yet that those African-Americans and immigrants who hold jobs are thieves "stealing our" jobs.

What groups are scapegoated in your community? Is any group that you are in, due, perhaps, to your demographic identity (e.g., gender, religion, income level) scapegoated by other groups in your community or nation? Is your group or nation scapegoated by others? Were any scapegoated groups falsely set up as evildoers of some sort by those promoting the scapegoating? If any such examples have come to your mind, consider what, and whose, purposes are served by this scapegoating. It would be useful to jot down your thoughts, before reading on.

If you have identified yourself as a member of a scapegoated group, it might have been easy to think of how the scapegoating benefits those who scapegoat your group, and how your group is harmed from it. If your group is a scapegoating group, can you think of how that benefits your group? Have you thought of your group as one that scapegoats, and is also scapegoated? If not, has it occurred to you that this is possible? Allen and Javdani (2017, p. 329) challenge the assumption that the positions of "bully" and "victim" are mutually exclusive. Sometimes those who are bullied (or scapegoated) will themselves become bullies, and not necessarily be aware of that. They may only identify themselves as victims. Can you think of examples of this?

A benefit of sociopolitical scapegoating is that it can act as a distraction which benefits those doing the scapegoating. When in the United States, the poor are scapegoated, it takes attention away from the way large corporations create poverty. Irrational as it is, it is not unusual for middle-class Whites in the United States to express resentment toward poorer people for allegedly making them poor. The assumption is that the taxes workers pay mainly go to fund social services for the poor, disabled, and unemployed, who are not employed because they are lazy. The reality is that large corporations, and their super wealthy owners and executives, benefit from paying little and sometimes no taxes, and from receiving tax subsidies. Furthermore, they create politico-economic systems that maximize their profit, to the detriment of the poorer classes, who pay high prices for goods, often receive low wages and few benefits from these corporations, and pay the taxes that fund subsidies for the large corporations.

As another example, Muslims are often scapegoated in the United States and assumed to be terrorists. Yet, research indicates that most mass shootings in the United States are done by non-Muslim White males (Follman, Aronsen, & Pan, 2018). But when. via scapegoating, our society is told to "look over there!" at the alleged culprits, it redirects attention from the actual culprits who, in these examples,

are hoarding and withholding financial wealth, or who are actually responsible for most terroristic shootings.

When, at the beginning of this chapter, you considered the world being in a state of peace, did any of your thoughts deal directly or indirectly with this issue of scapegoating? For the world to be in a state of lasting peace, what would have to happen in regard to scapegoating? Pause a moment to consider those questions, before reading on.

In times of war and related military activities, the group identified as the enemy is typically scapegoated to the point of dehumanization. A good description of this tendency is presented by David Livingstone Smith (2007), who gives examples of different types of dehumanization that have occurred during various wars. Broad categories are to think of the "enemy" as vicious monsters (predators) and/or dangerous parasites. Interestingly, the enemy can be described as a vicious immoral predator in the context of the threat they pose to our group, but in the context of our military physically attacking that same enemy group, they are often described as our legitimate prey, or as loathsome vermin that need to be exterminated.

Thinking and speaking of our designated enemy as immoral predators, parasites, and our legitimate prey, makes it easier, of course, to (falsely) justify our use of violence on them. "Thou shalt not kill" surely does not pertain when we protect ourselves from killer predators or parasites, nor when we hunt our legitimate prey, does it?

In our consideration of scapegoating, I have been making use of systems theory, often used by counselors in their work. A key concept of systems theory in the psychological context is that when patterns of cognition and behavior are established in a group of people (a system), those patterns (norms) tend to remain intact. This is termed homeostasis, (from the Latin for "same position"). Established systems support homeostasis, regardless of changes that an individual might attempt (Bateson, 1972).

For example, consider a family whose entrenched typical pattern is to be overly worried about travel. If a member nonetheless considers traveling, the others will typically become more vociferous in pointing out dangers of travel. If someone starts deviating from a group norm, the others are likely to point out alleged dire consequences of deviation. Nonetheless, if a person persists in stepping out of the comfort zone, the rest of the system may reject or ostracize that member as "the black sheep" (Marques, Yzerbyt, & Leyens, 1988) and thus maintain its homeostasis. Sometimes the others will go beyond merely feeling bewildered by the choices of the idiosyncratic member, and even beyond ostracizing that deviant member, and treat the deviant member as a scapegoat.

Can you think of examples of this process occurring, perhaps in your family, or in other families you know…of examples in a system larger than a family, that lead to disturbances of peace? Examples might include social discrimination against minorities (who deviate from norms just by being different from the majority). Discrimination against Jews turned into genocide in Nazi Germany, and in the United States, the common perception of Muslims as somewhat exotic has changed to them being increasingly viewed as terrorists. When oppression grows, groups who were treated as "black sheep" are vulnerable to being bullied and scapegoated.

Of course, other happier possibilities can occur when an individual in a system expresses a non-harmful difference with a norm. Perhaps the "black sheep" will find other, more functional people to bond with, or inspire other members to break freer of arbitrary patterns. Psychologically healthy systems are open to some changes, and are flexible, less arbitrarily rigid, and so less likely to create "black sheep." An example of this can be found in the documentary film *The Eagle Huntress* (Bell, 2016), in which a young female member of an indigenous Mongolian tribe develops a strong interest in learning to hunt small game by working with her trained eagle. It seems that an underlying irrational belief of the culture is that only males can have that ability and interest. However, the girl's family is loving and wise, and parents and elders of both genders place higher value on personal authenticity and the obligation of the family to support authenticity in each other, than they do on maintaining arbitrary gender roles. Such prioritization of values allows family relationships to flourish, and for tribal members to overcome their own prior prejudice and take healthy pride in the girl's remarkable achievements. Peace is not only maintained, but magnified.

Can you think of some examples of such flexibility and hence openness to possible improvements in systems (family, or larger than family) with which you are familiar?

Rationalization, Addiction, and Morality

Our discussion of systems theory, black sheep, and scapegoating leads us to consider another major concept, rationalization. In psychotherapy, rationalization refers to the process by which people make and use false justifications for an action and/or an attitude they decide to take. Rationalizations appear reasonable, as they often contain or at least imply if-then clauses and other forms of language that we automatically associate with logic, such as "If Muslim terrorists weren't out to destroy us, we wouldn't need to drone them" or "Because all (or most) young black men wearing hoodies are likely to be killers, it's okay for the police to shoot them in preemptive self-defense." This last example was actually something one of my well-educated White male clients said to me, shortly after the 2012 slaying of Trayvon Martin, a Black teen who was shot to death in suburban Florida while walking home after buying candy (CNN Library, 2013) (Trayvon had been wearing a hoodie). The first example regarding US predator drones is one that I have heard from more fellow Americans than I can possibly specifically remember, including educated, otherwise liberal, professionals.

Common rationalizations include denial (refusing to acknowledge that something is happening, or mislabeling that which is happening), dichotomous (binary, black-and-white, all-or-nothing) thinking, perfectionism, and use of a double-standard (holding the behaviors of others to higher criteria than we do with our own). Rationalizations are not actually rational, as they contain either false assumptions or false inferences or both. We have considered how those who scapegoat

provide themselves with false justifications (rationalizations) for oppressing the scapegoated group. One motivation to rationalize is to avoid changes that scare us. Beliefs that are entrenched comfort us. It tends to be emotionally comforting to "know" the world is a certain way, even if, objectively speaking, it is not that way. We may feel emotionally unsettled, even overwhelmed, by the task of having to construct new images of some aspect of reality, even if those images are more accurate; the new, more accurate views may reveal unflattering truths and imply that we need to exert ourselves to take corrective measures. We can feel intimidated by going against the flow of powerful people in our group who espouse the incorrect belief, and of losing respect of, and a sense of belonging to, our group. Even when we have clarity about why we want to make a change, and how doing so would benefit us, change often provokes anxiety and feels uncomfortable. To face such consequences requires courage. When we lack sufficient courage, we can use rationalization to provide false justifications for avoiding improvement, and to dampen down the emotional discomfort that comes from having a moral ideal yet acting in violation of it.

That ensuing emotional discomfort is termed cognitive dissonance (Festinger, 1957), as we know (cogitate) that our behavior clashes (is dissonant) with our purported ideal. We talk ourselves into believing the logically impossible, that our typical behavior that clashes with our ideal doesn't clash with our ideal. This is self-deceit, a type of denial, and is also a way we enable ourselves to be dysfunctional in some way. For example, those whose behavior meets objective criteria for alcohol abuse can tell themselves (and others) that they are not alcoholics because they only drink beer, not hard liquor. This form of rationalization, which involves denial, smacks of logic because it takes the form of "If this premise, then that conclusion." However, in the example given the implicit basic assumption of that, unlike hard liquor, beer is not alcoholic, is false, so the conclusion is also false. Rationalizations pave the way for self-defeating behavior: in truth, we know being sober—or voting for candidates whose political platforms reject militarism and toxic fuels—would be good for us, but we find the new behaviors necessary for improvement difficult to implement. So we tell ourselves that a beer won't hurt, or that the pro-peace-and-planet candidate can't win anyway.

Another type of rationalization that we can employ to provide an excuse for not improving a faulty cognitive-behavioral pattern ("bad habit") is to tell ourselves that an alternative would not be perfect either, and since it wouldn't be perfect, it's better to stick with the (faulty) status quo. By using the excuse that any change must lead to perfection, we support our inertia and our fears about attempting improvements.

Some years ago, I viewed a documentary film *Bordering on Treason* (Dalton & Tychostup, 2013), about a local journalist, Lorna Tychostup, who, very courageously, had gone to Baghdad to serve as a human shield against the US invasion in 2003. She attended the screening and afterwards was asked if she thought the abolition of war is possible. She replied that no, as the world can never be in a state of "Kumbaya"-like harmony; conflict and war are inevitable. ("Kumbaya" is a well-known African-inspired American folksong celebrating fellowship.)

Examine the reasoning in that reply. Do you notice the fallacy? The response assumes that for war to be nonexistent, the entire world must be entirely and permanently conflict-free, and in a state of comradely bliss. It ignores the possibility of groups of people having differing needs and desires, and being disgruntled, even outraged, with each other at times, yet rejecting physical force and violent coercion, as such conflicts are argued over, worked through or around, and resolved or contained. The response exemplifies the fallacies of perfectionism and dichotomous thinking (if the perfect state of permanent blissful harmony does not exist, then war is inevitable—there are no other middle-ground sorts of options). Certainly, in my own life, I have experienced unpleasant conflict-laden situations with others, and yet, happily, in none of these did I have any concern that I or the others would, because of our mutual disgruntlement, become violent, let alone try to kill each other!

The double-standard type of rationalization is common in the context of non-peace, taking the common form of what we do is justified, what they do is not. Typically, when our group engages in war-like activity, we tell ourselves that we are good people honoring the moral precept of "thou shalt not kill," even as our group engages in or supports military action leading to killings because those thus targeted are "the enemy" who are out to harm us, and it's okay, even heroic, to kill the enemy. After all, if we didn't kill them, they would kill us. So our militaristic violence is really self-defense, and we all have the right to defend ourselves and to protect our vulnerable loved ones and fellow citizens.

Many Americans hold that position even though it was the United States who invaded the sovereign nations of Afghanistan and Iraq, and the "insurgents" are mostly, in fact, attempting to defend themselves from an unwanted invasion by a foreign (to them) military force. The common rationalization that the United States is engaging in self-defense, via pre-emptive strike, is a classic paranoid rationalization—paranoid, as it assumes, without validity, that the other is targeting me, so it's okay and even necessary that I kill them first. (This was the sort of rationalization employed by my client who expressed that it's acceptable for police to kill young Black men wearing hoodies.)

It is common for individuals to think of themselves as good people, not necessarily heroic or saintly, but certainly not as immoral. So one psychological purpose served by rationalizations supporting our group's violence is that we can continue to think of the other group that we are targeting as the less moral group (Hedges, 2002; Smith, 2007), whose immorality necessitated our violent response. At the political level, we are using the classic typical rationalization of the abuser: "she (the recipient of my violence) 'made' me do it" and so our violence is morally justified.

Take a moment and consider: Do you think nearly everyone values morality? If so, do you think nearly everyone values morality over other values (e.g., loyalty to family/tribe, job and financial security, obedience to authority and to those who provide one's income?) Isn't it moral to be loyal, prudent with finances, and compliant with authority? Or, does it depend on specific context, as in, for example, just what the authority is telling one to do? Is it easier to behave morally in some situa-

tions than in others? What might contribute to relative ease or difficulty of determining what is moral and choosing a moral option?

Many have pointed out that for immorality to occur, it is not necessary to willfully engage in immoral behavior; all that is required is to prioritize some other value over morality (see Bandura, 2016; MacNair, 2003; Pilisuk & Rountree, 2015). In my country, a value that is commonly prioritized over morality (though that prioritization is not always openly acknowledged) is that of money-making, whether through employment or investment. Money-making is often esteemed as a moral activity if it is a legal activity.

For example, in the county where I work, construction of a large toxic power plant by a profit-motivated major corporation was approved by the few people comprising a small town planning board, although the resulting electricity would be in excess of present or anticipated energy needs, and would be generated via toxic fracked fossil fuel, thus exacerbating the global climate crisis, while inevitably poisoning water, air, and soil, both locally and in a radius of many hundreds of miles. The fracked fuel would be extracted in a neighboring state (because my state had banned fracking, but not the import, transport, and use of toxic fracked fuel. Consider: Do you think that is a moral political decision?) Does any sane person consider it moral, or even just safe or intelligent, to poison water, air, soil, and thus food, to the detriment of both the health of all life in the vast affected area and of the climate of the whole planet?

Common rationalizations used in the county to divert attention from that question and its obvious answer involved denial (of the immense multi-faceted harm), and prioritization of the value of employment (in the harm-causing activity) over the values of ecological and human (public) health. Union workers employed at the plant commonly used "Jobs!"—meaning their jobs at the toxic enterprise—as a mantra, as they expressed indignation that anyone would dare value anything over their jobs or money-making. They alluded to themselves as decent hardworking people, who work for a living. Yet is their position, that their activity (which inevitably exacerbates the climate crisis, and poisons air, water, soil) is justified because it is legal and results in wages, correct?

As I have remarked in public hearings, those profiting from the African slave trade in prior centuries had similar responses to the threat of abolition. Such changes upset the status quo of the current economic order, and the status quo benefits some groups of people, typically those who have the most power in the system, and their enablers, who receive rewards (e.g., money via salary) from those with much power. Changes to the status quo will mean that those who are currently benefiting financially will lose some money, at least during transition, if changes (moral improvement—and in this case, ecological and public health improvements) are made. See Fromm (1955, particularly) and Minnich (2017, particularly "From a Junkyard to a Peace Promotion Sports Park: A Transdisciplinary Approach") for considerations of the effects of placing superordinate values on career and profit over the common good.

Does this example regarding issues of destruction of planet and public health seem on or off our topic of peace? That depends on how one operationalizes "peace."

Is it possible to have real, enduring peace in a world where such destructive activities are permitted?

When a person places undue importance on an activity or object, to the detriment of personal health and other responsibilities, and to the detriment of good and appropriate relationships with others, that person is said to be addicted (Shaffer, 2012). Addicts center their lives and daily activities on the use and acquisition of the addicting object, typically rationalizing via denial to falsely justify such behavior ("Sure I drink a six-pack of beer a day, but I'm not an alcoholic!"). An implication often made is that it is mean to say that someone is addicted, and how dare anyone be so rude. The addicted person's message of being offended by the explicit mention of the addiction also serves to distract from the central issue the addicted person wishes to avoid and deny. If addicted people admitted to being addicted, that would at least imply that they should recover from the addiction, and that is the last thing that an actively addicted person wants to do. ("Actively" means the addicted person has not engaged in the recovery process of thinking more constructively and realistically and ending addictive behaviors).

Morality is undermined by addiction, not because actively addicted people deliberately aim to be immoral, but because they typically allow nothing to come between them and their object of addiction, including moral issues. To maintain their addiction, actively addicted people typically will lie to themselves and others, neglect their responsibilities, and sometimes commit significant breaches of conduct, such as stealing or being violent. Also, the physiology of addiction can impede the ability to engage in rational thinking. The lying that actively addicted people often engage in includes rationalizing their problematic behaviors as normal and acceptable, often while holding others to high—perhaps unrealistically high—standards of behavior. For example, it's okay for me to drink a six-pack of beer in an hour or two because I can handle it, but it's not okay for you to be upset with me for doing so. In the context of non-peace, an example of the double-standard rationalization that is common in my country is that it is heroic for US military to invade sovereign nations, but it is despicable for citizens of those nations to resist that foreign military invasion. Besides addictions to money (and the status that it brings) and political power, pause, and consider: What other addictions contribute to non-peace?

Such other addictions include self-righteousness, which supports the addiction to (often unjustified) moral superiority, and, for those actively participating in situations of militaristic violence, the addiction to the physiological phenomenon of one's own adrenaline rush. Both of these also involve the emotional comfort of belonging to a prestigious in-group (the supposed righteous, our supposedly heroic and righteous military). These three (belonging, hypocritical self-righteousness, and adrenaline rushes) make for a heady, complex, and hence compelling addiction. (For an in-depth example of often firsthand experiences of this phenomenon, see Hedges, 2002.)

Where there is active addiction and/or abuse, not only are the addicted or abusive persons affected by the dysfunction, but so are their close associates, most notably the family members who live with them. The family emotional responses may be skewed so that the addicted and/or abusive member over-reacts to trivia, whereas

everyone under-reacts to the abuse. For example, an abuser may become enraged and punch the person who made dinner because the abuser didn't like it, yet no one shows adequate concern about the violence and injury. This of course reflects the double standard that the person who holds the most oppressive power determines what is important or not; the abuser emotes and behaves as the abuser wants, and everyone else must respond accordingly. Additionally, when someone with an addiction expresses disapproval toward anyone who expresses awareness and concern about the addiction, the addicted person is also encouraging the other to support (enable) the addiction. Sometimes children of parents who are addicted and/or abusive become the same themselves, sometimes admiring the dysfunctional parent, sometimes not, but emulating the dysfunctional parent anyway. The psychologically healthiest member in such a setting may become overly responsible, with their own needs suffering as a result, leading to "burn-out."

Pause and consider: Does it seem to you that in some ways your community, and/or perhaps other communities you know well, may be addicted to activities that promote non-peace? If so, how does this impact the daily lives and attitudes of those who are not actively addicted to such activities? Do any examples of your community enabling the dysfunction of oppression and/or violent militarism come to mind? (You may want to compare your responses here to your earlier ones of what would be different for you and your circle if the world were in a permanent state of peace).

One day in my graduate school class in applied theories of counseling, Dr. Blocher told us about a case of his in which his client was an adolescent in a significantly dysfunctional family. He said that to speak directly to the parents about their dysfunction would very likely result in the parents ending their child's counseling, which had been providing an opportunity for the teen to experience a healthy and therapeutic relationship. Dr. Blocher advised us to avoid confronting parents in such situations, to validate the teen's accurate perceptions and normal feelings, and to help the teen envision and realistically plan for a better future in young adulthood, with its far greater opportunity for independent choices. Dr. Blocher noted that when adults find themselves in situations (e.g., relationships, jobs) that are intractably dysfunctional, adults can choose to leave and find healthier situations.

Our class was occurring during the era of Reagan/Bush bank deregulation, the US backing of oppressive regimes in Central America, and escalating nuclear threat. It seemed we grad students all had the same thought simultaneously—the whole world is dysfunctional, so there is no escape. "Where can we go—Mars?" one of us exclaimed.

Psalm 137 of the Old Testament refers to when the Jewish people, having been taken captive by the Babylonians, were ordered by those captors to perform their famed songs in praise of Yahweh. The reggae musician Jimmy Cliff (1972) released a hit song, "The Rivers of Babylon," based on this psalm, which refers to the oppression of dark-skinned people by Whites. "Oh, the wicked carry us away into captivity and require of us a song. How can we sing King Alpha song in a strange land?"

How indeed can we envision and promote peace in a world beset by non-peace?

Given that we live in a world where non-peace is common, even promoted and admired, and given, as climate activists say, that there is no Planet B to which we

can go to escape this worldwide dysfunction, what can we do to help end this dysfunction? This question is not meant to be solely rhetorical. Once again, you can pause, and consider. What ideas occur to you as possible answers? (You can use Focusing to explore this important issue in greater depth). What feelings and thoughts come up for you as you consider this question?

Psychological Change and Actions Toward Peace

Counselors often help people who face the need and desire to improve, and thus change, their behavior. Often we all can be ambivalent about making improvements. The task can feel overwhelming, and we can doubt our ability to improve. It can often feel relatively more comfortable to tell oneself that "I'm just not up to doing that right now" rather than facing presumed failure, and perhaps rejection from others, if one attempts improvement. Confusion and a vague pervasive feeling of discomfort are common when considering the possibility of changing established thoughts and behaviors in order to attempt improvement. When earlier in this chapter, you were prompted to consider what you can do to nurture peace, how motivated you are to do so, and how much leverage you feel you have, did any of those thoughts and feelings (confusion, being overwhelmed, "maybe it's best not to try, after all") come up for you? If so, that would *not* indicate that you are deficient in some way, but simply that you are human. When considering how to contribute to world peace, the task may feel overwhelming, if not downright impossible.

Some approaches, commonly used by counselors helping clients to make improvements, can be useful here. One is to make a reasonably valid assessment of what we realistically can and cannot do, including what is and isn't under our control. As the saying goes, you can't change others, only yourself. When we see the need for change and choose to, we can make some improvements in our own thinking and actions. Further, how we interact with others influences them. How they respond to our influences is up to them.

Consider (and perhaps reconsider) how you have operationalized "world peace." Doing so will help you develop a valid assessment of what is in your power to strengthen the presence of peace in the world. Consider what sorts of actions you have taken, and tend to take, that promote world peace. How do your actions promote well-being, for yourself, and for human and non-human others? If you pause and make a list, doing so may increase your valid self-appreciation for what you already do that promotes peace. We can also pause to consider all the other people who read this chapter and do this exercise, and of course, as well as many others, who have also contributed to world peace. We are not alone, even if we feel that way at times.

Let's now consider some broad categories of potentially feasible, non-heroic (but very useful) actions many of us can take toward peace. Afterwards, we will consider methods that will allow you, if you would like, develop your own feasible, flexible action plan to promote peace even more than what you do already.

In general, those of us who live in nations with some semblance of democracy usually have opportunities to vote for political office-holders and sometimes for propositions being considered for becoming law. Our choices of candidates and propositions are limited by whoever has the most power to select them for the ballot, and by the selection processes. Nonetheless, if we educate ourselves about available political choices, and are careful to avoid irrational thinking ourselves, then we may, without great risk or hardship, make political choices most likely to promote peace.

In my country, candidates and their campaigns are often masters of marketing and public opinion techniques, telling potential voters what those voters want to hear, often in vague terms. This in fact is the crux of the Facebook/Cambridge Analytica scandal of the 2016 US presidential election. Various kinds of irrational thinking can be used by political campaigns and by voters, often to justify their self-defeating choices of voting for candidates whose platforms are against the voters' own interests. Quite often I have heard voters who lament wars and toxic fuels tell me that, given the choice of two (or more) corporation-backed candidates who favor militarism and toxic fuels, and a non-corporation-backed third party candidate running on a platform of peace, justice, and environmentalism, they voted for one of the first two. Why? Often such voters say the third candidate couldn't win, or that truly good people cannot win races or succeed in political office. Or they say that the peace-and-planet candidate wasn't perfect enough, and yet they vote for a clearly imperfect militaristic, pro-toxic fuel candidate, because he or she was better than the other of the corporation-backed candidates.

Can you identify the types of fallacies in the above example, which is very common in American politics? My answers: Learned helplessness, and rationalizations involving perfectionism and the double-standard (third candidate must be perfect and aspersion-free, but first two can have many political faults). Any or all of these irrational cognitions, if acted upon, lead to self-defeating political choices.

Besides mindful voting, perhaps without great risk of violence or hardship to ourselves, we can become involved in political party work and issue-centered campaigns to promote peace. Also, it is often possible to contact political (governmental) office-holders via phone, internet, or in-person, and to express concerns about issues. In my country, the phone and internet options generally take no more than two minutes to complete. An example of effectiveness of this strategy is in the policy reversal Trump made to his initial policy of traumatizing refugee families by jailing their children separately from parents. At least partly due to sustained intense public outcry, he ended that policy, and the judicial system demanded that the US government see to it that family members are reunited.

Besides the broad category of taking feasible political actions, another is to become informed about impacts of our lifestyle choices, and when at all possible, to choose options that do good, or do the least harm. For example, if we can grow some of our own vegetables without using poisons, plant heritage varieties, save seeds for the following season, we improve soil and water, the local ecosystem (by providing food and habitat for pollinators and other beneficial wildlife), the climate (production of toxic pesticides leads to carbon emissions), as well as our own nutritional and financial well-being, and add to our own culinary delight. Participating in

a community garden offers all of the above as well as a chance to meet our neighbors (see Hoffman, "Creating an Edible Dialogue for Peace: Community Gardening, Horticulture and Urban Fruit Tree Orchards", in this volume). Good actions can have many good consequences, for ourselves and others.

We can learn about where things we buy come from, how they are made, and choose accordingly. We can, for example, educate ourselves that most shrimp from Thailand is caught by enslaved Cambodians forced to work on rafts 24/7 until they can no longer work and then are pushed into the ocean to die (*The Guardian,* 2018) and so we can refuse to buy shrimp that comes from Thailand (unless it is certifiably fair-trade), and we can express our concerns to our local purveyors of seafood. Some companies create products using fair-trade practices and avoiding animal-cruelty; some foods are produced both organically and by fair-trade, and so when we buy from such companies, we are supporting these beneficial practices. *A Better World Shopping Guide* (Jones, 2017) rates many categories of products and companies according to how justly and sustainably their products are made. If we save or invest, we can research and choose financial opportunities and institutions that support justice and sustainability, and eschew the war industry. We can urge institutions to divest pension funds from enterprises that undermine peace and reinvest in those that contribute to the well-being of humanity and our planet. If your operationalization of world peace includes the presence of earth and human justice, it will be clear to you how choices we make when we shop, bank, invest, travel, heat and cool our homes, etc., impact world peace.

Another category of feasible actions toward peace is to speak up and out when we hear statements that promote non-peace. Those who work with the problem of bullying point out that when bullying occurs, a position of potential power is held by the non-bullied observer of the bullying (Lambe, Cioppa, Hong, & Craig, 2018). Speaking confidently against bullying can discourage further bullying, especially when the social power status of the observer at least equals that of the bully. Ignoring injustice enables injustice. As Martin Luther King, Jr. put it, "There comes a time when silence is betrayal." So when we hear irrational statements that undermine peace, we can consider assertively countering them. To "All Blacks are lazy" we might say, for instance, "Sure, that's why Whites enslaved them to pick cotton" or "Really, you know each and every one of millions of Black people and you have assessed them for diligence? What measures did you use? How many years did devote to your study?" Note that these examples employ some humor, which is potentially available by the absurdity of the initial irrational statement, and sometimes humor, along with calm rational assertiveness, can be an effective way to disarm—dis-arm!—the peace-threatening irrational claim.

Another approach is simply to provide correct information. To the scapegoating generalization that "All Muslims are terrorists—they believe in jihad and want to kill Christians!" one might respond, "That's a common misconception, but in fact it's not accurate. Jihad is a spiritual symbol for the struggle of good against evil, usually taken as an internal struggle within oneself. Islam respects 'the people of the Book' which includes Jews and Christians, and has the Commandment that 'Thou shalt not kill.' In fact, many Muslims are themselves victims of terrorism." Starting the rational counter-response with "that's a common misconception" allows the initial

speaker to save face, as it indicates that the initial speaker is not uniquely misinformed, and if the initial speaker does not feel insulted, that person may be more receptive to the rational response. Yet another approach, good as a standby strategy, simply is to label the fallacy correctly, as in, "That's quite a generalization. Generalizations are generally incorrect"—again, that last part also uses some humor.

You can take a few minutes to consider what peace-threatening irrational statements are most common in your community. Then you can consider potentially effective counter-statements you might make to disempower the irrational, peace-threatening statements and to promote peace instead. You can rehearse saying these counter-statements in privacy, thus increasing the likelihood of your using them effectively in your interactions with others.

Hopefully this consideration of acting toward desired improvement (of nurturing peace) has helped fuel your motivation for doing so, by continued actions you already take, and perhaps by new actions to increase peace. But when discouragement is present for you, an important caveat, often employed by counselors helping clients make improvements, is that sometimes it's necessary to take reasonable action toward desired improvement, even when you don't feel like doing so. A common thought that obstructs action toward improvement is, "I don't feel like doing it now. I'll do it when I feel like it." That might be a reasonable, non-self-defeating thought if we are referring to something we usually like to do and in fact, often do. But when we use that thought to procrastinate on making an improvement, chances are we will never *feel like* actually taking new and unfamiliar actions *until we start taking those actions.* If this is the case with you when you consider how you can contribute to world peace, then good advice would be, take your inertia, reluctance, avoidance, and discouragement with a grain of salt, and commit to feasible periods of time of taking actions toward peace, regardless of whether or not, at that moment, you feel like it. And, after you have taken the new actions, *then* see how you feel.

Remember, effective goals need to be realistic. "Establish world peace" is not a realistic goal for any one person, whereas "join and work with a pro-peace organization" is. A strategy toward that goal could be "find what organizations in my area promote peace and justice and if it's feasible for me to work with one or two of them."

An effective way to start a new action plan is to brainstorm as many possible relevant actions you can imagine taking, rate these according to their level of difficulty of implementation, choose one or two of the easiest actions that are likely to be effective, and commit to doing them for a specific short period of time. Devising a plan consisting of specific effective actions done in specific reasonable time frames helps to achieve a goal. You will have to think about feasible actions, and note whether or not they are taken. If actions are not taken, you can consider what the obstacles were, and revise your plan to increase your chances of success. Implement, review, and tweak again if needed. Add additional new actions gradually, if you would like, after the first one has become rather routine. Appreciate yourself for taking these new actions.

Social support from good people who share your fundamental values about peace can be very valuable. As you take actions toward peace, you may find new opportunities for meeting such people, and perhaps working together at times if you

choose. (A useful caveat can be to not expect, however, that everyone who expresses interest in peace will always be rational and peace-promoting. We all have blind spots and moments of irrationality, and in general, people tend to bring unexamined and unspoken expectations into groups, thus sometimes creating or adding to conflicts in groups.)

For Further Reading and Consideration

The primary purpose of this chapter has been to share ideas from the field of counseling psychology to help you consider how you can, if you wish, contribute further to peace. As you read, you were encouraged to think about your thinking, as people are when they engage in effective counseling. The perspectives relevant to peace that have been expressed here certainly do not exhaust all the possible relevant perspectives that can be gleaned from the conceptual bases of counseling psychology. Given that goals of psychotherapy, which from its Greek etymology translates directly as "soul-healing," always involve betterment at a deep personal level, these goals cannot help but increase peace in some ways, even when the process can be unsettling (facing realities we would rather avoid, and changing entrenched ideas and behaviors, even faulty and problematic ones, tends to feel uncomfortable, even upsetting, at times). Occasionally, peace-making may feel, in one connotation of the word "peace," quite unpeaceful!

This chapter has focused on some, but certainly not all, main ideas and approaches from schools of psychotherapy commonly used by psychotherapists, especially from cognitive-behavioral, solutions-focused, and family systems theories. Other theories also offer useful conceptual frameworks for promoting peace, such as mindfulness (considered in this volume), and narrative therapy (Metcalf, 2017), which can help us gain greater awareness of the stories we create in our minds about peace-related issues. Psychoanalytic and its derivative psychodynamic theories also provide some relevant concepts, including the Freudian ones of Eros (the human impulse toward sexual gratification and, as formulated by some later scholars, toward love and creativity) and Thanatos (the human impulse toward competition, and thus often death and destruction). In *The Sane Society* psychoanalytic scholar Erich Fromm (1955, p. 25) states that the crux of human motivation is "to find ever-higher forms of unity with nature, his fellowmen and himself (sic)" and asserts that many contemporary societies are in fact insane, as they are based on pathologies such as greed for oppressive power, money, and fame, rather than on providing for valid human needs. Frankl (1992, pp. 115–119) considers the individual's search for meaning to be the fundamental human motivator, and that valid meaning can be found in creativity, by authentic experience of something or someone else (healthy love) outside oneself, and by constructive responses to unavoidable suffering. He also cautions about the harm not only to others, but to oneself, that follows when the will to power over others, to money, to hedonism, override the pursuit of valid meaning (p. 112). Jung's theory includes the concept of the shadow self, that part of

us of which we often feel ashamed, and so often ignore, thus allowing it to insidiously lead us to harmful choices, which we then rationalize. Rozmarin (2017) considers how the social sphere is rife with unexamined unconscious impulses, leading to harmful societal consequences.

Clearly, we all would do well to examine the context from which many of our social problems arise in order to make social improvements that promote peace. This is exactly the focus of community psychology (see Jason, 2013) which offers us useful insights about these crucial challenges.

Another excellent source for insight about how the cognitive and behavioral patterns of individuals and their communities lead to the presence of peace and justice, or of violence and injustice, can be found in *The Evil of Banality,* by philosopher Elizabeth Minnich (2017), wherein she presents scenarios from various historical contexts in order to examine (much like the approach of this chapter) how habits of mind and behavior of people in their communities have led to starkly contrasting outcomes of peace and goodness versus violence and sociopathy.

To paraphrase Pete Seeger's (1955) famous song, 'Where Have All the Flowers Gone?,' when will we ever learn? We can, if we mindfully apply ourselves.

To continue thinking thoughts of peace together, you can go to promotingpeace.home.blog. The author can be emailed at promotingpeace@tutanota.com.

May peace be with us all!

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Part II
Children and Youth

The Role of Secure Attachment, Self-Efficacy, Social Support, Stress, and Community Engagement in Peaceful Parenting

Erin Paavola

The work of Bowlby (1969), Bandura (1977), Seay, Alexander, and Harlow (1964), and Bronfenbrenner (1979) have been pivotal in understanding how family is the first community through which children acquire external social behaviors and internal psychological emotional mindsets (Bowbly, 1969; Harlow, 1961). Researchers (Bourdieu, 1972; Vygotsky, 1978) have explored how communities, social rule, and education influence human behaviors and social structures as part of the social environment. Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological levels of analysis help to assess the needs of parents within various community domains such as families, teams, clubs, churches, neighborhood initiatives, and school programs. The analysis of the macro- to micro-fit sheds light on the community's needs and strengths, and can help uncover macro-level interventions that can be catalysts for change. It is important to explore the linkages between micro-level groups within the community to better understand the strengths and challenges of various subgroups in the community. All levels of community need to be fully invested in its youth. If parents, caregivers, teachers, medical professionals, and lawmakers do not employ helpful strategies when shaping policies around the needs and rights of children then future generations will suffer.

Caregivers can be peace and health promoters in a child's life by implementing mindful, peace-minded, and attuned style of parenting that is focused on growth. This requires parents to be more consciously aware, self-reflective, and responsive in regard to attachment, self-efficacy, stress management, and peace promoting/solution strategies within a community context. This model of peaceful parenting can aid in community building in micro-, meso-, and macro-levels. This chapter will discuss the need for parents to have a greater awareness of their emotional regulation by understanding stress, social support, self-efficacy, and community engagement in order to have a positive influence on their children's mental health. This chapter will

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discuss the research on how each of these components plays a vital role in parents' developing a secure attachment and peaceful parenting with their child.

Those now beginning families will enter a new societal climate. Modern culture and changing family norms, with a heavy focus on education, success, and health have increased the need for parenting focused on the health and mental health development of children in order to meet the demands of life when they are adults. Both the family and the social environment are essential for shaping the behavior and emotional development of children. The role of the family is vital and paramount to setting the foundation for a child's healthy lifestyle mindset as well as daily health and wellness behaviors. Promoting peace from within one's self, as a parent, can help encourage a more peaceful generation within a secure attachment through mindful parenting and education of how peace can be embodied in parenting interactions, stress reduction strategies, social support, and community engagement.

Health is a fundamental human right (WHO, 2015) and ought to be a focus for our children. Yet, how is this done exactly? What are some components that help to bring about positive mental health, and the idea of peace within parenting behaviors? When parents gain a greater awareness of self-acceptance of their own strengths and challenges, insights about how they handle stress, beliefs about parenting, and engage with the communities around them to get their needs met or not, they model indirect or direct messages to their children. Emotional regulation, effectively coping with stress, and accessing social supports can seemingly help develop more securely attached children.

When parents are more self-regulated, attuned to their child's emotions and concerns, able to manage life's stresses, and navigate parenting demands through healthy ways within their natural communities; they are giving their children the unspoken messages that they are capable of living in harmony and peace within their own self, their family, their community, and overall as a member of the communities they are a part of. Parents have the role of not only being models for their children on how to live a life, but they are also models on how to manage and navigate life's positive outcomes and challenges. Approaching parents' self-regulation interactions through Ecological Theory (Kelly, 1968) suggest that children gain skills within a social system from their parents. Specifically, there is a dyadic and symbiotic process of adapting emotions and behaviors between the parent and child. The parent is adapting his or her emotions and behaviors to the child's experiences, and consequently, the child is then responding in response to the parent's emotions, behaviors, and decisions. This dyadic relationship is taking place all while the resources are being used, created, and cycled within the family (microsystem) and the larger mesosystems. Within the family system, there is a sense of interdependence among everyone; the family and children are shaped by the back and forth nature of their interactions as well as by the various resources that are in a constant state of change over time within the family system. Moreover, if a parent is responding to a child's fall from a bicycle with anger and violence, then the child can easily respond with reactive crying, sadness, anger, confusion, all while possibly creating emotional tension between the parent and child. Thus, in this example the child is learning non-peaceful ways to manage and respond to life's bumps. However, if a

parent does not act out of shock or anger, rather he or she responds with a tempered emotional response—primarily with love, care, concern, in a compassionate and peaceful manner—then the child feels important, valued, comforted, and is learning how to effectively handle life's difficult situations. In this example, the resources from an Ecological Theory Perspective are not only the parent's emotional regulation skills (the ability to manage internal responses to the situation as well as emotions). The resources that are also cycled in the family system are the parent's behavioral expression of his or her own thoughts and feelings of compassion, love, and care for the child. The intangible resources in the family are often the parent's emotional and time investments in their children's ability to learn how to deescalate their own emotions. In addition, parents play an important and pivotal role in children's developmental capacity to learn how to manage their own emotions and behaviors in peace-minded manner throughout childhood.

It is through the many daily parenting interactions that these teachings are instilled, reinforced, and maintained. Parents can help to guide, nurture, and be a secure base from which children can explore the world, and Ecological Theory (Kelly, 1968) can help us to understand these interactions in a social and adaptive context. Children's daily interactions with others in a social context shape how they act now and in the future (Dishion & Stormshak, 2007). Positive mental health in youth requires youth to develop resiliency to handle social situations. That is youth need to develop and refine the ability to appropriately respond (cognitively, emotionally, and behaviorally) to changing and adverse social conditions and situations (Gilligan, 2007). Important aspects of development are created and shaped through a variety of social interactions that take place at multiple levels of the community. Children's daily interactions shape how they interpret and act in the future. This flexibility in learning how to manage our responses and emotions is important as youth develop and grow into adults, so that they have satisfying lives. Adults, especially parents, greatly influence the emotional lives of children; specifically, a parent's self-efficacy can have influence on a child's social adjustment (Jones & Prinz, 2004). Children can benefit from positive role models and mentors; thus, children's engagement with positive community engagement and youth development programs can also promote positive mental health and social adjustment (Catalano, Lisa Berglund, Ryan, Lonczak, & Hawkins, 2004). Within a community psychology ecological framework, community-parenting initiatives, and mentoring interventions can be initiated to affect the physical and mental health of children.

Considering the idea of community and parenting, if 100 parents were together in a room and were asked to identify the variables of that make a peaceful and helpful parent, those 100 parents may have similar ideas, yet there would be many different responses. One hundred parents will have different ideas of what they liked about their childhoods or not, and many different experiences will have shaped how they think about life, how parents actually "have a life," and how to manage relationships as well as "how to parent." This chapter provides some evidence-based information to parents on stress, and social support. The template for parenting is already in place way before we are even parents, as it is rooted in empathy, caring, providing for others, judgment to keep children safe, and the ability to manage

finances to provide for a family, as well as many other skills. How individuals manage emotions, interact with others, manage stress, and engage with their natural communities are important components of how to employ peaceful parenting. Thus, if parents are having difficulty managing emotions (become upset easily or often), have trouble expressing thoughts or feelings to others, have difficulties managing stress as evidenced by maladaptive, negative behaviors (such as being aggressive, drinking, yelling, and excessive spending money), and are dependent on others too much for support (financial or emotional support) may not learn how to take care of, and thus can be a poor model for their children and may even contribute their children's mental health distress over time or even in some situations, place their children at a greater risk of abuse or neglect.

Therefore, it is crucial for parents to be healthy and peaceful models and teachers for their children's healthy emotional and physical development. Children need to be consistently around caregivers who model healthy internal working models of how to approach managing emotions, interacting with others and getting needs met in healthy ways throughout life in their natural communities. The below model will explore how secure attachment, stress, social support, self-efficacy, and community engagement can lead to better outcomes for children and peaceful parenting.

Parental Internal Peace Plan to Help Bring About Greater Mental Health

1. **Understanding the Need for a Secure Attachment Style**

   A parent's level of involvement and engagement with a child can positively or negatively influence the child's social and emotional development. Research has demonstrated that the care and attention from a mother, generally the main caregiver, is instrumental for development, especially emotional regulation and processing (Parke & Buriel, 2007). The primary caregiver's guidance is essential for children to develop appropriate and helpful understanding and comprehension of a healthy-living mindset and healthy-related behaviors. Environmental or biological pressures can negatively affect and influence a parent's ability, willingness, and frequency of engagement toward children (Paavola, 2017). Given the multiple societal demands placed upon women in society, mothers especially need helpful and adequate support for the charge of parenting. The natural environmental supports are crucial for all parents and the ultimate success of children. It is vital for parents to impart a healthy mindset and wellness approach to living for their children's future health and well-being. In particular, a mother's education, can also effect the health of her children (Güneş, 2015); such that, a higher level of education has been predictive of better childhood outcomes.

   The family environment can provide children with feelings of membership, influence, a sense of belonging, and support which are conducive to a cooperative, peaceful, and helpful environment where psychological trust and needs are either

fulfilled or neglected. The child's feelings of care, attention, and membership are established from the primary family. The relationship the child has with the main caregiver will be the springboard for other relationships. Parental emotional expression can aid in children's ability to understand their own and others' emotional and behavioral expectations, actions, consequences, and overall comprehension of social situations (Denham, Zoller, & Couchoud, 1994; Dunn, Brown, & Beardsall, 1991; Dunsmore & Halberstadt, 1997). Thus, it is important for parents to have peaceful and responsive emotional reactions to day-to-day events, in order for children to learn how to appropriately respond to events.

It is important for parents to understand how their own attachment style with their family of origin (parents) has affected their own thoughts, feelings, and life decisions, as well as how they want to maintain, or correct the attachment style with children. Family cohesion and the quality of parenting can also influence a child's development as they can aid in the nature of shaping belief systems, values, and internal and external support systems (Center on the Developing Child at Harvard University, 2010). Thus, it is vital for parents to explore the attachment patterns and interplay between themselves and their child, as the parents' attachment styles help to form the foundational template for the child's pattern of symbiotic emotional and behavioral interactions for their life. The dyadic interplay between the main caregiver and the child also assists in setting the child's internal emotional regulation and emotional/behavioral responses to themselves and others in the social environment. It is posited that the family environment aids children in learning about relationships through the process of developing primary emotional regulation, social belonging, healthy living, resiliency, and responsibility to/from others and through involvement in the family.

2. **The Impact of Stress**

Stress, mental health, and financial difficulties in a family can all affect the well-being and development of youth (Conger et al., 1992). The authors proposed family systems interactional model suggests that economic stress, stress, parental efficacy, and social support, indirectly affect parent's frequency of health engagement behaviors with youth. When there is tension within a family system in the form of stress, parental stress can negatively affect the frequency with which parents encourage health engagement behaviors for their children (Paavola, 2017). This is based on family process research that found when there are high levels of stress there is a higher chance of parental mental health issues, marital conflict, and less helpful parenting that was associated with higher chances of maladaptive behaviors in adolescents (Conger et al., 1992). Stress that is specific to parenting has been defined by a "complex construct involving behavioral, cognitive and affective components relating to a person's appraisal of his or her role as a parent" (Everly Jr & Lating, 2004, p. 27; Abidin, 1995; Conger et al., 1992; Whiteside-Mansell et al., 2007). The levels of parental stress can have negative effects for children over time (Bridgett et al., 2009; Gartstein et al., 2010), and thus it is vital for internal and external parenting support.

Community settings and resources help to reinforce or create disadvantage and furthering the emotional, social, and health disparities children will deal with for years to come. Researchers Deater-Deckard and Scarr (1996) conceptualized how parenting has some level of naturally occurring inevitable stress, simply due to the nature of the parenting context. Higher levels of parental stress have been associated with poorer outcomes such as evidenced by insecure attachment and lower parental involvement behaviors (Adamakos et al., 1986). Thus, the stress and overall perception of parenting has been demonstrated in the research to be one of the most meaningful aspects of many people's lives (Wilson, Sandoz, Kitchens, & Roberts, 2010).

3. **The Importance of Social Support**

Sarason (1974) suggests that individuals can feel a psychological sense of community, i.e., a feeling that is elicited as a result of the individual and others in a social context. A sense of community is "the perception of similarity to others, an acknowledged interdependence with others, a willingness to maintain this interdependence by giving to or doing for others what one expects from them, the feeling one is part of a larger dependable and stable structure" (p. 157). Since both parents experience stress, the relationship between the demands of childcare and related stressors makes mothers' particularly susceptible (Gallimore, Weisner, Bernheimer, Guthrie, & Nihira, 1993; Plant & Sanders, 2007; Roach, Orsmond, & Barratt, 1999). There is abundant research that has demonstrated that spousal social support has positive effects on mothers of all ages (Antonucci, Akiyama, & Takahashi, 2004; Nelson, Kushlev, & Lyubomirsky, 2014; Strazdins & Broom, 2004). Social support can seemingly help parents feel a psychological sense of community, sense of cohesion, and support for life's events and decisions and is an important component for maternal and child well-being and has positive outcomes for children. Social support assists and aids a mother in her transition to motherhood (Schachman, Lee, & Lederman, 2004). Social support research has also overwhelmingly demonstrated how interactions with others help people deal with stressful and everyday life events and decisions. House (1981) has distinguished four separate types of social support: emotional, instrumental, informational support, and appraisal support.

Since social support provides information to individuals which is beneficial as it should lead them to believe that they are valued, important, cared for (Cobb, 1976) and a "part of a network of mutual assistance and obligations" (Taylor, 2007, p. 145; Wills, 1991) it is an important aspect to consider how it is related to parenting behaviors.

The community must encourage and positively influence those who take the charge and role of raising members of the next generation. Instrumental support is a type of social support that measures the extent to which people provide helpful and significant assistance to each other in the form of services or physical aid (Cohen, Mermelstein, Kamarck, & Hoberman, 1985; Glanz, Rimer, & Lewis, 2002). Social support, in the form of in-person or virtual interaction, provides more than the time, practical assistance effort, or resources, as it is also building and sharing emotional connections of life's many experiences (Glanz et al., 2002).

Social support is a vital theoretical construct to examine as it affects parents' attitudes and behaviors and has direct and indirect influences on child behavior (Cochran & Brassard, 1979) and development, particularly on the behaviors of health engagement of mothers.

Parental and adult social support, a vital component of stress management, has positive outcomes for children (Hirsch, Mickus, & Boerger, 2002), as well as positive long-term health outcomes (House, Landis, & Umberson, 1988; Uchino, Cacioppo, & Kiecolt-Glaser, 1996). Adults who have greater intimate support and resources in the parenting domain have less psychological stress and more satisfaction (Cobb, 1976; Crnic, Greenberg, Ragozin, Robinson, & Basham, 1983). Thus, the quality of daily interpersonal interactions within relationships is one that has more cooperation, joy, and overall satisfaction. It is important for the partners raising the child to give and receive social support for the child's benefit. There are needs to consider how both macro- (housing, income) and micro-level interventions (problem-solving skills, adaptive psychology self-efficacy) can be coupled catalysts for change (Friedli, 2009).

Higher levels of maternal social support are linked to greater health outcomes for both children and parents (World Health Organization, 2005). When parents feel less supported, they typically have more mental health issues due to being more overwhelmed and stressed (Manuel, Martinson, Bledsoe-Mansori, & Bellamy, 2012). Evidence further suggests that parents who have more stress can increase their negative health outcomes (Hung, Wu, Chiang, Wu, & Yeh, 2010; Thurston et al., 2011; Witt, Gottlieb, Hampton, & Litzelman, 2009).

The benefits of social support are crucial for both parents, particularly mothers, since they primarily care for children. Such that, increased maternal involvement is encouraged, as parental support is also related to positive benefits for the child and child development (Crnic et al., 1983). Thus, higher levels of family cohesion and positive involvement and interactions with others in the family are associated with positive behavioral and emotional outcomes for children (Demby, Riggs, & Kaminski, 2015). Social support is an important factor in human relationships since it is related to a sense of secure attachment in infant–child relationships and that social support especially helps to increase the attachment in irritable infants (Crockenberg, 1981) and further development. Social support is a positive psychological function that aids parents and mothers in raising children throughout the multiple demands of life. Yet the type and source of social support matters when it comes to parental stress. Those who provide support to another are often known to the person (e.g., family, friends, co-workers; House & Kahn, 1985), yet they can also be unfamiliar or not yet known professionals to the recipients (aid workers for natural disasters, new referrals to medical doctors, therapists, social workers, and others).

Thus, research indicates that social support is good for our health and well-being, as investigations have further demonstrated that social support appears to lower the likelihood of mothers' negative emotions and depressive symptoms (Brown, Andrews, Harris, & Bridge, 1978). Additionally, there is an array of research that indicated that those with greater social support in terms of

psychological and material resources have a better health status than those with less social support contacts thus prevention programs could help people benefit from aspects of social support (Leavy, 1983; Mitchell, Billings, & Moos, 1982). Epidemiological investigations have indicated how individuals with low levels of reported social support have poorer health outcomes, specifically they have higher mortality rates; particularly from cardiovascular disease (Berkman, Leo-Summers, & Horwitz, 1992; Frasure-Smith et al., 2000); Kaplan et al., 1988; Orth-Gomer, Rosengren, & Wilhelmsen, 1993; Rutledge et al., 2004).

There is a multitude of evidence demonstrating associations between increased social support and higher well-being and physical health (Antonucci & Jackson, 1987; Cohen & Wills, 1985; Eaton, 1978; House et al., 1988; Schwarzer & Leppin, 1991; Seeman et al., 1995). Thus, parenting support has both positive mental and physical health outcomes for children; based upon the close relationship that mothering has with child interactions, attachment, and development. This investigation aims that increased social support can help to promote maternal behaviors and mitigate the social and health disparities.

Parental Self-Efficacy as a Potential Key to Parenting with Peace

As important as reducing stress and increasing social support is self-efficacy. Social support, parental stress, and parental self-efficacy are key protective variables in child development. The concept of self-efficacy was first introduced by Bandura (1977) in his work on *Self-efficacy: Toward a Unifying Theory of Behavioral Change*, which described how people use knowledge, forethought, and planning to succeed in the completion of tasks in their social environments. In 1986, Bandura and the National Institute for Mental Health elaborated on the concept of self-efficacy to explain personal cognitive psychology, which embodies the ability to regulate the intention and action of self-beliefs to function and meet goals. Self-efficacy lies at the root of social learning theory, which earlier on, Bandura (1977) pioneered to explain how people self-regulate and interpret their actions to affect behavior. Individuals' appraisals of self can affect their thoughts, feelings, motivation, and future behavior. Bandura's social learning theory postulates efficacy in dealing with one's environment is not a fixed act or simply a matter of knowing what to do. Rather, it involves a generative capability in which cognitive, social, and behavioral skills must be organized into integrative courses of action to serve innumerable purposes (Bandura, 1982, p. 122).

Thus parents are learning from their past and current situations how to consistently be better parents to their child, all while trying to manage both their global and parenting stress levels.

Research suggests that one's parenting behavior is greatly influenced by one's own self-efficacy and competency beliefs (Bloomfield et al., 2005). Through the

development of self-efficacy, one's confidence in the ability to manage motivation amidst adversity and disappointment to attain life's goals is rooted in family culture, as well as the social learning that occurs in the family growing up. Rappaport's (1981) empowerment theory can may help to increase parental self-efficacy. As Jason et al. (2016) suggest that empowerment is an individual construct "as it is ultimately a perception of efficacy" (p. 17). Such that empowerment can build parents' confidence/efficacy in their ability to manage their own emotions while promoting peace for their children.

A child's general self-efficacy is a sense of social competence that is developed through the ability to adapt emotional and behavioral responses to meet life challenges. Parental emotional regulation skills can aid in quality parenting practices and help them seek solutions for various life and parenting situations. An adult's ability to control and manage his or her own emotions can help engage in higher level cognitive functions that can improve problem-solving, daily planning of activities and routines for their household, and conflict resolution. The family's culture and quality of responsiveness in the parents' ability to help them develops the child's thoughts, feelings, value system, and worldview including peace.

Therefore, children often feel reassured and want help from someone whom they perceive is confident in their ability and able to help them, which can reduce negative anxieties. Thus, when adults are able to perceive future stressful situations with children as less ominous, there is likely to be a reduction in emotional arousal and negative feelings about the event (Averill, 1973). Likewise, they have a positive effect upon the child by not worrying him or her with unnecessary anxiety while effectively managing the problem at hand. This management of anxiety and other emotions occurs within the family system, as well as in the child's internal emotional state. A parent can attempt to have a greater sense of peace (emotional regulation) by reducing his or her own emotional arousal, such as using strategies such as mediating anxiety and fear. This can be achieved through psychological techniques such as modeling, visualization, and systematic desensitization; all of which aims to reduce anxiety arousal by removing dysfunctional fears and beliefs (Bandura, 1977).

With reduced and managed anxiety, a parent can then conduct a more accurate cognitive appraisal of the given situation. The skills necessary to reduce the internal feelings and emotion and to deal with the situation at hand are through the use of emotional regulation techniques. The manner in which one controls emotional expression varies in practice for each individual. Positive, healthy, and secure attachments are crucial for child development and social advantage throughout their lifespan. Bandura and Wood (1989) express how there were differences in decision-making scores relative to goals and perceptions of the task such that an individual who has more accurate appraisals can directly impact self-efficacy by de-emphasizing the threat of challenging situations and allowing for increased confidence in one's ability to manage the situation. For instance, for some people, being around children can sometimes produce a sense of tension. People who have had less exposure to children and have a lower sense of efficacy about being "good with kids" can impact their future interactions, as parents, aunts or uncles, or other mentorship roles.

To summarize, self-efficacy is the belief in one's ability to complete tasks and achieve goals. Self-efficacy begins in childhood and develops over time with new understanding and experiences. Self-efficacy is a vital and necessary component in parenting in order to adequately care for a child. Additionally, self-efficacy in parenting promotes the child's innate capability to be industrious, confident in their ability. Over time, parents own self-efficacy and caregiving style can influence their children's development of confidence in themselves and self-efficacy. Such that, a parent's own self-efficacy can seemingly promote how well their child will have confidence in being successful in competing tasks in the various areas of life. Those with high positive self-efficacy set challenging goals and sustain strong commitments and related behaviors to those goals. They approach difficult tasks as challenges rather than as threats, they maintain their focus on assessing task components, attribute failures to insufficient effort, respond to difficulties by increasing their effort, quickly recover after failure or setbacks, and display low vulnerability to stress and depression. Research has demonstrated that parental self-efficacy has been shown to help further develop healthy parenting practices, specifically related to health maintenance behaviors (Finlayson, Siefert, Ismail, & Sohn, 2007).

Community Engagement

The community plays a vital role in promoting and supporting the healthy development of youth and families. Both formal and informal networks in the community provide the infrastructure and community services to support parents in the development of their children through access to education, childcare, religious life, healthcare, as well as recreation, and cultural opportunities. It is important for parents themselves to subjectively understand the quality of the community they are a part of for support. The larger community resources and initiatives play a vital role in building and sustaining a culture and environment that fosters health behaviors in our nation's and community's youth. Aside from these formal supports, there are more interpersonal supports in family life that assist parents in attending to the day-to-day responsibilities and challenges in child rearing that may significantly influence the healthy behaviors of youth.

The responsibilities to help aid parents in their role of caretaking are not just of their local kin and friend community, but also the charge of the procedures of her workplace, and the local and federal policies that allow for easier navigation of having a work/personal life balance. Supporting parents in their role of parenting is not a family responsibility. It is everyone's—from researchers, educational systems, medical doctors, medical school administrators, policy makers, and city planners. It is imperative that the decision-makers and leaders of the community make mindful decisions regarding plans that will influence positive children's lives and health.

Conclusion

It is important for parents who place a value on peace to exhibit their own conscious effort to engage in peace practices that are more emotionally aware in order to manage stress, maintain healthy levels of social support, and to have meaningful collaborations with members of their community in order to have behaviors that are in line with their health and wellness values for them and for their children.

The role of parents in a child's upbringing and health needs to be supported and encouraged by family, friends, and the multiple communities the parents are a part of; here, parents and children can also develop a greater sense of community which can lead to greater satisfaction and sense of joy throughout life. Positive and peaceful parental influence serves as model for their children's community engagement, having an active lifestyle, and good eating habits have all been demonstrated to have overall positive outcomes for children. Thus, it is important for parents to invest the time, energy, and motivation to look inward to become more aware and insightful to help build a secure attachment with their children though awareness and conscious and responsive (not reactive) parenting behaviors that help to build caring, consistent and loving interactions with children to help develop and maintain a secure attachment, all while managing stress and working within the community.

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Raising a Peaceful Generation: The Perspective of an Asian American

Sherry Cheng

Coming from a background in Experimental Psychology, most of my coursework has focused on research methods, statistics, and theories. Rarely, there are in-depth conversations of cultural psychology and its impact on the society as well as people. In other words, how family cultural relationships and an individual's upbringing can influence the society, for a particular time and geographic location. Over time, I have become interested in my immigrant culture, and how my family relationships as well as my upbringing can influence how I live my life in the United States.

As a Chinese American, I immigrated to the United States in 2003 from Shanghai, China, and I came without any knowledge or ideas about what the immigrant communities are like. I spoke little or no English and I came to struggle in assimilation. Very soon after my arrival, with and without much interaction with my classmates, I realized that I had several unanswered questions. These questions stem from my observation of the upbringing differences among Asian Americans in the United States and Chinese immigrants from China, Korea, and other Asian countries. My questions include the general family structure differences and how these family structures as well as relationships influence children's relationships with peers and teachers. Even though I was asking preliminary general scope of questions, I was thinking about the Chinese family's relationships, especially the immigrant Chinese culture in influencing the next generation and the peace psychology theme of immigrant culture.

As I have tried to understand immigrant cultures outside of Chinese American families, I have been better connected to explore current research in understanding how I was raised as well as the upbringing of my peers. I have believed that my peers and I have shared similar cultural backgrounds, being that we are raised both in China and in the United States. With that being said, I see that immigrants in general are impacted by stressful experiences, especially acculturation into the

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mainstream values of American society. As my life is wrapped and intertwined in both Asian and European American cultural value, I challenge my identity and at the same time, I seek to find peace within the inner mindset of living in a multicultural environment.

When I was trying to find peace in my inner self and cultivating self-awareness in a multicultural environment, I initially became confused in my identity as an Asian American Chinese immigrant student. Looking back, I have often pondered how I have endured many obstacles in relation to my culture and identity including how I have gained cognitive flexibility in accepting the multicultural environment. This type of thinking got me to wonder about peace psychology and how individuals adapt as well as restructure their mindsets when not only accepting other people's cultures but also not to lose one's culture. My perception of peace psychology in relation to raising a peaceful generation is to cultivate awareness that individuals like me are becoming more adaptive to a multicultural environment as technology and societal changes have shaped my generation of peers to recognize the peace within cultures, not necessary the historical differences but rather present moment similarities. Because of that, I have asked myself these questions as I was growing up which include how have I faced continuous challenges without giving up and why was I successful in reaching my potential? When I was asking these questions, a light bulb turned on which speaks to me of a greater scope of impact. The idea of peace psychology is empowerment in itself when trying to motivate individuals to achieve potential in this world of multiculturalism.

When I was reading research articles to understand cultural adjustment, the similarity of themes was present which include identity, age, and mental health symptoms. In the articles that I have read, I have noticed a trend in theory, as most articles in cultural acculturation are theoretical rather than empirical. In Yeh (2003)'s study which is focused on understanding acculturation among Chinese, Korean, and Japanese immigrant youths, the underlying idea is the cultural shock and the wide gap of differences that immigrant youths have noticed between their culture and the American culture. Yeh did not define what American culture is specifically. However, Yeh did outline the general differences, which include the economic, social, and personal as well as family relationships, especially concerns of communication as well as how immigrant youths have viewed this world that they are living in. Yeh's theoretical research pinpoints the underlying concerns of the problems facing immigrants, especially youths from Asian countries.

When discussing communication difficulties as mentioned above in Yeh's research, I can relate to peace psychology and the upbringing of next generation. A child from a foreign country may have difficulties to understand what the culture is like in the United States and this may seem small on the surface. Down the road, the obstacle is for that child to communicate the difficulty in his or her life and to recognize the ability to integrate himself or herself into the society as a citizen. The gist here is to say the importance of communication in relation to immigrant integration and raising a peaceful generation.

In the variations of cultural adaptations, my questions to myself when I immigrated to the United States have carried with me when I began college. I decided to

study psychology with a minor in sociology and philosophy. In the broader scope of questions, I aim to achieve and analyze the multiple facets of how human beings make decisions regarding their backgrounds and situations. When connecting to peace psychology, it is fair to say that individuals would make decisions, which will make an impact on the peace structure of a particular society. This statement is more sociological than psychological which asks the question of how immigration affected the building blocks of American society from the very beginning. How about different periods? If time matters in understanding the immigrant culture in the United States? How did immigrant parents and their children, as well as their families, differ culturally in various periods in the United States? Even though I strive to understand time differences for immigrant psychological well-being and the cultivation of peace psychology, sadly speaking, there is limited data empirically.

When I look at myself as a Chinese American young professional, I sometimes have a vague sense of myself both culturally and psychologically. However, I hold a clear picture of myself professionally. Why is that? I also wanted to know how other young professionals from other professionals from other countries are like after their parents brought them to the United States. Further, down the road, I would ask myself how I would raise my children in the face of changing economic, political, and social situations. What are the obstacles that my children will face as they grow up to become individuals in the multicultural society? All of this leads to the next questions of how is peace maintained and sustained when communities include varying ideologies and beliefs? This motivated me to contribute to a book chapter to spark discussions and provide meaningful insights for further research in the field of peace and cultural psychology. Of course, this single book chapter must explore rather than fully understand my many questions.

As I examined research in the realm of cultural psychology in relation to peace, it was surprising to find that there was lack of literature about how to raise a peaceful generation in the presence of multiple different cultures. The bulk of the literature focused on immigration and its associated cultural difficulties in acculturation as well as identity conflicts (Kim & Omizo, 2005). For many immigrants like me, the present research literature has emphasized the importance of acculturation to defining values for immigrants, as to say that immigrant cultures are multidimensional without seeking a definite term to describe the culture (Suárez-Orozco, 2012). Postmes, Akkus, and Stroebe (2015), illustrates the point of which immigrant cultures should be defined in terms of multicultural ways, not just one experience as to say that not one size fits all. However, the limitation in the research presented above is how cultural identities are significant in influencing policy level, economics, and more specifically social interactions. On a high scope of issues, the concern has been the social interactions among people to peacefully live within a community. This scope of social interactions allows for future exploration in what it means for people to live together, despite cultural differences.

I believe that in understanding multiple shades of cultural identities has allowed me to gain some insight into my life and other people's lives who are in similar situations. In raising questions about immigration, peace, and identity, I have noticed a general ambiguity of definitions in intersections and boundaries among peace,

cultural psychology, and individual identities. The perspectives of politics, economics, and societal issues are also intertwined within the meanings of peace, culture, and identities in promoting individuals' fulfillments of purposes. In this chapter, I hope to spark discussion, rather than to provide a black and white framework leading to yes or no answers. The chapter is dedicated to illustrating a summary of the backdrop of immigrant difficulties as they relate to future generations.

As life varies in shape and form, culture shifts in communities as exemplified by one's culture within the mother country would be different from the same culture within the immigrant host country (Bornstein & Bohr, 2011). For example, Chinese culture in China would translate differently to the same Chinese culture in the United States. This would apply similarly to works of parenting as parenting characteristics shift to adapt to a different life in a foreign country (Bornstein & Bohr, 2011). In understanding the theme of parenting in immigrant culture, Bornstein & Bohr's article reminds me of the TV series *Fresh off the Boat*, which highlights the life of a Chinese American family, recently immigrated to the United States. When relating to the themes of acculturation, parenting, and immigration to cultural psychology, it is important to realize that culture plays a role in people's lives and cultural psychology seeks to understand who we are as human beings including our identities as students, professionals, families, and individuals.

In the measurements of understanding cultural psychology, the tools to conceptualize the results are not often clear in terms of what are the best. As mentioned in Valsiner (2014)'s article, qualitative measurements have become popular in exemplifying the themes. This is to say that in illustrating personal cultural identity, there are both theoretical and empirical measurements, varied in shades of color. In other words, we are from other countries and cultures; measurements of our behaviors and thoughts make up common themes yet differing as we are mixed, and our cultures are influential in our thoughts as well as behaviors (Buchtel, 2014).

Research in cultural psychology shows, for example, that the backgrounds of individuals affect the nature of immigrant's lives in different communities. The globalization of psychology is not to focus on one community, but also multiple communities (Gibson, 2001). Perhaps, the most important questions for this chapter are to understand how different cultural groups maintained and sustained peace within different heterogeneous communities, especially the Chinese American community. My background as a Chinese American speaks to the experiences and personal connection in understanding the current Chinese American community and the dynamics of which the community has raised their children in the sustaining of peace. More importantly, it is to understand the integration of Chinese American communities in relation to peace and cultural psychology. However, the current literature lacks the discussion of Chinese American communities when bridging the associations among ethnic culture community, identities, and formulations of new cultures different from their family cultures. My concern for the current literature is to further explore how the development of new cultures moves to integrate Chinese American individuals into mainstream American society and at the same time sustain peace within the communities. Further down the road, there is an intricate system of network to understand immigrant-parenting characteristics and demonstrate

how culture influences parenting as well as affect the next generation. The next generation includes my peers and I as well.

Many psychologists study the social phenomena of culture and identity, as to say that is a great deal of research literature describing immigrant experiences as well as associated identity crises in acculturation and enculturation (Kim & Omizo, 2005). I had a thoughtful conversation with one of my classmates who was an international student who mirrored herself as someone who was not interested in entering the dominant mainstream of American/European culture. I suggested to her that we should go out more in social gatherings; the suggestion is to encourage openness in the social context. In the term of psychological and sociological context, the process of acculturation is the acceptance of embracing the new social context. The aspect of trying it out rather than rejecting it off the bat is important to note here. This conversation led to my interest in John Berry and his colleagues' theories (Berry, 2001) which propose that individuals from different cultures may broadly fall into four categories: integration, assimilation, separation, and marginalization. My classmate fell into the separation category as she become strongly enculturated but not acculturated. In scientific terms, there is strong negative correlation between enculturation and acculturation. In the other language, enculturation is the act of bonding with one's native or indigenous culture, refusing to bond with the host culture or dominant social context. Acculturation is just the opposite (Kim & Omizo, 2005).

The best way for immigrants to adapt, according to present literature, is integration; absorbing the culture of the dominant group and at the same time becoming proficient in one's indigenous culture as the social context allows (Berry, 2001; Kim & Omizo, 2005). In connecting to my view, the worst way is marginalization, which defines individuals as separate from the host culture. However, in connecting this idea to my current question is to ask—who are we to judge other people and how would we know what the best way to live our live is?

I have a story to use as an example. I interned at the United Nations for my last semester in graduate school. One of the meeting agenda was the consideration of the immigrant issue and the general scope of how we could better serve immigrants and their children with policies and services. An interesting discussion centered on whether there were enough and adequate services provided to Asian American female immigrants, especially when they are seeking employment in safe environments. Moreover, employment can serve as the first point of contact to acculturation but for Asian American female immigrants, they typically seek employment in familiar neighborhoods, as the main language is their native tongues. This becomes as a result interesting to understand the ripple effect of how mother's employment can influence their children's growths. Thus, the team at United Nations discussed the possible solutions to address the issue; in addition, they formulated ideas to affect policies. This led me to think about whether Asian American immigrant mothers would rather receive help within their cultural familiar environments when obtaining the social services. The ending question of the discussion becomes how do immigrants thrive in a multicultural environment to promote peace and learning among each other? I view that this is an ongoing debate in affecting policies and services resulting from policies.

Other immigrants will not fall into the above stated categories of integration, separation, and marginalization. Assimilation, as noted in Berry (2001)'s research, communicates to individuals who largely reject their indigenous culture and absorb the totality of dominant culture. This theory is later confirmed in Kim and Omizo (2005)'s research. As a Chinese American, my concern is how these individuals interact with Asian American communities, especially when they face situations in which they must interact with their own indigenous communities. What are the behavioral trends we would observe from these individuals? These are also the questions asked by Leu et al. (2008). They found that behavioral characteristics are the results of social status, relating how Asian Americans perceive their social status can influence their mental health well-being. Leu et al.'s research defines that there is a correlation between social status and Asian American mental health well-being.

Kim and Omizo (2005) suggested interesting characteristics shared by Asian American college students' adherence to Asian and European cultural values, in respect to their collective self-esteem, acculturation stress, cognitive flexibility, and self-efficacy. The results suggested that from 156 respondents, Asian values were strongly related to collective self-esteem. As the self-reported questionnaire responses suggested, young Asian American adults in the United States were more prone to collective self-esteem, applying to both Chinese and Korean groups. Contrary, European Americans (in this study characterized to be second-generation Americans) were prone to predictors of cognitive flexibility. The coping stress associated with the first-generation and second-generation Asian Americans were vastly different as their values differed in cultural and mental health variables; particularly in private and membership self-esteem.

In consideration of the context of private self-esteem group, second-generation Asian Americans have placed higher values on external factors of change, as opposed to internal factors of change than first-generation Asian Americans. The finding raises the question of whether first-generation Asian Americans are more likely to blame themselves for obstacles than that of second-generation Asian Americans (Kim & Omizo, 2005). In the context of this research, one can say that views of internal and external factors of change relate to cultural context and identity. This cultural context and identity serves to highlight the cultural and peace psychology of how communities live as well as make decisions outside of their mother countries.

Kim and Omizo (2005)'s research led me to think about parenting and how parenting plays a role in affecting children's development, especially later on when children become college students and young adults. The gist of my inquiry is to spark the conversation of how and when parenting skills become important, influencing young adults' mental health well-being as well as young adults' decision-making skills.

The blend of both first- and second-generation as well as the dynamics of values suggests that there is a definite impact of immigration in any community. Speaking from my experiences living in NYC, I can see that immigrants and their children survived and prospered by coping with their emotional and social difficulties as well

as finding ways to seek help from others. The ways in which immigrants and children of immigrants seek help varies. Research by Van Oudenhoven, War, and Masgonet (2006) suggested that immigrant adults in general expressed attitudes of fear toward mental health care; possibly concluding that mental health care is not that common in their native countries. This study has illustrated vague differences in attitudes, which may not be viewed favorably as there are patterns of relationships between immigrants and host societies. This relationship can include receiving mental health help in the host society.

This leads to the next question of how parents have raised their children, with beliefs that are so different. What is the role of the self in collective versus individualistic cultures? How can individuals interface with both collective and individualistic cultures? For example, what happens if an individual being raised in a collective culture must immerse herself or himself into the social work environment of an individualistic culture? The question challenges the view of the self as an unchanging individual trapped in his or her mind, without the view of the self as a social human being, who effectively interacts with others in the host country to influence behaviors.

In my view, immigrants (whether they are parents or not) are often initially isolated in small and homogenous neighborhoods and communities. These smaller communities dictate the norms and patterns of immigrant parents and their children's lives in small and large ways. The challenge is to understand the social and pragmatic function of the communities. As the child of immigrant parents and as a Chinese American, there is stereotypical characterization of me. These stereotypes have affected me in multiple ways as others view me to be quiet and reticent in my opinions. However, I view myself differently as I am the brave, independent, stubborn, and individualistic young professional who has continuously failed and learned from my mistakes.

As suggested in Gibson (2001)'s research in examining the immigrant adaption and patterns of acculturation, individuals especially immigrants experience feelings differently, depending on how they feel about their receiving country. For the most part, I would say that I grew up in a very comfortable home environment. I have spent most of my time in Queens, New York, where I have friends and social peers whom I perceived to be like me. However, there were other times during my childhood when I felt isolated and secluded; being my culture was different from others. Looking back, the isolation and seclusion was the fear of getting to know the outside environment and I have to say that I felt that way some of the time when I was growing up. Gibson (2001) noted that there are shades of discrimination in relation to socio-economic status and emphasized that adaptation to the environment takes effort as well as time. There is no doubt that children are impacted by the neighborhoods that they have settled in.

For some time in my life, I can recall the fact of being disliked by my peers. I have become extremely upset in what I have accomplished in school as I have strived very well both academically and socially. Later on, I realized that I was different from most of the others in my school. I wanted to know why I was disliked. I did stand up for myself, I have felt proud of my ethnic identity, and at the same

time, I was somewhat afraid to tell my parents about what I was experiencing. I attended a prestigious private school at that time and I knew that my parents paid an extravagant amount of money to send me to a good school. Looking back, the interaction that I had with other students left a scar in my memory and I have wondered why the curriculum did not efficiently include the importance of ethnic identities, immigration, and individuals' well-being. I did have to admit that I received above standard education, which emphasized in excellence in learning. This personal anecdote leads to my question of research in ethnic and national identities in relation to the future well-being of young adults.

From Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind, and Vedder (2001)'s research, there is an interactional perspective of ethnic and national identities in understanding the well-being of young adults. In studies of adolescents from Mexican, Vietnamese, and Armenian backgrounds, it can be said that ethnic and national identities are unrelated. In applying the two-dimensional model of ethnic and national identities, one can assume that individuals including immigrant youths would be affected by both equally. Surprisingly, there was a large gap of self-reported scores from immigrant adolescents regarding their feelings toward how they think about their ethnic and national identities. There is no doubt that there is a gap in ethnic and national values; however, a huge gap or simply no relationship between the two identities poses a question of how children and adolescents are affected by identity confusion which is raised here to address the research (Phinney, Ong, & Madden, 2000).

I have always wondered if there are social norms shaping intergenerational cultural and peace psychology. Not surprisingly, there are no social norms shaping cultural and peace psychology. As I view it, only standards to measure which may include selection of the target groups, characteristics as well as nature of the target groups, and meaning of social representation within the theoretical and empirical representations.

In my opinion, the selection of the target groups meant various ethnic groups in the United States and the nature of the target groups meant values that individuals hold to be important. Social norms within immigrant cultures are only consistent to some degree as stories do vary from one to another. The statement is to illustrate what cultural psychology entails. In my view, cultural psychology, as it relates to the potentiality of human beings, studies the optimistic and pessimistic factors, which shape the lives and essences of what our lives. This is the abbreviation of the theory presented in Noels and Clément (2015)'s study. In the event of social, political, and economic challenges, my parents have always had that optimistic view in life, which I will never forget. Speaking about my parents' perspectives in my upbringing, one of my questions centered on the belief that there are gender-related differences among how immigrant parents have raised their children.

As formulated in Li (2016) and later on in Li and Meier (2017)'s study of examining parental power on prestige and the effects of psychological adjustment of Chinese adolescents in China. In other words, the aim of the research is to understand how the context of Chinese families can influence children's psychological well-being and psychosocial adjustment. The research serves to be preliminary to explore the effects of parenting on children's development. The results have indicated

that maternal acceptance made a significant contribution to sons' psychological adjustment as the data were collected from 335 urban Chinese adolescents (45% boys aged from 11 through 16 years old where the median age was 13.57 years). The data was collected from parental acceptance rejection questionnaire, youth version of parental power and prestige questionnaire, and gender in equality scale. The significance of the study illustrates how child rearing are influential in contemporary Chinese families. As this study translates to peace and cultural psychology, it would be interesting to note that parenting is also influential among immigrant children as an indicator of personality traits and psychological adjustment (Li, 2016). Li and Meier (2017)'s study goes further as to say that the sociological community of a neighborhood is influential in affecting the personality traits and psychological adjustment.

As peace and cultural psychology can affect the psychological adjustment, there are differences in gendered transnational parenting not only in Chinese families, but also among Korean families. Park (2018)'s study illustrates that elite fathers has the most influence on children's development professionally. From in-depth, semi-structured questions that were asked to 68 students who identified as Korean international students at seven elite US colleges from winter 2014 through summer 2016. The results demonstrate that there is a Korean parenting culture on children's development. On a societal level, Park highlights the intensive, strict parenting and communicates class disparities among elite couples and families. In connecting to peace and cultural psychology, Park suggests that there is an indirect conflict among classes in influencing children's development. This speaks to a broader picture which seeks to understand how cultural identity manifest in high achieving children which may differ from that of low-achieving children.

There were relatively few studies focused in understanding the actions as well as behaviors of children who have come from immigrant families, especially in longitudinal studies following immigrated children to adolescents (Suárez-Orozco, 2012). How have those children succeeded in their lives? What areas? What are the narrative studies conducted by sociologists, psychologists, and anthropologists to demonstrate the dynamics of immigrant youth and the issue of "dissonant acculturation"? What is "dissonant acculturation" and how does it conflict with immigrant youth as well as their parents?

One of the few studies explored the dynamics of family life for immigrant youths as the literature has centered in illustrating the rationale behind relationship strain, household responsibilities, parent control and expectations, and intergenerational tensions. The evidence and current literature in suggesting the rationale is mixed as emerging findings were pulled in multiple different directions in relation to cultural differences as discussing topics and themes. The general findings has been focused on immigrant youth well-being of family-related stress and delinquency challenges to cultural and personal identity formation, and the social conflicts that have existed among peers in the community (Suárez-Orozco, 2012).

The interesting findings from Suárez-Orozco and Qin (2006)'s research has outlined how there were gendered patterns of immigrant youth. From the multiple disciplinary research in psychology, anthropology, and sociology, and educational

perspectives, the findings have revealed and centered on to best serve this population of immigrant youth from angles of academic group settings versus individual family settings. The limitation as addressed in Suárez-Orozco and Qin (2006)'s study is to oversimplify the features of identity conflicts, social issues, academic and psychological outcomes.

Bornstein and Bohr (2011)'s research notes the intergenerational differences in acculturation which poses an interesting illustration of how peace is maintained in the family. When I say peace in the family, I meant the generational conflicts that may have occurred in the family. The research by Bornstein and Bohr (2011)'s research addresses how immigrant children have achieved their normative milestones. The question posed by the researchers are to analyze what the best strategy is to raise a child productivity while at the same time not pushing the child academically or socially to achieve what the child does not intent to want.

In the overall agenda of research concerning peace and cultural psychology, I have so many questions to ask and these questions remain unanswered. From the general perspective of reviewing current literature, there is an overall lack of theoretical and empirical research of investigating the framework of peace and cultural psychology in the cultural aspect of analysis. Furthermore, the cultural aspect of analysis seems to be lacking in ethnic communities when talking about peace and cultural psychology. From my standpoint, further research should be encouraged and explored in the aspects of cultural and peace psychology in relation to communities when attempting to understand the challenges facing different ethnic small and large communities.

In the context of peace and cultural psychology in understanding issues of diversity and cultural sensitivity to issues in the community, Jason (2015) provides insight into the systematic model of empirical intervention in resolving concerns of stigma regarding chronic health conditions and community building as well as substance abuse recovery. Through reviewing Jason (2015)'s article, community-based research defines and builds upon social interventions from empirical interventions and evidence-based research. In community research as, it relates to peace and cultural psychology, the cultivation of relationships highlights the importance of seeking solutions to improve policies.

I view community psychology research to be internationally founded and respected for many reasons. As illustrated in Jason (2015)'s article, social interventions in community-based framework exists not only in psychological individualized based frontiers, but also takes to initialize a movement which encourages for change in the community both politically and socially. Moreover, community psychology-based intervention serves to communicate ideas on the level of people-to-people intervention; meaning innovation is supported to benefit generations but not forced with policies which advocate for unjust change. Politically, policies are not just to enforce change on a national level without back up evidence and support from the people. Socially, social interventions are meant to drive healthy decisions in which programs are meant to revolve for improvement. Socially and politically, Jason (2015)'s paper is meant to represent a model of community-based framework which stems from both peace and cultural psychology.

From my personal experiences living in the Chinese American community, there is often a misunderstanding of within cultural groups in the same community, meaning within cultural groups who speak different dialects. This is to say that their conflicts and disagreements which arrive from within cultural differences among communities of people who speak different dialects. In looking at theoretical and empirical research, it would be interesting to understand how peace is maintained and fostered in advancing the economic and social development of a community among within cultural groups. When reviewing current research, the scarce evidence to support the statement above poses a risk as to say that there are no data, stories, and narratives to recall. Moreover, the next generation of Chinese Americans would have difficulties in gaining insight into how different within cultural families have merged and have survived to maintain peace as well as happiness in communities.

As a Chinese American who have been residing in the United States for more than 10 years, I see myself to voice concerns and I want to kindly thank Iris Chang (prominent Chinese American author) for inspiring me to become an advocate for what I believe in as a second-generation Chinese American immigrant from Shanghai, China. When finding the opinions of people and essences of evidence in support of maintaining and sustaining peace within different communities, the important elements are to find the challenges and how these communities including scholars, policy-makers, government officials, and researchers see those challenges as deeming to be important. As I hope in the future, psychologists, sociologists, and community members will embrace the worldly outlook that peace and cultural psychology are important in relation to immigrant communities. Moreover, this worldly outlook would influence generations, including my peers and myself.

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Cultural Scars, Lost Innocence, and the Path to Restoration: A Rebirth of the African Child

Kathleen Malley-Morrison and Chukwuemeka Emmanuel Mbaezue

In a world filled with violence, certain institutions and people have found ways of "moralizing" persistent behaviours that are detrimental to both individuals and the larger society. Consider this case: Nura Mohammed, 10, is an *almajiri* resident in one of the big cities in Northern Nigeria. He has blisters on his lips, and his face is pale, clearly due to malnutrition. Years of exposure under harsh elements have left his skin completely de-coloured. Nura has just emerged from a miserable shelter less dignifying than a shanty; so terrible is the state of this shelter that even goats might find it an unbearable place to live, yet this is where he stays with 15 others of his ilk. It is with such imagery that Lawal (2009) describes what has come to be a bastardized *almajiri* system, deviating dramatically from its role during Nigeria's pre-colonial era (AbdulQadir, 2003), and promoting distorted social practices harming innocent young males in Northern Nigeria—just as female genital mutilation harms so many of the girls. The purpose of this chapter is to consider theoretical frameworks that help us understand the survival of these controversial practices, and discuss amicable approaches to countering their violent aspects.

Almajiri and Female Genital Mutilation (FGM) in Cultural Context

According to Asogwa and Asogwa (2015), the concept of *almajiri* is drawn from the Arabic word "Almuhajiri", meaning "emigrant". Believed to have been imported into Northern Nigeria from North Africa, the *almajiri* discipleship system emerged

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as part of an Islamic tradition encouraging Islamic scholarship under a *mallam* (teacher) for a period of not less than 15 years. Its establishment in Nigeria dates back to the ancient Kanem-Borno Empire, where it was institutionalized as an elaborate and organized system of education intended to imbibe Islamic principles, values, theology, and jurisprudence into growing boys. Over time, however, the system has been vitiated, with the young inductees being robbed of their innocence and lost to a society that has turned its back on them.

Commenting on this corruption of the original system, Kabiru (2005, p. 1) asserted that "the *almajiri* system, instead of being a breeding ground for the learned *ulamas* who are the torch-bearers of our sacred religion as obtained in other Islamic climes… has unfortunately become a veritable avenue for the mass productions of miscreants, thugs and vagabonds". The *ulamas* (Islamic clerics) generally fare no better than their protégés in the adulterated *almajir*i system; most of the *ulamas* are just as poor as their students (Semere, 2015). Their deplorable economic status propels them to engage their students in routine begging for food or money on the streets.

Tracing the root cause of this societal dilemma to Nigeria's colonial days, AbdulQadir (2003) explained that the demise of the old *almajiri* system in Northern Nigeria began with the supplanting of Koranic education with Western education. With the arrival of Western education, funding for Koranic education began to dry up. Every form of government support on matters concerning education got diverted to the public schools. The result of this insult to the prevailing cultural practices, according to AbdulQadir (2003), is the *almajiri* system as it is today; some of these children "yield" to diseases, others get caught up in street fights and gang violence, still others get involved in thefts. In summary, "they (*almajiri*) remain untrained armies available to anybody poised to ferment trouble" (AbdulQadir, 2003, p. 2). A 2005 Report by the National Council for the Welfare of the Destitute has estimated the population of the *almajiri* children in Northern Nigeria to be seven million; Semere (2015) estimated it at 9.5 million.

The girl child has by no means been left out of this primordial, yet "new normal" system of collective violence that appears to victimize African children. Worldwide, Nigeria has the highest absolute number of known cases of female genital mutilation (FGM)—approximately 25% of the estimated 115–130 million circumcised women in the world (Okeke, Anyaehie, & Ezenyeaku, 2012). As defined by the World Health Organization (2001, p. 11), FGM is the partial or total removal of the female genital organ, or any injury deliberately caused to that region. Okeke et al. (2012, p. 72) noted that in Nigeria, "The girl is in constant fear of the procedure and after the ritual she dreads sex because of the anticipated pain and dreads childbirth because of the complications caused by female genital mutilation. Such girls may not complain but end up becoming frigid and withdrawn resulting in marital disharmony".

Regarding FGM, the World Health Organization (2008, p. 11) issued this warning "babies born to women who have undergone female genital mutilation suffer a high rate of neonatal death compared with babies born to women who have not undergone this procedure". The possibility of adverse events during childbirth for expectant mothers, as reported by the WHO, is equally high, leading to their use of the word "victims" to describe those who have undergone female genital mutilation.

Thus, WHO specifically acknowledges that despite proponents' claims that the practice contributes to "social order", the people subjected to it have a high mortality risk.

Female genital mutilation, like the *almajiri* discipleship system, is a cultural practice that has existed for centuries—in much of Africa and the Middle East, including parts of South-East and South-South Nigeria; it is currently found in many countries around the world. As reported by Adegoke (2005), South-South Nigeria currently has the highest prevalence rate (77%) of FGM in Nigeria's geopolitical zones, followed by the South-East (68%). Within the societies in Nigeria where it is practised, FGM is largely viewed as an initiation into womanhood, an assured deterrent for promiscuity, and a guarantee of chastity among young women (WHO, 2008, p. 6). For centuries in ancient Arabia, Egypt, Rome, and Greece (Fisaha, 2016), FGM endured, courtesy of the approval it enjoyed in those societies. It was not until the harmful aspects of these practices for the victims came to the fore that many people in those regions began to rethink the implications of such cultural practices, particularly their influence on the development of children subjected to them.

Theoretical Insights

An important source of support for the ending of the *almajiri* and FGM traditions comes from the field of peace psychology—that is, the study of the cognitive, behavioural, and communal processes that lead to violence could be used to prevent violence, and promote fairness, dignity, respect for all, and non-violence (MacNair, 2015). In this section, we discuss three theoretical systems that provide useful perspectives on violence, particularly the contextual and individual forces serving to perpetuate socially approved forms of violence within a society, and the redemption of such societies via a balanced synergy between the satisfaction of collective and individual needs—specifically, (1) the cultural violence theory of Johan Galtung, father of peace psychology, who emphasizes the forms of violence inherent in many of the social/political institutions that have evolved around the world, (2) the moral disengagement theory of Albert Bandura, who focuses on individual cognitive processes that lead individuals and the institutions that shape and are shaped by them to tolerate and even promote participation in violence, and (3) insights from community psychology that complement the contributions of peace psychology to the movement away from violent sociocultural practices.

Johan Galtung's Theory

Particularly relevant is Johan Galtung's (1990) concept of *cultural violence*. *Cultural violence* involves not just direct violence to individuals, but also the structural legitimization of certain violent aspects of a culture, legitimizing and moralizing

suppression and exploitation. From this perspective, societies advocating for the continuity of practices such as the corrupted *almajiri* discipleship system and FGM can be seen as breeding cultural violence. The advocates of these practices, by contrast, interpret any opposing views as a deliberate attempt by an alien culture to vilify an indigenous heritage or system that does not conform to alien parameters or particular specifications of social order.

In elaborating on his views regarding *cultural violence*, Galtung (1969) introduced the construct of *structural violence*, characterized by societal structures capable of inflicting harm or discomfort on individuals. Such structures manifest themselves rather obviously in poverty and inequality, but also in *malevolent cultures*—that is, cultures embracing or tolerating practices that are harmful to some of their members. Structural violence in turn begets *collective violence*, which Galtung defines as an exhibition of organized violent behaviour between different groups, classes, ethnicities, and races. Galtung (1969) indicated that underprivileged groups are always on the receiving end of violence and oppression in situations of negative peace. While certain societies may have utilized collective violence with the intention of bringing about an ideal social order, this particular "means" to that "ideal" yet unstable end remains questionable and unreliable. Galtung (1969) described such societies as entities where violence enjoys legitimacy, and has been enforced to the detriment of other values, chief among them the rights of individuals. In essence, violence can be seen as a by-product of institutional lapses as well as individual cognitive processes, a perspective that applies to FGM and the corrupted *almajiri* system in Nigeria.

From a Galtungian perspective, individuals who monopolize resources and perpetuate FGM and the *almajiri* system may avoid becoming directly involved in the death or physical and emotional maiming of their victims but nevertheless contribute indirectly to great psychological, emotional, or physical harm, including death. Even behaviours such as humiliation and put-downs of young people resisting harmful cultural practices constitute forms of violence that can have long-term destructive effects.

In Galtung's view, it is also important to recognize that impeding children from attaining their natural potentials is a form of violence. As Fisher et al. (2000; in Bobichand, 2012) confirm, violence can be infused into systems of relationships, socio-economic and political contexts, and most importantly, the cultural landscape of societies. A child whose immediate community, for reasons bordering on religious values, decides to throw him to the streets to engage in professional alms begging, has not just had his rights to formal education (as stipulated by the 1990 Jomtien Education Declaration) infringed on, his opportunities for attaining self-actualization have equally been truncated.

Galtung's focus on cultural violence, with its societal-level legitimization of harmful practices, is complemented well by Albert Bandura's focus on individual-level unconscious cognitive processes (mechanisms of moral disengagement) that allow individuals to violate moral standards while maintaining their self-image as caring human beings. When people become morally disengaged, they are able to harm others with a clear conscience (McAlister, 2001). Bandura identified eight

justifications people and institutions have given for indulging in wrong-doing, five of which are particularly relevant to this chapter. These moral disengagement mechanisms include: the *distortion of consequences* (distorting or denying the negative outcomes of inhumane behaviour), *advantageous comparison* (arguing that the harm one does is not as bad as the harm that could otherwise occur), *diffusion of responsibility* (claiming that one has no direct responsibility for the violence one is tolerating), *euphemistic labelling* (e.g. labelling the killing of innocent civilians as "collateral damage"), and *moral justification* (using moral language to justify immoral behaviour).

Albert Bandura's Theory

Bandura's theory is universalistic, in that he considers moral disengagement as an inherent set of psychological processes likely to take place in individuals in any society that tolerates and provides arguments supporting various forms of violence. The universalistic perspective contrasts with the cultural relativism perspective, which argues that members of one culture have no right to evaluate the morality and validity of the practices of any other culture. Fisaha (2016) argued that for the cultural relativists in societies where FGM prevails, the practice is a socially approved way of life and its advocates therefore do not need to be concerned about how it is viewed in other cultures. This perspective brings them in direct contradiction to other universalistic sets of codes—that is, the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR), the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (1979), the Convention against Torture and other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment, and the Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989).

Bandura's theory of moral disengagement provides a useful set of tools for analysing the cultural relativism arguments described by Fisaha (2016) as justifying FGM—and many of these analyses are equally applicable to arguments for the corrupted *almajiri* system. For example, the cultural relativity argument that discussions of FGM should be framed as matters of "cleanliness, beauty and adulthood rather than affecting damaging/destroying the sexual pleasure" can be seen as involving the moral disengagement mechanisms of *distorting consequences* and using *euphemistic language*. The argument that FGM is part of raising a girl in a proper manner, and that it is shameful to the young girl and her family if not done is a good example of the moral disengagement process of *moral justification*. And when FGM advocates hold that the practices are not an example of gender inequality because in many cultures both boys and girls undergo the processes, and not an example of patriarchal domination over women because there are many other cultures that dominate women, these claims illustrate the moral disengagement processes of *diffusion of responsibility* and *advantageous comparison*.

Identifying the role of moral disengagement in arguments designed to perpetuate FGM and the *almajiri* system exposes a value system in which child victims are forced to undergo certain dehumanizing experiences, not because the cultural practice is of any personal benefit to them but rather for the purpose of perpetuating a norm. While children's health and well-being are being threatened, the society claims to be seeking the "common good" by preserving the so-called status quo. In other words, moral disengagement at the personal level can reinforce cultural violence at the social level. As noted by Galtung (1990, p. 291), "cultural violence makes direct and structural violence look and even feel right—or at least not wrong". Cultural violence operates by reframing the immoral act committed from red-wrong to green-right, or on the average, yellow-acceptable. The uniqueness and strength of cultural violence is its ability to "make reality opaque so that we do not see the violent act or fact, or at least not as violent" (Galtung, 1990, p. 292)—a precise example of moral disengagement. Efforts to reduce the social cultural violence of the *almajiri* and FGM practices may be served well by informing those efforts with the reciprocal but complementary and inherently connected perspectives of Galtung and Bandura.

Perspectives from Community Psychology

Consistent with the frameworks of Galtung and Bandura, community psychology theories typically endorse an *ecological model* comprised of three principal layers—(1) *individuals* with their personal thoughts and feelings, (2) *microsystems* (networks of family, friends, and co-workers), and (3) *macrosystems* (the larger governmental and social systems in which individuals and microsystems are embedded). Community psychologists focus particularly on how an individual's experience within a group and characteristics of that group form an integral part of his or her well-being (Jason, Stevens, & Ram, 2015). According to Jason, Stevens, Ram, Miller, Beasley, and Gleason (2016, p. 7), "Community Psychology was founded as a discipline that is intended to combine a scientific orientation with collaborative social action in order to empower members of some community of interest and to help them improve their lives". Jason et al. note that this collaborative orientation has sensitized community psychologists to the need to listen to members of communities, rather than "prescribing" to them. This emphasis on collaboration and mutual respect between community psychologists and community members, with the purpose of promoting beneficial changes in communities, is quite different from the more science-oriented emphases of Galtung and Bronfenbrenner, despite the strong social change implications of those latter theories. Moreover, that emphasis on collaboration on behalf of community and individual well-being may be one of the most important contributions to efforts to deal with the harm that can accrue from FGM and the *almajiri* practices.

To explore the extent to which the constructs advanced in these three theoretical frameworks could be identified in the perspectives of educated adults who had not

suffered directly from the *almajiri* and FGM practices as well as individuals victimized by those practices, we conducted a brief exploratory study using a qualitative approach. Content analysis of the interviews was designed to contribute to an understanding of the psychological processes underlying the endurance of such practices, and a consideration of the implications of those practices for efforts to address the cultural violence inherent in them.

A total of eight respondents, grouped into two categories, were interviewed. The first category, which features intellectuals in cognate academic disciplines, consisted of four individuals between the ages of 36 and 55. Sa'ad (52 years old) is a male specializing in Peace and Conflict Studies, and a lecturer at the Institute for Peace and Strategic Studies, University of Ibadan, Nigeria. Onyedikachi (age 55) is another male lecturer, with a doctorate in Sociology, working in the same university. Yinka (age 42) is a female specialist in Gender Studies, lecturing at the Institute for African Studies, University of Ibadan. Osaro (age 36) is a male political scientist and lecturer at Chrisland University, Ogun State, Nigeria. In the second category, the victims category, there is Oreoluwa, a 70-year-old woman who is a victim of FGM, and three *almajiris,* Mohammed (age 12), Murtala (age 14), and Abubakar (age 15).

Method of Data Collection

Qualitative data for these case studies were gathered through key-informant in-depth interviews; respondents were purposively selected based on their first-hand experiences and intellectual expertise in the subject areas and were interviewed by Chukwuemeka Emmanuel Mbaezue, second author of this chapter. Interviews took place in two locations in Northern and Southern Nigeria; the first was in Ibadan-Oyo State and Abeaokuta—Ogun State (South-Western Nigeria), and the second was in Kano State (North-Western Nigeria). All interviews were audio recorded. For purposes of analysis, data acquired from the second category of respondents (the victims) were first translated from their respective indigenous languages (Hausa and Yoruba) to English, and then subsequently transcribed in writing. Chukwuemeka Emmanuel Mbaezue did the transcription of the recordings of both categories of respondents.

S/N	Target population	Study area	Sample technique	Sample size	Instrument
1	Academics	Ibadan—Oyo State, Abeokuta—Ogun State, Nigeria	Purposive	4 (3 men, 1 woman)	IDI
2	FGM (Victim)	Ibadan, Oyo State, Nigeria	Purposive	1 woman	KII
3	*Almajiris*	Kano State, Nigeria	Purposive	3 boys	KII

Findings

In regard to female genital mutilation (FGM), Onyedikachi rejects the notion that it is an example of what Galtung (1990, p. 291) calls cultural violence. In his view, using the term "cultural violence" to describe an elaborate ceremony celebrating the transition into womanhood (*euphemistic language*) is a blatant example of a Eurocentric-biased view of an African culture. He asserts that, historically, young women in some African communities willingly submitted themselves to this practice; in Cross River State, Nigeria, for instance, FGM was, he asserts, an experience to which every woman looked forward because it celebrated virtue, maturity, and womanhood (*euphemistic language* and *minimizing consequences*). Any differences in opinion emerging about the practice, he holds, stem from European literature that has widely condemned the practice. Europe's possession of tools of knowledge production appears to have given it control, hence the liberty to coin terminologies that may be doing an injustice to the values of indigenous cultural practices such as FGM. Though refusing to adopt the term "cultural violence" in describing FGM, Onyedikachi nonetheless admitted that the practice is detrimental to health, as asserted by the World Health Organization in 2008. Indeed, female genital mutilation, according to WHO (2008, p. 10), is symptomatic of an entrenched socially approved form of gender-based violence (GBV), inequality, and discrimination against women and girls—which is completely consistent with Galtung's concept of structural violence but not of Onyedikachi's reasoning about the practice. Onyedikachi's argument is also inconsistent with the view of 70-year-old Oreoluwa who went through the process of FGM in her youth. She argued strongly that mutilation is *not* a requisite for chastity or virtue; "a lady who wants to be wayward", she said, "will be wayward regardless".

In another rejection of the cultural violence perspective, Sa'ad attempted to link the *almajiri* discipleship system with the concept of discipleship in Christendom, while ignoring the dangers inherent in the *almajiri* system. His arguments demonstrated *diffusion of responsibility* and *advantageous comparison*. Specifically, according to Sa'ad, "in the Bible Jesus said, 'go wherever you are sent, eat whatever is set before you, carry no haversack.' Is that not call to discipleship? Why are we not emphasizing that?...We cannot say that the same thing asked of Muslims cannot be found in Christianity…" Similarly, Onyedikachi argued that boys also bleed when they are cut; hence, FGM is not really a matter of cultural violence, but rather "a normal rite of passage". From a Banduran perspective, this argument also involves *euphemistic labelling*, and *denial of the seriousness of the consequences* of a particular form of violence.

Osaro (age 36) diverges from the pattern of justifying the *almajiri* system, which begins, he says, with the "catch them young" syndrome prevalent in Northern Nigeria, wherein young boys are torn away from their families, technically ostracized from them, and sent to Koranic schools, perhaps never to return home. Rebellion, Osaro asserts, is planted in an empty stomach. With time, the *almajiris* begin to consider themselves as no longer part of society. They "have been so ill-treated

by the society that they can even go to a church to beg for food. For them now, it's all about survival and no longer learning the Islamic doctrine". Such neglect leads to a focus on survival by any means—which, more often than not, includes crime and in extreme cases narcotics or drug abuse. As willing tools susceptible to manipulation, these children are used for disrupting public peace, and rewarded with a steady supply of hard drugs. Eventually, they are branded social deviants and treated as pariahs, an unenviable and humiliating social status, by the same society that neglected and abandoned them.

Of the older respondents, it was Osaro who was most sympathetic to the violent system into which *almajiri* can be recruited. The *almajiri* respondents themselves were eager to share their experiences and expressed no love for the system in which they were caught. Abubakar (age 15) testified that immediately after their lessons, he and the other *almajiris* are back in the streets, sometimes as late as 9 pm at night, looking for food or money to buy food. When societal structures meant to serve the children's needs proved ineffective, the results are narratives like this one, "….after that (prayers and lessons), we leave for the streets to beg till 9 AM and then return back to our studying, which lasts till 11 AM. Immediately after 11 AM, we are back on streets, looking for what to eat and we stay there till 1-2 PM" (Mohammed, age 12). Murtala, a 14-year-old *almajiri*, expressed hope for a better future. He is nostalgic for his former trade, in cloth merchandise, an occupation in which he proudly engaged before he became an *almajiri*, an occupation to which he hopes to return. Similar hopes were expressed by Abubakar, who explained, "I was an automobile mechanic before coming here and I prefer it to being an *almajiri*". In the voices of these children, robbed of their innocence and deprived of their rights to education and choice, we see the effects of cultural violence unencumbered by the effects of moral disengagement; we also see enduring hope and recognition of alternative pathways to need satisfaction beyond begging and violence. How can fulfilment of such dreams be achieved? Research on moral disengagement has identified a number of correlates and mediators of relationships that can be incorporated into intervention and prevention programmes designed to reduce the role of moral disengagement in the promotion of violence. These include: (1) explaining the principles of moral disengagement (McAlister, 2001); (2) encouraging participation in setting goals (Barsky, 2011); (3) highlighting the harm that highly self-interested behaviour can cause (Kish-Gephart, Detert, Trevin, Baker, and Martin (2014); and (4) priming secure attachment, encouraging a sense of support and caring (Chugh, Kern, Zhu, & Lee, 2014). Also important to successful intervention and prevention programmes would be steps to counter the forces that promote moral disengagement. Studies have shown that contributors to moral disengagement include: (1) feelings of anxiety and insecurity (Chugh et al., 2014); (2) feelings of personal distress (Paciello, Fida, Cerniglia, Tramontano, and Cole (2013); (3) perceptions of injustice within the system (Hystead, Mearns, & Eid, 2014); and (4) social norms moralizing violent behaviour (Scarpati & Pina, 2017). In the final section of this chapter, we highlight intervention and prevention programmes designed to end cultural violence through processes that can be seen as addressing tendencies toward moral disengagement in supporters of the *almajiri* and FGM practices.

Ending Cultural Violence

In tackling the problem of cultural violence, it is important to consider what not to do as well as what to do. Galtung (1990) argues that efforts to institutionalize a culture of peace, particularly if leaders compel others to comply, could spawn yet another round of cultural violence. How then, should cultural violence be addressed? Given the cultural divides in Nigeria regarding the *almajiri* system and FGM, what approaches might be taken to lower the risks of those practices to developing children? Can interventions address both structural violence and moral disengagement?

Peace Education

Cultures can be categorized as general and localized, with local cultures showing a tendency to focus more on differences than on similarities—the opposite of the universal culture approach. The entrenchment of values in localized cultures presents a serious challenge for non-indigenous peace education programmes, a form of culture in themselves, trying to bring about a positive change in the resident cultures (FGM and the *almajiri* system). While the resident cultures may be focused on preserving and moralizing the status quo, the peace education culture focuses on areas of possible productive collaboration—as is consistent with the community psychology approach.

According to Fountain (1999, p. i), peace education is "the process of promoting the knowledge, skills, attitudes and values needed to bring about behaviour changes that will enable children, youth and adults to prevent conflict and violence, both overt and structural; to resolve conflict peacefully; and to create the conditions conducive to peace, whether at an intrapersonal, interpersonal, intergroup, national or international level". To address the issue of cultural violence successfully, peace education should be seen not just as a preferable alternative to harmful cultures, but also as a complement to indigenous cultures seeking to modify societal behaviour in the direction of non-violence. Steps toward achieving this goal should, according to Fountain (1999), include: (1) developing contexts that offer models of peaceful and rights-respectful behaviour in relationships; (2) demonstrating principles of equality and non-discrimination in administrative policies and practices; (3) drawing on the knowledge of peacebuilding that already exists in the community, including means of dealing with conflict that are effective, non-violent, and rooted in the local culture; (4) handling conflicts in a non-violent manner that respects the rights and dignity of all; (5) providing a forum for the explicit discussion of values of peace and social justice; (6) using educational methods that promote participation, cooperation, problem-solving, and respect for differences. From our perspective, the social cognitive and behavioural aspects of such an agenda incorporate elements shown to be effective in reducing moral disengagement while working collaboratively with people

"on the ground". Still, we must ask, if the principles of peace education are anathema to people in some localized cultures in Africa, what other approaches might be necessary to facilitate instituting peace education structures and strategies? One answer might lie in simultaneous investment in conflict transformation in a context of conflict sensitivity.

Conflict Transformation and Conflict Sensitivity

The *conflict transformation approach* to cultural violence is impressive in its focus on the structural and relational causes of conflict. Working within the Galtungian framework, Dijk (2009) explains that the goal of conflict transformation is to achieve positive peace—not simply to end violence and improve relationships between conflicting parties but to change the political, social, and/or economic structures causing negative relationships. Perhaps most important for our discussion, it is aimed at *empowering* individuals so that they can engage in non-violent change processes themselves, helping to build sustainable conditions for peace and justice for all.

According to Dijk (2009, p. 11), "The three main dimensions of conflict transformation are: the perceptions and attitudes of people, the context in which people live and the behaviour of people". Attitudes, the sources of relational violence, include, in the context of this chapter, the norms and values a society holds dear, including valuing FGM or the *almajiri* discipleship scheme. Given that attitudes are expressed through behaviour, and that behaviour incorporates perception, from a conflict transformation approach, we need to ask how, for instance, do those who are committed to maintaining FGM perceive and interpret their actions? Do they view their actions as moral? Clearly some of our adult respondents considered the practices to be moral. Do processes of moral disengagement protect them from recognizing and acknowledging the harm in those practices—or enable them to find ways to justify the violence even when recognizing the harm, as some of our respondents did? Are they behaving comfortably within ideological, political, religious, and/or cultural settings where harmful practices are perceived as legitimate and are therefore likely, in the absence of attitudinal change, to continue accepting or participating in violent behaviours? If so, what kinds of interventions can help them rethink their views? Are there ways of collaborating with the defenders of practices harmful to new generations to enlist them in the movement toward non-violence?

For effective conflict transformation to occur, attitudes, perceptions, behaviours, and contexts must be addressed simultaneously and collaboratively. Moreover, for conflict transformation to proceed optimally, it must be able to adapt to the situation on the ground (Lederach, 2009, p. 9). Hence, any attempt to address the cultural violence inherent in the corrupted forms of the *almajiri* discipleship system or FGM must take cognizance of *indigenous* mechanisms of amicable settlement, a practice rooted in the construct of *conflict sensitivity*.

According to Woodrow and Chigas (2009, p. 1), *conflict sensitivity*, which should be distinguished from peacebuilding, refers to "the ability of an organization to: (a) understand the context in which it is operating, (b) understand the interaction between the intervention and that context, and (c) act upon that understanding, in order to avoid negative impacts and maximize positive impacts on the conflict". From the conflict sensitivity perspective, conflict is a normal part of human interactions. It is not evil in itself; problems arise when the response to conflict is violent. In Africa, as well as elsewhere, conflicts arise even among the groups that are working to reduce or prevent violence.

As a conquered territory, most African countries, including Nigeria, have tended to view Western conflict resolution efforts not just as a form of imposing foreign traditions but also as a form of intervention rendering indigenous traditional mechanisms of resolution and reconciliation obsolete. Other than the core parts of Northern Nigeria, there are very few regions in the country that survived the cultural incursion by the British. The dismantling was so deep-rooted that even when colonialism ended, many found it difficult to return to their indigenous means of dispute resolution. The government, courts, arbitration panels, and prisons had taken over almost everything, permeating the core fabrics of the society.

With time, challenges to the operation of the new system began to emerge. Not all conflicts, especially those that are value-based in orientation, could be effectively handled by the foreign or Western model. The architecture of the indigenous reconciliatory mechanisms were originally configured to enhance social relations and value consensus as these constituted the core ingredients that actually restored relationships. As Ajayi and Buhari (2014) put it, the African model of conflict resolution is built on consensus building and social-bridge reconstructions. Other researchers (e.g., Albert, Tinu, Georges, & Wuyi, 1995; Ayittey, 1991; Uwazie, 1991) confirmed that the yearning for a return to the African mechanisms of conflict resolution was in the first place occasioned by the institutional flaws and lapses of the modern-day legal system. Zartman (2000) added that while foreign mechanisms kept proving unreliable, indigenous ones preserved social harmony. Indeed, if moral disengagement regarding violent cultural practices is itself a product of the corruption of those original practices, then perhaps the pre-colonization conflict resolution strategies can help supporters of those practices recognize what is truly culturally important—and wouldn't that include the protection of their boys and girls?

Taking a less anti-western approach, Osaghae (2000) has promoted collaboration and collective effort between the local and the foreign conflict resolution or restorative mechanisms. In spite of misgivings about the extent to which the Western model is a subtle continuation of imperialism in Africa, Osaghae (2000) suggested that the only redemption for the Western approach lies in integrating it with the local conflict management mechanisms. Hybridization has the potential to foster and galvanize inclusivity and the participation of the local people. Smock and Crocker (1995) believe that this bottom-up level of participation guarantees a de-escalation of tension caused by the foreign model.

What, then, are those indigenous restorative mechanisms? In what ways can they modify and complement the Western peace education approach largely in use,

especially when engaging the culturally sensitive, conflict-sensitive problems of the modern-day *almajiri* discipleship system and FGM? What mechanisms might help reduce the moral disengagement of people clinging desperately to old traditions that stifle the satisfaction of basic needs for achievement and affiliation in its youth while endangering their human security? There are a number of positive indigenous traditions that may work to help move localized cultures away from some of the more negative indigenous traditions, and each of these has the potential for reducing moral disengagement by reducing feelings of anxiety, insecurity, and personal distress, and perceptions of injustice within the system.

Truth-Telling

As a pathway to genuine reconciliation, truth-telling remains fundamental to any dialogue leading to an amicable settlement of conflicts between disputants (Ajayi & Buhari, 2014). An effort to engage the problem posed by FGM, for instance, would begin with an outright, clear-cut identification of how the society has fared so far under such a custom and how much—or how little—of the acclaimed social order and benefits this practice has ushered in, how the younger generation in particular has fared under it, and most importantly, whose interests this practice actually serves. This approach would be consistent with the research showing that highlighting the harm that highly self-interested behaviour can cause helps reduce moral disengagement.

According to Ajayi and Buhari (2014), truth-telling begets trust among disputants. They explain that in ancient times, disputing parties could be compelled to tell the truth during proceedings under the threat of the punitive powers of deities. In contemporary times, however, the interests of the parties have come to be the major compelling force that elicits honesty (Osaghae, 2014). For instance, everybody stands to gain when the society is at peace. Moreover, truth-telling is inherently inimical to moral disengagement processes—such as distortion of consequences, advantageous comparison, denial of responsibility, euphemistic labelling, and moral justification—that allow harmful practices to be rendered moral.

Value Consensus and Social Cohesion

By not seeking out who is at fault and who is innocent in a dispute, Osaghae (2014) believes that the emphasis of the African dispute resolution mechanism has always been less on judgmental outcomes, and more on the strengthening of the bonds of unity between parties. From the point of view of Uwazie (2000), the thrust of this approach is on eliminating the root causes of conflict so as to prevent a re-occurrence. By design, this feature provides a possible starting point for a collaborative option between the traditional and the foreign in the context of reconciliatory mechanisms.

Considering the principle of value consensus, agreement between the foreign and indigenous models on what is right or wrong in respect to the contemporary *almajiri* system and FGM could be a way forward in efforts toward a synergy between the two. It could facilitate progress to focus more on the strengths within *each* model that can help build better societies, as opposed to their operational or other limitations.

The Elders, Not the Government, Hold the Key

Most African societies are conservative in nature, holding tenaciously to their cultural heritage. This conservative system is one that accentuates the office of the elders not only as monarchs, religious heads, and the custodians of culture, but also as sacrosanct beings who speak words of wisdom (Best, 2006). The authority and efficacy that normally go with the views of the elders remain undiminished, and normally go a long way in determining much of the social terrain. An Igbo proverb says *alusi kpakata ike, egosi ya osisi ejili pi ya* (when a deity begins to ferment so much chaos and problems for a community, it is shown the tree from whence it came); it follows therefore that cultural practices that are becoming inimical to a society are best reformed by the elder generation that created and sustained them. The troublesome deity in the proverb represents the adulterated versions of the *almajiri* discipleship system and FGM, accompanied by the present-day challenges they have created. The tree here symbolizes the custodians of this tradition, the elders of the land. It is they, not the government, who have the grassroot power and recognition to undo what has been done. Engaging them in recognition of the malevolent outcomes of the *almajiri* and FGM practices, encouraging them to exert their power and influence to achieve a brighter future for their youth, and respecting their ability to use their authority for positive change are all vital components in the process of eliminating harmful practices. A decision by respected elders to lead their communities in directions that better protect their youth and the well-being of their communities would be the most helpful role they could play.

Openness

Openness as an African restorative, conciliatory mechanism connotes more than transparency; it means a dispute resolution mechanism conducted in the open. Best (2006) argues that the quality of openness is what creates room for mentoring the young in the act of dispute resolution, the young who learn the proceedings by observing the elders. It is non-elitist in nature and unlike the modern-day truth and reconciliation commissions and legislative processes that are often somewhat restrictive and selective, this model of openness is relatively inclusive in nature, and may go a long way to reducing the anxiety and distrust that can foster moral

disengagement. The voices of both the aggrieved and the aggressor are heard. African communities of old have always deliberated matters affecting the community in the open, in spatial entities such as village and market squares. Most of these settings are big enough to contain every member of the community. Most archetypical of this model is the Gacaca system in Rwanda, in which the country participated following the 1994 genocide. Literally, Gacaca means "a bed of soft green grass"; operationally, the term means restorative justice carried out on in an open area. The Gacaca system, arguably, remains to date the best example of an open, inclusive, and participatory restorative model, seeking trauma-healing. It seems likely that the sensitive and urgent need for reforms to the *almajiri* discipleship system and FGM is best addressed largely through a return to this model, facilitating a bottom-up approach that is all inclusive. This forum could feature the Emirs and Sultan of Northern Nigeria, utilizing their palace courts to dialogue with their subjects on matters relating to the *almajiri* system, while down South, the community town halls and clan meetings remain readily available for the same purpose. Ideally, the government, though it is the ultimate political and economic authority, would maintain a supervisory, non-interventionist role, promoting compliance with the grassroots efforts for positive change.

Conclusion

Children are one of life's greatest gifts. What better reflects a world upside down than one with children as objects of neglect and dehumanization? Though every culture has the right to exist, a culture nonetheless remains a man-made phenomenon, and like everything man-made, it harbours fallibilities, including the ones identified in this chapter—the subjecting of children to socially approved harm. African societies, like most societies, operate as collectivist systems; however, an ideal collectivist system ensures individual representation, thereby promoting its own survival safe from collectivist violence against its particular failures to protect individual well-being.

Considering the limitations involved in each culture, in the long term it is self-defeating for cultures to force individuals to participate in cultural practices that they did not develop or embrace or find conducive to their well-being. Ultimately, it remains the responsibility of governments to ensure that both the rights of the individual and of societies at large are protected, while promoting healthy cultural practices and reforming dangerous ones. The development of peace education and conflict transformation programmes, and most importantly, the hybridization of both the indigenous and foreign mechanisms of dispute resolution, can all serve to complement the efforts of governments to achieve positive change in the direction of international human rights agreements. It is only when these measures are put in place that a higher standard of living and prospects a better future will be achieved for all African boys and girls. Africans have a saying that an individual is a representative of his community. By implication, therefore, a psychologically damaged

individual represents a psychologically damaged community. If Africa is to secure its future, protecting the interests of its young innocents remains its path to redemption, to restoration.

A new generation of African leaders, adopting the governing principles of Nelson Mandela, has a unique opportunity to develop and promote within the international community, a new form of collectivism, a model form of collectivism, that embodies positive peace, increases the fulfilment of proactive individual needs, ensures respect for human rights, and does not have to rely on the moral disengagement of the community to sustain itself. The guideposts are in place within their own traditions.

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Developmental Psychology and Peace

Gabriel M. Velez and María Cecilia Dedios

Developmental psychologists have long explored and detailed how young people form attitudes, behaviors, and orientations as members of societies. In this chapter, we focus on the individual's developmental process as they form identities related to peace. Research dating to the 1960s shows that as children age, their understandings and conceptions about peace change with cognitive and social development (Ålvik 1968; Hakvoort & Oppenheimer, 1998). Concurrently, peace psychologists have more clearly defined the field as a discipline that "seeks to develop theories and practices aimed at the prevention and mitigation of direct and structural violence… peace psychology promotes the nonviolent management of conflict and the pursuit of social justice" (Christie, Wagner, & Winter, 2001, p. 6). Over the last 50 years, peace psychology has evolved, research on peace in relation to young people has expanded, and peace education has become a widely used tool.

Yet, peace psychology has lacked a cohesive foundation connecting developmental processes with the formation of peacebuilding attitudes, ideas, behaviors, and identities. Theories of development have been adopted within the area of peace education, but mostly with specific focuses. Peace education generally aims to address the prevention and resolution of all forms of conflict and violence and promote harmony, tolerance, and human rights by Fountain (1999). It has been employed by varied organizations and educational institutions across a wide geographical range. The use of developmental insights, however, has been limited, and is mostly focused on promoting skills like conflict resolution and empathy.

Despite the increasing focus on peace education and the continued evolution of the field of peace psychology, there still exists a theoretical gap linking peace to individual psychological development. We propose that the literature at the

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intersection of peace and developmental psychology can be advanced by situating understandings of children and peace within broader psychosocial processes, identity formation, and citizenship outcomes. By deepening the connection between developmental psychology, peace, and education, this framework would provide valuable support for the continued advancement of peace education and its impacts.

In this chapter, we present an ecologically grounded theoretical framework to study how young people come to form ideas, behaviors, and identities related to peace as part of their development. Our perspective is informed by a focus on positive peace, i.e., social and cultural transformation through individual behaviors, attitudes, and identities that work to combat all forms of violence (Christie et al., 2001; Galtung, 1969). We argue that Spencer's Phenomenological Variant of the Ecological Systems Theory (Spencer, Dupree, & Hartmann, 1997; PVEST) provides an effective conceptualization of how young people form understandings of peace and their roles as peacemakers. We then review work at the intersection of peace and developmental psychology, including work done in peace education. Finally, we present an empirical study to demonstrate the utility of PVEST for research incorporating peace and developmental psychology.

A Developmental Lens on Peace

Developmental psychology has much to offer peace psychology and education by providing theories and empirical evidence about how people develop attitudes, behaviors, and identities. Individuals form these aspects of the self as they process experiences in different contexts (homes, schools, communities). Individual outcomes in turn influence broader systems. Individuals and contexts thus interact bidirectionally; people form societies, while societal structures, histories, and processes contribute to psychological development (Spencer et al., 1997). A developmental perspective connects to peace psychology by considering and integrating multiple levels (internal mental states, interpersonal relations, and structural aspects of society) and situating the roots of these processes in childhood and adolescence. This approach is also strongly linked to theoretical approaches in community psychology in that it frames how individuals understand their societies, themselves as members of communities, and how social harmony is achieved personally, locally, and nationally (see Jason et al., 2016). These processes rely on individual characteristics such as empathy and conflict resolution skills, but also on ecological factors like values and just social arrangements.

Previous Theoretical Connections

As context for the connection between peace and developmental psychology, three branches of theory on childhood and adolescence have been related to peace attitudes, behaviors, and identities. First, based in Piaget's stage theory of child

development, a cognitive approach focuses on how individual maturation and everyday experiences drive the formation of increasingly complex ways of processing the world (Muir, 1999). Development is an uneven, stage-like process of restructuring understandings of the world. Individuals integrate new experiences with emerging mental abilities to increasingly understand the complexities of their physical and emotional worlds. A second approach focuses on socialization. Becoming an active peacebuilder is part of a broader acquisition of political attitudes and orientations. Norms, expectations, and ideas about peace and conflict may operate in different social contexts, but the developing individual is exposed to them through interactions with socializing agents in each (i.e., parents, teachers, media). These actors and milieu influence how individuals understand themselves as political agents and underlie their actions as citizens and peacebuilders (Hakvoort & Oppenheimer, 1998). Finally, a third branch, the social-cognitive approach, situates personal maturation within contexts. Development is neither driven by internal psychological maturation nor dependent on socialization, but rather is a dynamic interaction between the two (Selman, 1980). In peace studies, this approach has been used, for example, to study how young people describe war and peace. When children are first able to distinguish between different perspectives, they may be less likely to see war and peace as static and concrete, and instead as involving interpersonal relations. These changing ideas can also be influenced by the types of relationships they experience and the ways they see people treating each other (Hakvoort 1996).

The three theoretical branches highlight a number of elements in developmental processes that are important for peace psychology. Evolving cognitive and social capacities can be linked to different orientations toward others and broader communities. In the early years, children may focus on concrete and physical understandings of peace and violence and construct attitudes and behaviors related to peace mainly based on lived interpersonal relationships. Through these experiences children begin to manifest violent behaviors and bullying (Lodge & Frydenberg, 2005). In this sense, peer relations are a developmental factor on how children begin to think about how people treat each other. This occurs even before children consciously process these experiences as related to abstract concepts like peace (Verbeek & de Waal, 2001). As children become adolescents, they develop the capacity to think more critically and abstractly. They start to consider the role of systems and structures, as well as less explicit types of violence (Arnett, 2001). While socialization influences are not deterministic, contexts and important people in their lives influence the experiences, expectations, supports, and challenges that young people face as they form attitudinal responses and identities (Spencer et al., 1997).

The Developing Citizen and Peace

The rich literature on the emergence of civic attitudes and behaviors is also applicable to the field of peace psychology. In many ways, citizenship is integrally linked to behaviors, attitudes, and identities at the heart of the study of peace

psychology. Examples include concern for others and being connected and committed to a community. There is a particular link in conflict and post-conflict contexts where peace education has become increasingly prominent (McGlynn et al., 2009). Governments and civil societies in these settings often attempt to rebuild the ties between the state and its citizens that are often ruptured by violence and social turmoil (Bickmore, 2008). Peacebuilding efforts require the active involvement of diverse members of society in order to foster positive relationships between citizens (Galtung, 1969).

Young people's civic development also relates to peace. Though children may not understand abstract political and social groups, they begin to internalize salient collective categories like "the nation" and civic norms (Hess & Torney, 2005). As children age, these ideas take deeper hold through identity processes in which young people begin to form values and a sense of self (Erikson, 1968). They also begin to tackle identity-based questions like, how do I feel about my society, my connection to it, and my roles within in it (Nasir & Kirshner, 2003)? Citizenship development is thus inherently linked to identity development (Haste, 2004). This perspective situates the individual within contexts that influence their attitudes and behaviors in relation to other individuals and societies. Notably, this development is inherently linked to identity formation processes as children become adult citizens. The outcomes are vital for how young people orient themselves toward supporting positive peace as social actors. Identity formation thus offers an effective development framework for peace psychology.

PVEST as a Framework for Integrating Developmental and Peace Psychology

Evolving from the work of Erikson (1968), developmental psychology offers insightful approaches to frame identity formation. This literature connects to peace psychology through a focus on personal development and values, interpersonal behavior, and understandings of and orientations toward society. A clearer developmental orientation could provide a stronger foundation for peace education and peace psychology. Ecological systems theory is one possible framework. It situates development within multiple contexts that influence attitudes, concepts, and behaviors related to peace and violence (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). Spencer's PVEST extends this by highlighting individual interpretation; developmental outcomes are not simply a result of context, but rather of how individuals process and respond in relation to their evolving cognitive capacities, changing biologies, and maturation (Spencer, 2006). Furthermore, this perspective builds as well on community psychology as a discipline that seeks to understand the relationship between contexts and differing psychological processes and perspectives (Jason et al., 2016). Utilizing this approach, peaceful or violent outcomes connect to psychological processes

involved in the interpretation of context (e.g., community or family violence, social discourses around peace, histories of peace and conflict).

PVEST is based on the idea that environmental risk and protective factors are not deterministic; rather, they are perceived and processed based on personal characteristics and experiences. Risk and protective factors may thus be experienced as challenges or supports. Individuals then develop reactive coping strategies involving attitudes and behaviors that serve as responses both to the evaluation of the social environment and one's own needs. These coping strategies may be adaptive or maladaptive to the particular context. As the individual enacts these responses, others around the individual respond and thus create a feedback loop. In other words, reactive strategies provoke responses in others, which shape how the individual understands the attitudes and behaviors that they enacted. Through this iterative and bidirectional process, coping strategies change and become more solidified as emergent identities that may have positive or negative psychosocial effects on the individual. Finally, these identities, and not the original environmental contexts, are linked to productive or unproductive outcomes as members of societies (Spencer, 2006; Spencer et al., 1997).

PVEST highlights that youth process events and discourses in the media, their family and friend networks, and their lived experiences. As children age, they begin to form more lasting senses of their places in communities and societies, as well as personal values and ideologies (Flanagan, 2003). A developmental approach can be leveraged to promote not only skills and behaviors related to peace, but also the construction of deeper orientations toward being a peacebuilder. Fostering identities as peacebuilders has important consequences for broader societal trajectories and may offer greater possibilities for intervention, as young people may be more willing to embrace peace and their roles in it (Bekerman, 2009). This theory could thus contribute to the extensive literature on children and youth that exists in peace psychology.

Developmental Psychology and Peace: Research and Practice

Within peace psychology, there has been a focus on children and youth because violence may disproportionately affect them and they hold tremendous potential in the present and future as they mature into adult citizens (Schwartz, 2010). This work has not included comprehensive theories of individual development in relation peace, but does draw on developmental approaches with the goal of supporting specific peacebuilding skills and values. In this section, we briefly review four such areas: the formation of ideas about war and peace, interpersonal relations, resilience, and peace education. While peace education often encompasses the treatment of others and one's role as a member of a community, we separate it because of its critical role in the application of strategies to promote young people's role in positive peace.

Developmental Understandings of War and Peace

Beginning in the 1960s, researchers have explored how young people understand war and peace as concepts. The studies assert that these ideas are a precursor to peaceful or violent behaviors and that conceptual understandings link with later outcomes (Boulding, 2000). Drawing on a range of studies, Hakvoort and Oppenheimer (1998) produced a comprehensive summary of this research within a social-cognitive theoretical framework. They find that children tend to have concrete and material conceptions of war and peace. They refer to physical violence or its absence between countries or friends, a perspective that can be linked to cognitive capacities and age-appropriate environmental experiences. In early adolescence, individuals refer more often to general interpersonal relations, referencing respect, tolerance, and similar values in their definitions of peace. They note the reciprocal nature of interactions between people and groups, and how these can devolve into violent conflict. With more abstract thinking in later adolescence, individuals less frequently mention negative peace and instead invoke immaterial notions and social systems such as human rights, democracy, or cultural violence. All ages describe peace with positive emotions (e.g., happiness, tranquility) and war with negative ones.

Understandings of peace and war are related to capacities and salient interpersonal experiences at different points in childhood and adolescence. Increasingly complex cognitive abilities open up new ways of thinking about war and peace. Interactions with friends, family, and others in the community influence how young people experience the social world and make meaning of it (e.g., if societal peace is possible). Within this research, there have been few differences across cultures and more variability by socioeconomic status within a given area. This variation speaks to the role of context as an influence on ideas about war and peace.

Interpersonal and Intergroup Relations

A second fruitful area of study for peace psychology has been the experiences and understandings of interpersonal and intergroup relations across childhood, adolescence, and into adulthood. In particular, peace psychologists have explored how conflict resolution, empathy, and peer influences are related to individuals' ideas, behaviors, and attitudes.

Conflict resolution Conflict arises inherently in human relations and occurs between individuals and groups. At the individual level, positive responses to interpersonal tension include drawing on internal peace (i.e., mental tranquility), responding with stable emotions, and peacebuilding actions like dialogue (Christie and Knoll 2012). At young ages, for example, children in Head Start have benefited from teachers learning how to guide problem-solving and decision-making in peer interactions (Vestal & Jones, 2004). As another example, with teenagers in situa-

tions like community reconciliation, researchers have demonstrated the importance of involving these young people and fostering their collective identities as a support for building peace in these moments (Wessells, 2009).

This work is developmental because it focuses on age-appropriate skills and approaches needed to foster positive orientations toward others and abilities to help oneself, others, and groups manage conflict. In early childhood, interpersonal relationships are focused on a limited number of others. Still, children can be supported in learning how to negotiate and transform conflict (Verbeek & de Waal, 2001). As children grow, social negotiation increases and they begin to situate themselves in broader social spheres and new relationships. Teenagers develop ways to manage tension in sexual partnerships, navigate social structures, and form identities in relation to group dynamics. As another example, emotional self-control is a key developmental task related to peace that changes across the life course. Impulsivity peaks in late adolescence, making self-management skills a particular priority in middle and late adolescence (Steinberg & Cauffman, 1996). Differences in personality and social skills matter, but early experiences and learning can significantly influence later outcomes (Laursen et al., 2001).

Programs that employ these developmentally situated methods have been shown to offer considerable benefits to children and adolescents. One example is the Peacemaker Program, meant for kindergarten through high school: "The developmental advantage includes positive effects on actualizing one's potential, improving the quality of one's relationships, and enhancing life success. Individuals skilled in resolving conflicts constructively tend to make and keep more friends, and be more liked by and popular with peers" (Johnson et al., 2012, p. 45). In this sense, these programs support individuals in learning to promote peace by managing tension in interpersonal relations. Additionally, the developmental benefits of this growth will support other areas of competence and adjustment as well (Vestal & Jones, 2004).

Empathy A second, related area of interpersonal relations is empathy. While empathy is invoked in conflict resolution as a way to bridge divides between different people, it is also touted in its own right as a critical pillar for the development of peaceful attitudes and behaviors. Empathy is used to refer to an effective response in which one understands the perspective and emotions of another (Deutsch, 2015). It is related to increased altruism, greater compassion for others, and fewer displays of antisocial emotions (Hoffman, 2000). While the cognitive capacities of younger children may limit direct instruction in empathy at an early age, the emergence of empathy as individuals mature has been shown to correlate positively with prosocial behaviors, morality, and self-control (Sagkal et al., 2012).

Peer Influences A third area is contextual influences, especially from peers. Children's psychological development is impacted by factors across many domains, though research demonstrates a strong correlation between the behavior of children and their friends and classmates. Adolescents are especially responsive to peers (Prinstein & Dodge, 2008). In studies of this phenomenon, children, adolescents, and adults were asked to choose between antisocial actions promoted by peers and

prosocial ones of their own choosing. Across childhood, the rate of choosing the peer-influenced option increases, peaks around age 14, and then attenuates (Berndt, 1979; Steinberg & Silverberg, 1986). In relation to peace, this research provides insight into how youth may develop deviant behaviors as well as key factors that may promote involvement in violent activities. While it is difficult to separate the possibility that some violent young people may be drawn to similar peers, these studies indicate that the influence of such friends may lead to further increases in antisocial behavior. Significant mediators include age, gender, relationships with parents, and attitudes toward delinquent behavior. For peace psychology, this research indicates that peer influences can be harnessed in developmentally contextualized interventions to promote peaceful outcomes, or in other words, prosocial behaviors, nonviolence, and empathy as members of communities (Gifford-Smith et al., 2005).

Experience of Conflict and Resilience In both clinical practice and research, an extensive literature has explored the effects of experiencing violence on young people. This work has focused on two areas: different forms of violence in key developmental contexts and the impact of being a violent actor (e.g., a soldier or gang member). An extensive review is beyond the scope of this chapter, but a number of key insights contribute to the relationship between peace and development. In particular, these findings relate to developmental processes involved in forming attitudes, behaviors, and identities that promote positive peace.

First, risk is not deterministic. Children and adolescents may be exposed to violence, but this experience does not dictate violent and antisocial outcomes. A child may live in a city torn apart by civil war, but have a supportive environment within the home. Or, a child may fight in a militia, but experience a sense of belonging, agency, and purpose in fighting what they consider to be unjust structures. This is not to deny the consequences of experiencing violence; while the physical, psychological, and emotional effects of violence are powerful, it is important to note that factors across various levels may shape how violence impacts children (Wessells, 2009). Within these multiple systems, the individual also responds to intimate experiences of violence in relation to personal characteristics like personality and coping strategies (Buka, Stichick, Birdthistle, & Earls, 2001).

Second, researchers have explored what factors correlate with resilience and positive outcomes for these individuals. Within this usage, resilience and positive outcomes can be understood as young people who "function in one or more life domains better than one would expect given their vulnerability and exposure to one or multiple risk factors" (Aisenberg & Herrenkohl, 2008, p. 303). As has been noted, different systems can play pivotal roles on how the individual interprets experiences of violence and peace. Key ecological factors that can support resilient outcomes are connected to the type of violence and the risks and supports in the environment (Ungar et al., 2007).

In summary, research on exposure to violence highlights the importance of understanding individual development within multiple systems. This work also details the interaction between these contexts and individual factors as children and

adolescents mature. For a discussion of a developmental lens on peace psychology, these findings lay the groundwork for the role of context as individuals develop. We return to these points in arguing for PVEST as an effective theoretical model that can incorporate this relationship into an understanding of the underlying psychological processes that lead to peace-promoting individual outcomes.

Peace Education and Development

Peace education has emerged as a critical area for the application of a developmental perspective on peace. Nevertheless, peace education is expansive and encompasses diverse approaches that are linked but lack a clear, cohesive theoretical lens. Harris (2004) identifies five educational branches of the field that are both distinct, complementary, and wide-ranging: international, human rights, development, environmental, and conflict resolution. In this section, we first briefly survey work in the area of peace education as a foundation for then offering a theoretical perspective that we argue has utility as an underlying core developmental framework.

Peace education defies bounds often placed on subject material in education. It is not based in knowledge transmission, but rather in fostering perspectives on the world and humanity that require a different, holistic approach. It is about changing emotions, attitudes, and ideas. To this end, its motivating goals focus on shaping students' worldviews, bolstering engagement, and promoting empathy, justice, and efficacy on how young people act as members of a community and society (Van Oord, 2014). Daniel Bar-Tal (2002) has argued that to achieve these goals, proponents of peace education must orient the field around five aims: making peace education a primary focus, being open-minded, making it relevant, incorporating experiential learning, and being reflective about how it is taught. These pillars emerge from a rich literature on what effective instruction is like and how education can be harnessed to support positive academic, personal, and interpersonal outcomes. To this end, the curriculum and the teacher must truly engage with students and involve them in activities and lessons that fit with their age-appropriate cognitive capacities and salient concerns (Van Oord, 2014).

Within peace education, a number of programs directly incorporate developmental approaches, especially with a focus on interpersonal relations. These resources and curricula offer concrete ways to promote peaceful outcomes by drawing on theoretical and empirical findings. Consistent evidence demonstrates that schools can influence the formation of cooperation and conflict resolution skills (see Deutsch, 1993; Johnson et al., 1994). Peace education programs build on this understanding by offering methodologies for classrooms and educational institutions to promote cooperative learning, peer mediation, self-control, and perspective taking. These elements can positively influence relationships with others, psychological adjustment, and academic performance. One example is the *Aulas en Paz* program in Colombia that uses targeted interventions to promote conflict resolution across various ages. Evaluations have demonstrated that the program promotes prosocial

behavior, harmonious and empathetic classroom climates, and stronger peer relationships (Chaux, 2007). Other programs utilizing violence prevention and intergroup understanding curriculum may also help promote positive socio-emotional developmental trajectories for children and adolescents with aggressive or violent tendencies in school (Aber et al., 2003). These approaches share a foundational understanding that while multiple systems may affect the development of attitudes and behaviors for children, curriculum and programs in educational contexts have a unique potential to influence how young people begin to think about themselves as peacemakers.

Peace education and developmental psychology are connected. Still, the bridge between the two has mainly involved specific areas (see Harris, 2004) and lacks an underlying theory to depict more fundamentally how individuals construct identity-based orientations toward peace or violence. Developmental understandings are used in reference to a particular skill, like perspective taking, or end, like conflict resolution. A theoretical foundation could frame broadly how individuals integrate context, experiences, and socialization with personal characteristics and evolving capacities to develop identities as peacebuilders.

Appling PVEST: Colombian Adolescents Meaning Making and the Peace Process

Our research on adolescents demonstrates the utility of PVEST for peace psychology. Drawing on PVEST, Colombian adolescents may be influenced by people and experiences in family, peer groups, and schools, as well as the more distal impacts of broader discourses (e.g., a peace education law shaping school curriculum). Our empirical work explores how these young Colombians develop civic identities by focusing on how they make meaning and develop responses to discourses around "peace." Therefore, we situate the construction of meaning around peace as part of the formation of identities that links the context (i.e., Colombia's historical development, current peace process, and the salient discourses about peace) with youth's individual outcomes as citizens (which can impact the broader societal trajectory). This approach highlights the individual's psychological processing, i.e., how the individual makes meaning as they experience local social worlds in relation to broader messages about citizenship and peace. The theoretical framework thus incorporates influences of schools, family, and friends that have been shown to be important spaces of civic socialization (e.g., Torney-Purta, 2000), but does this by focusing on how individuals interpret and respond to these contexts.

Violence has deeply marked Colombia's history as a country though there have often been attempts to negotiate peace between the government and armed actors. Most recently, in 2012, President Juan Manuel Santos began peace accord negotiations with the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (the FARC) to end over five decades of internal warfare. In 2016, the two sides came to an agreement and these accords were voted on in a popular plebiscite. Though on October 2nd the

electorate voted down the accords in a close 50.2% to 49.8% vote, the peace process has continued to progress through the legislature and judicial systems. Linked to these efforts to bring negative peace to Colombia—that is, to end the physical armed conflict between these two sides—the government has also promoted an agenda to build positive peace. This has included extensive workshops, events, trainings, reforms, and support for local initiatives. A particular focus has been on children and youth, who are often described as future peacebuilders. For example, in 2015, the government passed a law mandating schools to include 2 of 12 peace education themes in their curriculum in order to give youth the tools to be leaders in peace-building. Additionally, both the government and civil society have rhetorically called on youth to lead the construction of a peaceful future, while devoting a wealth of resources to programs working to develop peacebuilding skills and interest in young people.

Our research explores how Colombian adolescents begin to see themselves as citizens. Colombia's civic discourse is, and has been for many years, imbued with a focus on peace. There have been multiple peace processes (failed attempts with the FARC and completed ones with other groups) in addition to the current one that began in 2012. Using extensive interviews with Colombian adolescents, we utilized PVEST to study how young people's meaning making of peace relates to their iden-tities and understandings of their roles in building peace. This approach brings a developmental lens to studying adolescents and peace, while also situating this research within civic development. The outcomes of these processes are understood to be consequential for the broader societal trajectory since youth orientations in relation to peace and peace processes have been shown to affect the success of peacebuilding efforts (Schwartz, 2010).

Applying PVEST, meaning is understood as part of a broader identity process that links context (i.e., Colombia's violent history, the current peace process, and dis-courses about peace) with developmental outcomes as citizens. Individual's psycho-logical interpretation and response reveal how adolescents make meaning and develop coping responses that lead to deeper identity-based outcomes. Focusing on interpretation and response, we address not simply the roles of schools, family, and friends in civic socialization, but also how these factors are experienced and internal-ized by adolescents. This developmental lens also incorporates specific themes that are salient as part of adolescence; identity formation and understanding one's role in the broader society is linked to increasing social awareness and interactions with broader systems during this time in the life course (Haste, 2004; Hoffman, 2000).

Our work draws on two datasets involving semi-structured interviews that we conducted with adolescents between the ages of 15 and 18 (see Velez, 2019; Velez & Dedios, 2018). The first dataset included 51 participants from a low-resource neighborhood in Barrancabermeja. The area of the city where these adolescents live has been marked by gang violence and armed militias that are not connected to the government or the FARC. The second dataset involved 96 interviews in and around the capital city of Bogota. These respondents came from a range of socioeconomic backgrounds and were chosen using a maximum variance approach to cover a wide range of communities and social positions.

Our analyses produced four major themes about how these participants understood peace and their own role in its construction: *convivencia*, self-expression, personal agency, and levels of peace. C*onvivencia* is more than the English translation (coexistence) and instead refers to respect and harmony within interpersonal relations. Peace in this sense meant actively accepting, embracing, and interacting in positive ways with other people who may think or feel differently. Second, many participants connected peace with self-expression and feeling like they could be themselves. Adolescence is a time when identity and being able to act and be accepted for one's self are salient concerns (Arnett, 2001). It thus makes sense that these adolescents placed importance on peace as freedom from repression or societal injustices like inequality, racism, or discrimination. Third, while participants in both groups felt that they could participate in the construction of peace, how they talked about this personal agency was markedly different. In Barrancabermeja, respondents mentioned that they constructed peace through concrete activities in the community. This mobilization provided a space to counter violence, which may be indicative of these youth's involvement in a peace program. Participants in and around Bogota, in contrast, described their roles in peace as through interpersonal relationships such as avoiding or managing conflict between individuals. Lastly, personal agency also connected to the final theme, as participants distinguished different levels of peace. A majority of Bogotá adolescents noted that while national peace was about the peace process (and thus did not impact their local contexts), peace as a general social state began with each individual. Each person must achieve inner tranquility that they then bring to others in local contexts. In this way, societal peace begins within—and thus is the responsibility of—each individual, rather than as connected to structural or systemic issues like poverty or inequality. This perspective can be understood as the roots of an identity as a peacebuilding citizen; these respondents were beginning to see themselves as able to work toward a broader positive peace by their actions in their intimate contexts.

While our participants held diverse viewpoints, we highlight these to demonstrate how a developmental approach focused on meaning making and identity can be utilized to support peacebuilding. As these Colombian adolescents make meaning from contexts, socialization, and experiences, they develop ideas about peace that shape how they understand their roles as citizens and peacebuilders. Many defined true peace as utopic, but they also asserted that peace began with individuals and within oneself. Also, many of these adolescents in Bogota emphasized the role of interpersonal relationships in building peace, citing conflict resolution, *convivencia*, and self-expression as integral elements of peace. Our findings are intertwined with adolescent development and can be interpreted as pointing toward implications for individual outcomes. If these young people are not provided with emotional and mental support to maintain a sense of inner peace, they may struggle to develop efficacy as peacebuilders. Similarly, it may be necessary to provide them with concrete strategies to handle conflict, as well as spaces to practice and enact these roles and feel empowered to define and assert their senses of self.

These results have important implications for peace education, especially within the current climate in Colombia. For example, the twelve themes of the peace edu-

cation law include Historical Memory and Sustainable Use of Natural Resources, which could be the only two areas a given school enacts. While these topics are valid and more broadly involved in peace, our research on how Colombian adolescents understand peace demonstrates a need to connect or supplement with other supports that are attentive to the salient issues and developmental concerns involved in these young people's meaning making in relation to themselves as citizens and peacebuilders. Our findings also indicate that young people may feel more efficacious as peacebuilders when daily experiences and contexts facilitate beliefs that peace is possible and that individual actions matter. As part of their development as peacebuilders, young people should be given opportunities to actively engage with local problems related to conflict resolution, active listening, and other applied skills that link broader peace to their roles as community members. Importantly, youth are not passive recipients of socialization, and so focusing on providing spaces for active construction of peacebuilder identities may be more effective than simply stating or teaching that young people are important in these roles.

Conclusion

Over the last few decades, peace psychologists have focused on children and adolescents for theoretical and applied understandings of how to promote cultures of peace (Sarrica & Wachelke, 2010). This work has demonstrated that developmental processes, which are linked to personal factors, contexts, and interpretation, play an important role on how individuals begin to understand peace, how they relate to others, and how they connect as citizens to a societal goal of peace. Nevertheless, much of this research and application has centered on specific, and at times isolated, domains within the broad umbrella of peace. We have sought to offer a glimpse into some of these varied areas in which peace and development have been integrated, including in the field of peace education. We have also described how Spencer's PVEST can be used as a developmental theory that may help guide research and understandings in these areas. It provides an effective underlying framework for how individuals interpret and respond to ecological context as they construct identities as citizens and potential peacebuilders.

Peace is a continual process requiring collaboration and effort to define, develop, and improve it. In this spirit, we present this chapter and argue for the utility of Spencer's PVEST in order to contribute to the conversation about a developmental lens for peace psychology. Young people are a critical foundation for present and future cultures of peace. Elaborating on effective frameworks can guide insightful and impactful research and programming. Through more nuanced attentiveness to developmental processes and concerns, this foundation can be utilized to build more effective supports for young people to form attitudes, behaviors, and identities related to peace. This work alone will not bring peace to diverse societies, but can contribute to the primary and continuous goal of using psychology to promote a more peaceful world.

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Part III
Peace in Diverse Cultural Contexts

Social Networks That Promote Peace

Leonard A. Jason, Angela Reilly, and Ted Bobak

Introduction

A "culture of peace," as defined by UNESCO (1995), consists of values, attitudes, and behaviors that inspire social interaction and sharing. These cultures not only value justice, democracy, tolerance, and solidarity, but also reject violence by identifying the root of issues and then solving them diplomatically (United Nations General Assembly, 1998). This definition of a culture of peace aligns itself with current paradigms in the field of peace psychology (Christie, 2006) and touches on the importance of both individual and group dynamics. Different works of peace psychology have collected stories of groups and societies that function without war (Fry, 2007). Brenes and Wessels (2001) well describe this sentiment regarding cultures of peace, writing:

> Psychologists (must) work in a self-reflective manner and nurture partnership, dialogue, power-sharing, and mutual respect…To build cultures of peace, one must often lay aside the 'expert' label and become a student in the world, who is willing to learn from other cultures and to combine insights from different cultural and social systems in pursuit of peace. (p. 104)

A related field that is extremely relevant to peace psychology is community psychology, which emphasizes prevention over treatment, focuses on competencies over weaknesses, encourages interdisciplinary collaboration, works to understand individuals within their environmental contexts, promotes diversity, and focuses on community building (Jason & Glenwick, 2016; Moritsugu, Vera, Wong, & Duffy, 2013). Community psychology is concerned with the relationship between social systems

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and individual well-being within communities (Jason & Aase, 2016) as well as how communities internally sustain these prosocial (or antisocial) dynamics. The discipline of community psychology integrates a scientific orientation with collaborative social action in order to empower community members and to help them improve their lives. Community psychology aims to understand not only the ways that altering human-specific contexts alleviates human suffering (Jason & Glenwick, 2016), but how different factors contribute to increased well-being and community functioning. It is with this scientific perspective that one can begin to untangle the mechanisms that maintain harmony and promote peace.

Community psychology is a complex field because it embraces multiple levels of influence, such as social networks and group dynamics, rather than simple individual differences (Jason, 2013). While this complexity has been a challenge for theory development and testing, there are key theories that consistently inform community psychology (Jason et al., 2016). Sarason's (1974) psychological sense of community theory stands as a foundational construct, one that emphasizes that individuals exist within a larger network structure with individual interdependence. It represents one possible mechanism that contributes to, or inhibits, the success of a social network and the shared goals of the involved individuals.

The Importance of Social Networks

Social networks theoretically can be influenced by and even foster peace. Feld's (1981) "focus" theory of social tie formation supports the selection explanation for the association between individuals' and networks' patterns of behavior. Feld (1981) argued that social networks tend to form around a "focus." These foci are things such as social, legal, or physical entities around which group activities revolve; focusing activities then encourage affective ties that help to maintain the social network. This has profound implications for peace studies, as the activities around which groups meet can fall anywhere on the spectrum from productive to destructive; while some individuals may gather around sport matches, other groups may meet as part of violent gang activities. Specifically, our chapter deals with the promotion of peace among individuals with substance use disorders. It is difficult to sustain peace when individuals are dealing with these types of addictions. Individuals who abuse alcohol and drugs often form social ties with others who enjoy substance-related activities, so that alcohol and drugs provide a "focus" around which the group's social activities are planned. Such networks frequently damage families and communities, but when these former substance users are in recovery, considerable peace-related reconciliation work can occur.

Methods for studying social systems provide a framework for thinking about and describing two-way transactional dynamics. A social network paradigm, focusing on relationships rather than on individual characteristics, can bring a broader perspective to peace studies. Network approaches have often focused on studies of "personal" networks, that is, the personal friendships or other significant relationships

reported by study participants. For example, personal network studies of substance use recovery have established the relevance of participant-reported associates as facilitators of treatment entry (Kelly, Stout, Magill, Tonigan, & Pagano, 2010). Personal networks tend to focus only on one actor (termed "ego"), the relationships in an ego's life (termed "alters"), and the connections between a particular ego's alters rather than on all of the relationships in a system (i.e., whole network data). In contrast, a whole network provides a structural map of the entire social ecosystem and allows models that see behavior as fundamentally contextual. Recent advances in dynamic modeling of social networks provide the capability to estimate fully transactional models from networks (Jason, Light, Stevens, & Beers, 2014). One of these approaches is the stochastic actor-based model (Snijders, van de Bunt, & Steglich, 2010), which conceptualizes social networks as a set of individuals whose relationships evolve over time. These types of approaches can help us understand the foundations of peaceful relationships between people, such as the development of friendships.

There is a long tradition of research and theory to draw upon in the study of friendship, primarily group dynamics and the broader field of social psychology. Friendships are often a core aspect of how peace begins to develop among nations or between people. Friendship has also been the primary focus of network science since its beginning (Moreno, 1934). Studies show that commitment to group goals positively affects group cohesion (e.g., Milner, Russell, & Siemers, 2010), that trust is an essential ingredient of friendships in a wide variety of settings (e.g., du Plessis & Corney, 2011), and that individuals tend to exhibit homophily, or a preference for others like oneself (Marsden, 1988). We also know about the equality of exchange typical in friendships: the same benefits are mutually provided by both people rather than exchanged for different benefits (e.g., advice in exchange for respect/status) (Blau, 1964).

These types of networks have important implications for peace and the development of friendship patterns. Verbrugge (1977) developed the "proximity principle" in her study of friendship formation, which postulates that similarities among friends result from an attraction between those who share characteristics or qualities, as well as through physical proximity. Verbrugge (1977) states that individuals who share sociodemographic characteristics, such as age, race, and education, are more likely to inhabit the same environments than they are to frequent places populated by those who differ from them on these characteristics. Accordingly, network similarities regarding peaceful interactions may result from either, or both, of these effects. Individuals may choose friends who share their own style of relating to each other in peaceful ways. Regarding formation of confidant relationships, studies have found that trust is a critical precursor of close relationships (Van der Horst & Coffé, 2012). Trust tends to develop in groups, in part, as a function of time and interindividual exposure (Patulny, 2011), especially when the individuals in the group are dependent on each other for desired outcomes (Schachter, 1951). Before applying some of these concepts to those with substance use disorders, we will review the devastating impacts that this condition has on individuals, communities, and the quest for peace.

Substance Abuse and Social Networks

If we are to promote peace in communities and nations, we must find a better way of dealing with the ravages of alcohol and drug abuse, which are among the most expensive health problems in the USA, totaling approximately $428 billion annually (Sacks, Gonzales, Bouchery, Tomedi, & Brewer, 2015). Although 8–9% of the US population has an alcohol or substance use problem at any given time, only 1.5% of the population (about 3.8 million individuals) seek and receive treatment each year for these disorders (SAMHSA's National Survey on Drug Use and Health, 2011). Compounding this gap, most treatment modalities have dropout rates of greater than 50% (SAMHSA, 2014), and even individuals who successfully complete treatment have high relapse rates. In short, the failure of the existing system leads to high recidivism and recurring treatment—an ineffective and expensive revolving door, one that has dire consequences for the person with the substance use disorder as well as their family, friends, and associates. An important lever for rectifying this system is supportive, cohesive post-treatment settings that can reduce relapse rates (Laudet, Becker, & White, 2009). For example, Schaefer, Cronkite, and Hu (2011) found that each additional month spent in aftercare led to a 20% increase in the odds of continued abstinence.

As we have suggested, a significant barrier to the development of peace is the widespread use of alcohol and drugs, which affects more individuals than any other mental disorder. Therefore, knowing how social networks influence substance use is of importance, as choosing friends and associates with similar characteristics is especially apparent regarding alcohol, nicotine, and drug use. For example, adolescents' relationships often evolve away from their families and toward their friend groups. A study by Wang, Hipp, Butts, Jose, and Lakon (2016) demonstrates how friendship tie choices in adolescent social networks co-evolve simultaneously with cigarette and alcohol use. Using a Stochastic Actor-Based modeling approach, they found a peer selection effect, as adolescents nominated others as friends based on common cigarette and alcohol use levels across samples. They also found that adolescents adapted, in both directions, their smoking and drinking behaviors to those of their best friends across samples.

Social network drinking and alcohol involvement is also evident in adult samples. Bullers, Cooper, and Russell (2001) conducted a longitudinal study to compare the selection and influence effects among a sample of adults. Results suggested that selection and influence affect the association between individual and network drinking patterns among adults, but that social selection effects are stronger than social influence effects. These findings can be explained by the idea that adults are more fixed in their behavioral preferences and will find groups that support and share these behaviors.

Social environments are integrally involved in the initiation, maintenance, and cessation of problem alcohol use (Hunter-Reel, McCrady, Hildebrandt, & Epstein, 2010). For example, a heavy-drinking network increases the likelihood of future heavy drinking among adolescents and young adults (social influence), and inversely, individuals who drink heavily are likely to develop social networks that

drink more heavily (i.e., social selection; Bullers et al., 2001). Reductions in numbers of drinking- and heavy-drinking network members and increases in numbers of nondrinking and non-heavy-drinking network members may be causal mechanisms of behavior change in many interventions.

In recent years, whole network studies have opened a new level of insight into the social dynamics of substance use, especially among youth (e.g., Veenstra, Dijkstra, Steglich, & Van Zalk, 2013), but also in adult populations (Jason et al., 2014). For example, recovering individuals may reside in self-help groups or recovery houses for periods ranging from a few weeks to many months, and it is natural to suspect that the social dynamics within these settings may play an important role in residents' willingness to remain in these supportive environments and the level of abstinence-maintaining personal change they are able to achieve. Self-help groups and recovery homes might promote peace and interdependence through the house self-governance structure, as well as norms of mutual support for recovery.

Research on sobriety-focused social support suggests two mechanisms whereby participation in self-help groups such as Alcoholics Anonymous (AA) may promote more recovery-supportive personal friendship networks: as a source of recovery-supportive friends, and also a source of behavioral modeling, advice, and encouragement for staying sober (Kaskutas, Bond, & Humphreys, 2002). Positive effects of personal network composition have also been associated with recovery house stays. It is plausible that a recovery house stay benefits residents in the same way as AA involvement, in being a source for alternative friendships, modeling, advice, and support. Thus, predictors of strong within-house relationships would be important to investigate. Relevant relationships would be those that promote discussion of recovery-threatening topics like negative feelings such as stress, anxiety, and loneliness. Such relationships, which could be called "confidants," are also important sources of interactive problem-solving that are less likely in 12-step meetings.

In general, we propose that peace can be established by being socially embedded and meaningfully connected to other occupants in a social setting. Social networks, therefore, can influence current life satisfaction and a concomitant willingness to remain in the setting and work through conflict. Social bonds emerge when the activities occurring within a particular setting are positively evaluated, enhancing cohesion and mutual support among residents, establishing a clear direction and common goals, and encouraging non-coercive mutual monitoring and accountability (Moos, 2007). There is evidence that supportive social relationships can protect people in recovery from relapse and improve overall substance abuse recovery rates (Groh, Olson, Jason, Davis, & Ferrari, 2007; Moos, 2007), and this can promote more harmonious relationships with others and the fostering of peace.

Oxford House Recovery Homes

As indicated above, many people who finish substance use treatment relapse over time (Vaillant, 2003), and this might be due to the lack of longer term community-based housing and employment support (Jason, Olson, & Foli, 2008). A number of

self-help organizations provide support to individuals following treatment, including AA, but such programs do not offer safe and affordable housing or access to employment. For these needs, a variety of resident- and professionally run residential programs are available in the USA (Polcin, Korcha, Bond, Galloway, & Lapp, 2010).

Sober living homes are currently the largest recovery-specific, community-based support options in the post-treatment period (Polcin et al., 2010). Oxford Houses (OH) represent one network of over 2200 recovery houses in the USA, with homes in other areas such as Canada and Africa. In the past year, over 25,000 individuals have resided in one of these recovery homes. OHs are rented, single-family homes with a gender-segregated capacity of 6–12 individuals. Houses are usually located in middle-class neighborhoods with access to public transportation and employment opportunities. In the USA, the average rent to stay in an OH is about $100 per week; thus, this network provides sustainable, affordable housing for those with even minimum wage jobs. Each OH operates democratically with majority rule (i.e., >80% approval rate) regarding membership and most other policies (Oxford House Inc., 2011), a practice which serves as a proactive approach to potential conflict. Residents must pay their fair share of rent, avoid disruptive behavior, and not use alcohol or drugs. In other words, membership is contingent on the continued abstinence of each member, and this rule is non-negotiable.

Each house is autonomous and self-governing, which translates to each house being in charge of implementing rules. One of the guidelines for democratically expelling a member who has relapsed includes calling a special house meeting to hold a vote. If a majority of the house residents vote and confirm that a member has used alcohol/drugs, the member must be asked to leave. Additionally, if an OH resident displays disruptive behavior or fails to pay his/her equal share of the household expenses, the house members will have a vote to determine whether they will expel that member. These democratic principles are incorporated into the daily lives of members, especially when conducting house meetings, propagating the OH concept, recruiting potential members, and working within their respective communities.

The OH model of substance abuse aftercare has low start-up and maintenance costs. The OH model includes standardized procedures and practices, so residents in different houses are exposed to a similar supportive environment. Outcome studies support the notion that the OH network provides affordable and safe housing for recovering substance abusers. For example, as part of an NIAAA-supported study, Jason, Olson, Ferrari, and Lo Sasso (2006) successfully recruited 150 individuals who completed treatment at alcohol and drug abuse facilities in the Chicago metropolitan area. Half of the participants were randomly assigned to live in an OH, while the other half received community-based aftercare services ("usual care"). At a 2-year follow-up, OH members reported significantly lower substance use than those who received usual care (31.6% vs. 64.8%, respectively). Further, OH residents were more likely to be employed (76.1% vs. 48.6%) and less likely to report illegal activities (0.9% vs. 1.8%). This study also found that individuals who stayed at least 6 months had lower relapse rates and significantly better indicators of personal change, including employment, abstinence self-efficacy, and proportion of

abstinent others in the personal "significant persons" network (Jason et al., 2007). This study was used to support the decision by SAMSHA to endorse OH as being effective and representing best practices (see SAMHSA's National Registry of Evidence-Based Programs and Practices, 2011).

Oxford Houses do much more than just help individuals with finding work, staying out of jail, and maintaining their recovery. Peace psychology has socially transformative aspirations (Christie & Dawes, 2001), and many of these transformative processes have been recognized and highlighted in research on OHs. Olson, Jason, Davidson, and Ferrari (2009) studied changes in tolerance toward others among participants in an OH and usual aftercare conditions using the Miville-Guzman Universality-Diversity Scale (Miville et al., 1999). Over time, residents of the OHs showed significantly greater tolerance than usual care participants. These results supported the claim that residents of communal living settings can undergo prominent changes as they live with others in settings with super-ordinate goals of overcoming substance abuse problems. Certainly, increases in tolerance could enhance peace as it leads to more amicable transactions with others. Research on intolerance has focused on stereotypes, prejudice, and racism. Stereotypes are typically regarded as a form of social categorization, which simplifies and reduces the complexity of the social world (Brown, 1995). A possible explanation for increased tolerance experienced by Oxford House residents is that, by accepting individuals of different races, socioeconomic statuses, health issues, and age, all that matters is one's desire to not use drugs or alcohol. This common goal creates a community within the Oxford House Organization, and it spills overs to the community at large.

In another study, Olson and Jason (2011) had participants list what was most important while living in OH recovery homes. According to the participants, what was rated as most important was growth, which referred specifically to an increased feeling of social connectedness, a greater personal sense of community, and a new tolerance for others different from oneself. The second most important goal was accountability, and this was accomplished through the rules and structure of the house. Organizational structures, such as the ones found within OHs, are able to create and maintain trust and confidence between group members because of grassroots leadership (Pinson, Levy & Soker, 2010). This grassroots leadership, conducted by the democratically selected house presidents, is just one factor that contributes to the success of the OH model, and further demonstrates how growth and accountability can lead to positive outcomes with this organization.

A desire for growth can also manifest as social action. In the same way that OHs have grassroots leaders that are personally and emotionally invested in the homes, the organization has a grassroots history and energy that has led to the development of and involvement in other community activities. Oxford House members may have experienced or continue to experience social marginalization due to the stigmatization of substance use disorders. This marginalized status can be a strong motivator for further social action. Collective engagement historically occurs from these circumstances, when once-isolated individuals finally find themselves together, with a voice, a common goal, and an organization behind them (Minkoff, 1997). Oxford House members exhibit this pattern as well.

To further understand how residents of OHs participate in promoting peace even outside of their homes, Jason, Schober, and Olson (2008) collected data on weekly involvement in the community on both an individual and house basis. A vast majority of residents (86%) affirmed that living in an OH increased their likelihood of involvement in the neighborhood. Findings also revealed a significant positive relationship between the length of time living in an OH and level of participant involvement in the community. Residents reported spending around 10.6 h per month on activities in their neighborhoods: 44% administered and ran support groups, 56% educated the community about OH, and 36% educated the community about recovery in general. Regarding involvement in larger community initiatives, 39% of participants advised agencies or local leaders, 32% participated in community anti-drug campaigns, 16% spoke at political events, 30% attended community meetings, and 21% engaged in public hearings and forums. Other general community activities included working with youth (32%), fundraising (30%), and volunteering with community organizations (23%). Such results indicate that residents not only help themselves stay abstinent by living in OHs, but they also make important contributions to promoting peace in their neighborhoods and communities.

Oxford House members have also worked hard to help their peers when natural disasters have occurred. After Hurricane Katrina devastated sections of Louisiana and other southern states in 2005, OH members that lost their homes were relocated to other, neighboring OHs and donations were collected to assist in rebuilding. Additionally, the OH community has been on the forefront of showing the public the solidarity of the recovery movement. Each year, OH residents participate in the largest Pacific Northwest National Recovery Day event, called Hands Across the Bridge (HAtB), which spanned the length between Oregon and Washington. Oxford House residents, alongside other individuals in recovery, lock hands as they stand side-by-side on the bridge separating the two states, symbolizing that they no longer live under the bridge of their addiction. When the HAtB event concludes the participants and guests are invited to participate in an alcohol- and drug-free event called Oxfest. This family-oriented event features live music, raffles, food vendors, games, and many other activities designed to promote unity, fellowship, and camaraderie.

We finish this section by returning to our research with social networks, as it is these networks that have provided the space and social environments to promote the types of peace promotion activities highlighted above. For example, we have found that having at least one friend within the OH was the most important predictor of staying in an OH for at least 6 months and these individuals were less likely to relapse (Jason, Stevens, Ferrari, Thompson, & Legler, 2012). A highly embedded individual is one with friendship, trust, and role model relationships with other residents (i.e., associations with those who can provide resources and support recovery). Brereton et al. (2014) also found that the presence of OH recovery home members in personal social networks was significant in predicting retention in the recovery home. In sum, this body of research strongly points to a resident's social integration into his or her house's system/culture as a major factor in preventing early dropout and in facilitating the type of personal change necessary for a sustained recovery. Finally, Jason et al. (2014) found that OH members' involvement in

recovery-related activities (AA meeting attendance, having an AA sponsor, etc.) led to increased trust of other residents and increased the likelihood of having a "confidant" within the house (i.e., a trusted friend with whom to discuss recovery-related issues). These results are consistent with a mutually reinforcing feedback loop between an individual's recovery-supporting activities and the quality of his or her social relationships with other house residents.

Conclusion

Those who most need the refuge of peace are often the very same groups that have the most difficulty attaining it, whether due to living in war-torn countries or within certain violence-prone organizations or communities. For example, prisons and jails are social settings where punishment is often the objective, rather than restorative justice or development of fairness, communication, and other peace-oriented skills and dispositions. In addition, when people leave prison, jail, or substance abuse treatment settings, they need a safe place to live and work; necessities that most do not receive. Some return to social networks of friends and family members that are abusing substances or engaging in illegal work and confronted with these types of social networks, few will be able to escape these influences.

It is necessary to find low cost, effective ways of replacing those social networks with prosocial ones that feature individuals who do not abuse alcohol and drugs, and who are employed in legal activities. Community psychology offers a perspective through which to develop and evaluate these prevention and intervention programs that provide the structure for maintained individual-level and community-level peace and sense of community (Jason & Glenwick, 2016). Community network-based solutions include recovery homes where individuals can seek support from others for their addictions. Mutual help systems like OH recovery homes can facilitate access to supportive networks that are in the service of growth, community, and harmony. By identifying those types of inexpensive settings through which social networks can affect social justice outcomes, this approach could contribute to restructuring and improving other community-based settings that can promote peace and social justice.

Rather than putting individuals with substance use disorders in prisons and shelters, we ought to promote second-order change, which focuses on changing that which influences the individual and his or her social network, as well as all other components of the environment that may contribute to the particular problem (Jason, 2013). In other words, we need more than band-aid approaches to deal with these types of problems if our intended aim is to promote peace in the long term. Elected officials often impose first-order interventions through top-down strategies, in which the power of the holder attempts to solve a community problem but disregards the needs and strengths of the community itself. Successful and enduring change must engage community members directly in initiatives, rather than thrusting new programs upon them. In this chapter, we provided an example of a bottom-up approach

that deals with helping individuals who are dealing with substance use disorders find a sense of community and hope, and by doing so, we provide one example of a local program that has gone to scale in promoting peace.

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Achieving Peace Through Culturally Relevant Humanitarian Programs

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The current global humanitarian crisis has led to the highest number of displaced persons in history. The rise of the Islamic State of Iraq and al-Sham (ISIS) alone has led to millions of displaced individuals from Syria and Iraq. The humanitarian response has been feverishly trying to keep up with the number of displaced persons and many of these humanitarian organizations have done quite well in their efforts to support the displaced persons. However, the sheer number of displaced persons in the short amount of time caused a nearly impossible situation to develop. In 2015, the number of internally displaced persons (IDPs) within the Kurdistan Region of Iraq (KRI) who resided in IDP camps was roughly 8% of the estimated 1.2 million displaced persons within the KRI (Kurdistan's Humanitarian Crisis, 2015). Displaced persons within the KRI include many different populations: Arabs and Kurds along with other minority populations including, Yezidis, Mandaeans, and Christians. Thus, humanitarian organizations who work with IDPs are exposed to many different cultures and populations. Some of these minority populations were specifically targeted by ISIS. For example, the act of genocide toward the Yezidi population was officially documented by the United States Department of State in 2016. In addition to this population being a minority within the larger IDP population, they are further differentiated from other IDP populations due to the atrocities they faced as a result of this genocide. As a result of these factors, working with this population is especially challenging for humanitarian organizations. In order to provide refugees and IDPs, the best services possible humanitarian organizations have developed multiple guidelines and recommendations such as the Inter-Agency Standing Committee, the Sphere Project, the Humanitarian Accountability Project, and the Core Humanitarian Standard on Quality and Accountability. Despite these guidelines and recommendations, a study based in the KRI found that humanitarian organization aid workers showed little to no understanding of the cultures

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differences among people from the KRI (Msall, 2018). Additionally, Yezidis within the KRI reported perceived discrimination from the humanitarian organizations. Several Yezidis specifically pointed out discrimination within the organizations' mental health services (Msall, 2016). This chapter explores the impact of these findings on the building and development of peace within these minority populations, as well as how the findings can be generalized to other regions with similar situations. The application of peace psychology principles in organizations and programs within the humanitarian context is limited. And yet, the need for peace psychology continues to grow along with the number of displaced persons. While the goal of humanitarian and developmental organizations is to provide the much-needed essentials for these IDPs and refugees until the crisis is over, it has become clear within the last few years that many displaced persons either do not wish to return to their homelands or are unable to return. This affords the organizations the opportunity to develop positive rapport with the displaced individuals and lay a foundation for lasting and sustainable peace. The following sections in the chapter focus on the background of peace psychology within the humanitarian context and discuss recent findings of the study (Msall, 2018) that took place in the KRI with humanitarian aid workers and Yezidi IDPs. Recommendations are then given for humanitarian organizations and workers to develop culturally relevant humanitarian programs to promote peace through organizations within the humanitarian context.

Background

Many geopolitical events that occur around the world involve conflict to such a degree that many individuals are displaced temporarily and, in some cases, permanently. These displaced populations either move to a new location within their home country and are labeled as IDPs, or are forced to cross national borders to seek refuge in a host country where they are known as refugees. Currently, areas of mass displacement include countries within the Middle East and Central African regions. Groups such as ISIS and Boko Haram have spread across these two regions for quite some time, and the effects of these groups will last for the foreseeable future.

As a result, the need for humanitarian organizations within the regions has, and will, continue to increase. Many of the displaced individuals are of Iraqi, Syrian, and Nigerian descent making the population of the displaced culturally diverse. For example, the Iraqi population within the KDI is made up of multiple minority populations and cultures. This puts a large strain on humanitarian organizations and agencies that must work with different cultural groups within the displaced population. This chapter highlights the important role to be played by humanitarian organizations and agencies: to develop peace that is sustainable after the organizations leave the region. One of the best ways to promote this is to recognize the need for culturally relevant humanitarian programs. Many organizations do attempt to provide cultural awareness trainings for foreign aid workers but few have shown evidence of these trainings being effective in terms of working with minority cultures.

Humanitarian Guidelines

As mentioned earlier, there are several international efforts to establish guidelines and standards for humanitarian organizations. These include The Sphere Project, the Core Humanitarian Standard, the Inter-Agency Standing Committee, and the Humanitarian Accountability Project. Each of these will be described below.

The Sphere Project, established in 1997 by a group of humanitarian non-governmental organizations (NGOs), the International Red Cross and the Red Crescent Movement, is overseen by a board representing global NGO networks (The Sphere Project, n.d.). This board includes 17 humanitarian organizations and aims to improve the quality of assistance to people affected by disaster or conflict. Another major goal of the Sphere Project is to ensure the accountability of humanitarian agencies and states toward their constituents, donors, and affected populations (The Sphere Project, n.d.). The Sphere Project has also developed the Sphere Handbook for organizations to follow that outlines best practices in providing humanitarian aid and protecting human rights in humanitarian emergencies.

The *Core Humanitarian Standard* (CHS) *on Quality and Accountability* is another set of guidelines for humanitarian organizations to follow. The goal of the CHS is to delineate nine key commitments that organizations and individuals should uphold to improve the quality and effectiveness of their assistance (CHS, 2014). The CHS focuses on the importance of communicating in local languages, formats, and media that are culturally appropriate for the affected populations, and attending to especially vulnerable and marginalized groups. It further states that organizations should identify and act upon negative effects of any humanitarian action, such as in the area of culture.

Over the past decade, there has been an increase in mental health standards for humanitarian organizations, such as the Inter-Agency Standing Committee (IASC) *Guidelines on Mental Health and Psychosocial Support in Emergency Settings* (IASC, 2007). These guidelines were developed for humanitarian organizations assisting in the planning and implementation of programs for displaced individuals. The resource manual lists many steps that at first seem impossible for a single organization to do. However, the guidelines are meant to be implemented through many organizations working in the same region with the same humanitarian crisis. These areas include primary health care, mental health services, education, and others that are discussed and summarized in the following section.

The IASC guidelines (2007) include protocols for organizations providing health services to refugees or IDPS during an emergency. The first action posited is that organizations implement specific psychological and social programs into the primary care programs offered to the refugee and IDP populations. There are two important reasons for this. First of all, primary medical professionals working with these populations often need to treat the individuals' mental health conditions as well as their physical health conditions. In addition, most mental health conditions caused by trauma do not require advanced knowledge of different therapies of social or psychological aspects to treat (IASC, 2007). However, in cases of major

psychological distress, access to appropriate services should be made available. Thus, training primary health care workers in psychological first aid is recommended. In addition, the guidelines suggest getting local health care personnel and facilities involved so they can familiarize themselves with local cultural norms and build a sustainable system after the crisis is over. The IASC guidelines also suggest organizations do more than work with local people; they should learn about them and their culture before implementing major programs with the population. This may even involve collaborating with local and indigenous mental health systems.

Similarly, the Humanitarian Accountability Project (HAP) was established to promote accountability to people affected by humanitarian crises and to acknowledge those organizations that meet the HAP Principles of Accountability, which the founding members developed as a condition of HAP membership (HAP, 2010). The HAP (2010) defined accountability with two principles: the first being that organizations and states account for their actions and are held responsible for them and second stating that individuals, organizations, and states have a safe and legitimate means to report concerns, complaints, and abuses. By applying these principles, humanitarian organizations are accountable for the quality of their work to people they aim to assist and on whose behalf, they are acting (HAP, 2010). The HAP and CHS have recently joined together to form the CHS Alliance which aims to increase the responsibility, accountability, and quality of humanitarian organizations and aid.

These humanitarian guidelines are focused on the goals of bringing accountability to humanitarian NGOs and improving the quality of humanitarian aid around the globe. While each has addressed the issues differently, these projects and directives serve to provide frameworks for NGOs to apply in different times and areas of crisis. Together they address important components of addressing the needs of IDPs and refugees.

Culturally Relevant Humanitarian Organizations

A variety of organizations have developed many IDP and refugee camps to assist people displaced by geopolitical crises. However, because of the sheer number of people in need, many IDPs, at the time of this writing, are forced to take refuge in streets, abandoned buildings, schools, and churches rather than being served by the NGOs. Most of the international organizations and western professionals that established these camps did so without researching the cultures of the IDPs and their neighbors. This can lead to programs that are not culturally relevant to the target population (Dominelli, 2014). This may be due to organizations needing to provide necessities such as food and water quickly, within a short period of time, as well as lack of research funding. According to Ismael, Ismael, and Langille (2011), it is estimated that the number of NGOs in the Arab world grew from 175,000 to 225,000 between 1995 and 2003. The majority of these NGOs were either western organizations or developed from the western model, leaving little chance for indigenous NGOs to receive funding or access outside help (Ismael et al., 2011).

Weine (2001) posited that organizations' strategies of developing an under-standing of cultures based on recognizing differences between cultures is not suffi-cient in illuminating the subtleties and importance of cross-cultural interactions that take place between refugees, IDPs, and mental health professionals. Additionally, conducting primary and mental health care through a translator does not automati-cally make the program culturally relevant for the target population. An example of this is the Yezidi population in the KRI. Although Yezidi people speak the same local language as the local population, their culture differs significantly from the local population (Weine, 2001). Furthermore, culturally inappropriate programs or services can have other negative consequences such as potentially being misunder-stood among target populations, ineffectively reaching the goal of the program or service, and even possibly offending target populations. Culturally inappropriate programs and/or services can also create feelings of discrimination among the population and lead to decreased rapport between the target population and the aid workers (Bender, Clark, & Gahagan, 2014). Moreover, some organizations, mainly in academia, now realize that implementing culturally relevant services and pro-grams when working within a different culture is beneficial (Dominelli, 2014; Facchini, 2013). This is further supported by the IASC guidelines (2007), which strongly suggest that the humanitarian organizations consider the cultural aspects of the population being served in every detail. This can help ensure the lives of those displaced can be as normal as possible, leading to improvements in overall well-being, dignity, and mental health.

When discussing internationalizing western practices, Dominelli (2014) sug-gested people who demonstrated needing or wanting help in disaster areas were more inclined to want and prefer programs individually developed based upon their culture and locality. They also favored culturally relevant programs. However, the implementation of the program and its ability to incorporate local cultures is not rigid and can change on a case-by-case basis. Facchini (2013) reported that cultural awareness programs for humanitarian aid organizations are essential because the target population's culture takes into account traditional medicine practices, the health care system as a whole, and the culture's individual perception of wellness. It was also found that assessments of pre-deployment trainings per-taining to cultural awareness among personnel greatly improved service delivery. Humanitarian aid workers showed an increase in capacity building, aid, and train-ing of indigenous personnel (Facchini, 2013). Facchini posited "to health care per-sonnel intervening in a host nation, diagnosing and treating the illness should be just as important as reintegrating the individual into his or her culture (2013, p. 539)." These findings support the relationship between cultural awareness train-ing among humanitarian aid and capacity-building personnel and successful interventions.

Examples of the inclusion of aspects of the local culture being implemented into service provision are illustrative. The first example comes from a study on a public health service in Africa, where the leaders of the intervention decided to use locally accepted metaphors when describing new and beneficial information to the popula-tion. This helped them to conceptualize the new information in light of their own

experiences and understanding (Knox, 2010). This technique of using familiar language and metaphors within the intervention was not a complete change of the program; however, it allowed for a better connection between the intervention and the population. A similar study was conducted on another public health service program with African Americans in the United States. In this study, the intervention applied a faith-based program that was drawn from the community's religious beliefs and practices (MacMaster et al., 2007). The results suggested that the faith-based intervention was effective in decreasing substance use and other behaviors in comparison to typical programs (MacMaster et al., 2007). Given that many of the minority populations within the Middle East, such as the Yezidis, are deeply religious, programs, and services based on culturally relevant experiences might more effectively meet the needs of displaced persons.

Furthermore, a social service program in South Africa investigated the impact of cultural relevance in health interventions. In this program, social workers implemented culturally sensitive approaches when working within the black community throughout South Africa (Gerrand & Nathane-Taulela, 2015). The researchers learned that among the black population, more individuals would approach traditional healers before, or instead of, primary care physicians. This was because the traditional healers were more culturally oriented than the oftentimes western-trained medical professionals (Gerrand & Nathane-Taulela, 2015). Additionally, Copping, Shakespeare-Finch, and Paton (2010) suggested that most western mental health programs address crisis through the individual, compared to non-western cultures that tend to address mental health issues with a community and/or religious perspective. Kagee (2004) proposed that mental health professionals could work within cultures that held different perspectives by building on the pre-existing perspectives toward mental health. This could provide the group with a more culturally relevant program and service, and therefore improve the experience.

A concrete example of this was highlighted in the collaboration between Kosovar's mental health organizations and professionals within the World Health Organization and US mental health organizations and professionals after the war in Kosovo in 1999 (Agani, 2001). The implementation of a new and revised mental health system throughout the Kosovo region was successfully implemented because the collaborative group understood the importance of local professionals and social systems in establishing the cultural relevance required. Inspired by a previously established program that was implemented to provide short-term mental health care to displaced people, the program had long-term success (Agani, 2001). Some of the changes implemented into the mental health system in Kosovo focused on the cultural aspects of community-based and family-oriented practices, which included professionals working with local family physicians, traditional healers, and other community resources (Agani, 2001). Not only did this allow the mental health program to have greater cultural relevance for the population in Kosovo, but it also encouraged populations to build local support groups and increase access to mental health care. These examples suggest while there is little research on culturally relevant humanitarian programs in times of crises, the implementation of culturally relevant programs can be successfully undertaken in several different areas. This makes a strong case for

humanitarian and developmental programs like those in the KRI and future situations paying attention to cultural relevance.

In an intervention conducted in Uganda, displaced individuals who had been through war were treated with a culturally relevant program that the researchers developed by studying the local culture and creating a culturally specific psychosocial assessment for the population (Sonderegger, Rombouts, Ocen, & McKeever, 2011). The program investigated in the study was developed based on research done about the Acholi culture in Uganda that focused on identifying interpersonal triggers and building group relationships in line with the Acholi culture. The researchers then developed an assessment instrument specific to the Acholi culture based on these findings that allowed for the cultural relevance of the program (Sonderegger et al., 2011). The results supported the culturally adapted approach: individuals who were treated with the program that was in line with their culture and beliefs had significantly less depression symptoms and symptoms of other mental disorders compared to those individuals who did not receive the culturally relevant intervention (Sonderegger et al., 2011). A similar study was conducted on Cambodian adults who had been through the Cambodian genocide in the 1970s and were diagnosed with treatment-resistant Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD). The authors used a culturally modified program to work with these individuals and reported that there were significant improvements noted in all the individuals that went through the intervention (Hinton et al., 2005). In another study with Somali refugee children living in Uganda who had all experienced conflict areas, a team of experienced psychologists used a culturally adapted version of therapy with the children and after four to six sessions the children all showed significant reductions in PTSD (Betancourt & Williams, 2008). There were several culturally specific symptoms of PTSD that were found using culturally relevant practices such as working with religious leaders that likely would not have been identified if western mental health care practices were used. Similar culturally specific symptoms may be found within minority cultural populations if a more culturally relevant approach is taken, which could lead to a significant reduction of PTSD and other mental health issues as Betancourt and Williams suggest.

However, designing a culturally relevant program with the Yezidi population could be a challenge for humanitarian organizations because of the lack of research on the population. Previous studies have suggested that to develop and design a program that is culturally relevant to a specific population, the organization or individual must be culturally sensitive and consider the ethnic and cultural characteristics including values, religious beliefs, behaviors, family, social framework, literacy, and education levels of the population (Bender et al., 2014). The most important and relevant aspect for the Yezidi IDPs seems to be religious beliefs because the Yezidi culture has a strong relationship with its religion. Thus, having humanitarian organizations and aid workers working with religious leaders would enable cultural relevance to begin to take place. By doing this, the aid workers would be more culturally aware, begin to build a good rapport with the target population, and decrease perceived discrimination due to a lack of culturally relevant programs and organizations.

Furthermore, to understand how to provide services that are culturally relevant to a given population, the leaders and organizations working with the population must research and recognize how the specific culture conceptualizes and works through mental health issues that arise due to trauma (Copping et al., 2010). Humanitarian systems do not necessarily become locally relevant by simply embedding local languages and employing local staff, rather it requires a foundation in field research of the target population to not only address the language barrier but also the meaning barrier for the NGOs and health providers (Abramowitz, 2010). After the civil war in Liberia in 1990–2003, there was an increased number of people suffering from a culture-bound syndrome locally defined as Open Mole, which does not have an exact analogy in Western diagnostic standards. An international humanitarian organization attempted to treat the syndrome by linking it to the Western diagnostic labels, such as Open Mole with depression and training local mental health professionals to assess and treat it (Abramowitz, 2010). However, the use of local professionals and local idioms of illness did not make the services provided by the organization more culturally relevant due to the strong influence of expatriate supervisors on the local professionals (Abramowitz, 2010). Viewing Open Mole within a Western framework led the local professionals to question the very existence of the illness. Abramowitz suggested that studies examining the linguistic and clinical interactions of local health providers are needed to understand the difference between a global system and a local system of humanitarian work. In contrast to Bender et al.'s (2014) assertion that a community-based approach is an ideal model, Abramowitz emphasized that developing a culturally relevant humanitarian program is not so simple and must include the structural issues within the humanitarian organization. For example, local staff hired by humanitarian organizations are asked to deploy their knowledge of local culture when it is appropriate but are subjugated to the standards of the organization above all. This could cause discord among the locally hired workers and the local community if a conflict of interest between the two parties develops (Abramowitz & Kleinman, 2008).

Although the abovementioned examples all illustrate the effectiveness of implementing culturally relevant aspects into programs and services provided to individuals who have recently experienced geopolitical conflicts, there are still issues with how to develop programs based on the data on barriers to seeking mental health programs among refugees and IDPs. For example, a study focusing on refugees in Muslim countries explored the refugees' attitudes toward seeking mental health aid (de Anstiss & Ziaian, 2010). The study's initial findings indicated that most refugees were very reluctant to go beyond close friends and family networks for psychological problems due to individual, cultural, and service-related barriers (de Anstiss & Ziaian, 2010).

This avoidance of mental health services by refugees could reflect an error on the part of the organization providing the services. An understanding of local perceptions of psychological problems is important for ensuring that local goals, values, and beliefs are represented in an acceptable way throughout the programs and services provided (Betancourt, Speelman, Onyango, & Bolton, 2009). Some reasons for not utilizing services include distrust of the services and providers, local stigma

placed on psychological problems, low priority placed on mental health, and a lack of knowledge about the options of mental health services (de Anstiss & Ziaian, 2010). In contrast, Western populations seem to be more trusting of mental health professionals most likely due to the number of client rights and laws that have been implemented to protect both the client and the professional. Stigma is a widespread and challenging barrier and the overcoming of local stigmas toward mental health care could be achieved through locally based caregivers, open and continuous dialog between the mental health experts and local practitioners, and research on the local culture and its perceptions (Henley, Marshall, & Vetter, 2011).

The mental health programs that Médecins Sans Frontières (Doctors without Borders) use are developed in regions that have recently been through traumatic experiences, much like what is currently happening in Iraq. The leaders of the programs understand that there must be culturally sensitive aspects to the programs or the services will not be well received by the target population. To counter this, the programs utilize locally trained counselors to help build rapport with the local population and to have different social and cultural contexts accounted for (Coldiron, Liosa, Roederer, Casas, & Moro, 2013). In fact, it has been suggested that because Médecins Sans Frontières takes this approach, there have been symptomatic improvements reported across the served populations (Coldiron et al., 2013). Similarly, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) has made changes to their mental health programs for Iraq from an ad hoc manner to focusing on optimizing local resources, strengthening existing capacities, and having volunteers from the local population work with them to make their programs more culturally relevant for the population (Harrison et al., 2013). Inside Syria, where there is little chance for foreigners getting in because of war and ISIS, psychosocial support programs have been integrated into the daily lives of the IDPs in Syria by being a part of the education, local community centers, and shelters that have been set up (Harrison et al., 2013).

Furthermore, international NGOs in the Middle East and other regions with conflict should collaborate with grassroots-level organizations that have been working with the local community for quite some time and who have developed a good rapport with the local population (Ismael et al., 2011). Local, traditional health care organizations are also valuable resources for outside organizations to work with because they are familiar with the local culture and practices and may help to develop a better, culturally relevant program for the local population (Facchini, 2013). This would help the international NGOs design and develop a proper, culturally relevant program, with objectives and priorities at the local level with local knowledge behind the design, instead of having western-influenced ideas become the factors determining the program design (Ismael et al., 2011). The grassroots organizations working with international NGOs use similar approaches that Médecins Sans Frontières uses when working in a different culture and providing mental health services (Coldiron et al., 2013). Some benefits that come from developing programs along with grassroots organizations could be the development of culturally appropriate psychological assessments, increased cultural competence of the individuals conducting these assessments, and knowledge of the possible

cultural barriers that may impede access, utilization, peaceful relationships, and the effectiveness of the services provided (Murray, Davidson, & Schweitzer, 2010).

In fact, Ismael et al. (2011) suggested four key points that an international NGO would need to confront when working with local grassroots organizations:

1. International NGOs should have researchers who are experienced in working with the religion of the population, as well as understanding the historical, political, and cultural aspects of the local people.
2. The organizational goals need to be mapped out with both the international NGOs and the grassroots organizations together to ensure completion and sound delivery of the services.
3. The goals and plan should be for the long-term unlike most humanitarian NGOs which focus on the short term.
4. International NGOs require a commitment to work with the indigenous cultural values and to forego the western-held values that might conflict with the local culture.

Working with these grassroots organizations would also include being able to promote cultural relevance in the programs as well as meaningful engagements into the program.

Betancourt and Williams (2008) posited that meaningful engagement should be implemented in programs that work with individuals who have recently experienced armed conflict and described possible engagement aspects that could include the refugees or IDPs pursuing their own religious practices, cultural arts, and games that could be adapted into the program which could in turn promote mental health and the promotion of lasting peace. The religious aspect that Betancourt and Williams mentioned would be especially meaningful to some minority populations, such as the Yezidi IDPs, because of the strong relationship between their culture and religion. A major issue of implementing programs and services with meaningful engagement is that the program must know what is meaningful to the target population. Betancourt et al. (2009) successfully conducted an assessment with displaced persons who had experienced armed conflict that demonstrated a "rapid ethnographic assessment method" that could be applied to situations where the target population's culture is different than western culture. This would allow for a list of symptoms for a western-recognized psychological problem in a localized symptomology. This could be done with any population, including the Yezidis, to understand the local symptoms and perspectives of psychological issues. This would lead to a more culturally appropriate program and knowledge among the aid workers which would in turn increase rapport with the target population and aid workers.

Peace Psychology

A more culturally relevant set of international humanitarian guidelines and programs would do more than build the rapport between the target population and the aid workers. Although humanitarian aid systems are meant to be temporary, lasting

only until the conflict is settled, the present crises throughout the Middle East, Eastern Europe, and Central Africa have instead presented as long-term situations. Several humanitarian camps in both Jordan and Lebanon have been settled by refugees for over a decade and there is no relief in sight. The new camps which have refugees and/or IDPs in the KRI have now existed for over 2 years, and it seems they will be needed for the foreseeable future. Similar situations are arising in Turkey and other countries in the region due to the ongoing conflict in Iraq and Syria. Essentially, an entire generation within that region is being raised with war and conflict and some of this generation live in these camps. These refugee and IDP camps do what they can with what they have. But, in terms of long-term planning, the humanitarian system is not designed to cope with such long-lasting crises. However, making the programs and organizations culturally relevant in the present could have a profound effect on the current individuals' outlook and in turn promote lasting peace.

Displaced individuals often feel like they do not belong within the host culture and in some cases, are banned or are unable to fully practice their own culture. This leads to the perception of discrimination and feeling marginalized. Refugees from Syria and Iraq who have taken refuge in Germany and other European nations have reported this (Steinmann, 2018). Displaced persons' feelings and perceptions are pivotal in the radicalization of refugees and could be the determining factor in an individual turning toward radicalization (Agerschou, 2014; Lyons-Padilla, Gelfand, Mirahmadi, Farooq, & van Egmond, 2015; Piazza, 2012). These individuals feel they are insignificant and perhaps even forgotten and terrorist organizations capitalize on this by promoting a sense of belonging, purpose, and recognition to anyone who works with their organization. This can be quite appealing to displaced individuals who are having trouble coping with their situations due to the lack of cultural relevance, awareness, and empathy.

Furthermore, several researchers have found religion to be central to the identities in the populations that see the most displacement in regions such as the Middle East and Africa (Borum, 2011; Fox, 2000; Piazza, 2012). In fact, through the lens of social identity theory, Al Raffie (2013) stated that the discrimination often perceived by displaced persons leads to their relying on their religion as a means of coping with the discrimination and lack of cultural awareness among the host population. This can also be applied to displaced individuals residing in either refugee or IDP camps that are not culturally relevant to them. This was found in recent research with the Yezidi IDPs in the KRI. Perceived discrimination was found within this population and shared among the individuals. Their primary source of coping was accessing the religious leaders, or Sheiks, who would help them in their situation (Msall, 2016). This is not to compare the Yezidi population with radicalization, but the point remains the same. In a situation where displaced persons were outside their own countries and perhaps may not have the support network that the Yezidis do, an individual could be taken in by radical religious leaders which could lead to that individual being radicalized. This struggle with religion and identity does happen and terrorist organizations often attempt to exploit this struggle in an effort to recruit individuals (Borum, 2011). Although many European countries tend to focus on economic inequalities when it comes to refugees, the larger issue at hand should

be the attempt to reconstruct the entire lost identity of the individual and the loss of community within the host country (Dalgaard-Nielsen, 2010). This is essentially what terrorist organizations seek to do and what they offer individuals who have lost their identity: a feeling of a community and the ability to have a solid identity again. This is in line with Sarason's (1974) and McMillan and Chavis's (1986) notion that the psychological sense of community is a major basis for self-definition. In fact, recruiters for terrorist organizations often use very similar ideas and terminology that McMillan and Chavis (1986) did in their definition of community which include the individual believes that members matter to one another and the group as well as a shared faith that their needs will be met through their commitment together.

This is where culturally relevant humanitarian programs can promote sustainable peace. Because many displaced persons, either IDPs or refugees, have some contact with humanitarian organizations, either through psychological aid, or basic aid such as food, water, and shelter, culturally relevant programs would be able to touch these individuals at different times throughout the process. If the findings of Piazza (2012) were correct in asserting that discrimination was a major aspect in the radicalization of individuals, then humanitarian programs and organizations which currently do not have cultural relevancy toward minority populations, could implement culturally relevant policies toward these populations to decrease the perceived discrimination in these individuals. This could further lead to a decrease in radicalization and therefore a decrease in violent extremism in regions with large numbers of displaced persons.

Recommendations for Developing Culturally Relevant Organizations in the Field

There are several recommendations and processes which humanitarian organizations could implement within their organization to become more culturally relevant when working with displaced minority populations. Doing so would promote peace in regions where conflict is at the highest point by decreasing perceived discrimination among these populations, strengthening trust and rapport among the aid workers and the target population, and promoting the target population to adhere to and practice their native culture and religion to increase the sense of community, which could lead to a development of self-identity as posited by Sarason (1974). All three of these aspects have been linked to possibly decreasing violent radicalization in regions where there is a large number of displaced persons.

The first recommendation is for the humanitarian organizations to implement a research-based approach in developing humanitarian programs for minority populations. Humanitarian organizations often work in locations depleted of resources and may perceive such recommendation as unaffordable due to the cost of hiring researchers for the in-field data collection and analysis. However, the costs of culturally blind humanitarian programs that possibly impose discrimination in aid distribution, which in turn leads to the deterioration of mental health of minority

populations, as reported in previous studies, may far outweigh expenses of both governmental and non-governmental organizations responsible for the well-being of these populations. A major step in this recommendation is for humanitarian organizations to conduct qualitative research among the target population. This type of research often reveals the different needs of the population which was the case with the Yezidi population with regard to those living within the IDP camps and those living outside the camps (Msall, 2016). This is the foundation of organizational learning that Argyris (1993) exemplified. Organizations must learn continuously, and this should not be any different with humanitarian organizations. Because of the many minority populations that humanitarian organizations work with, the basics of Argyris's (1993) organizational learning theory are present in the international humanitarian guidelines but few humanitarian organizations take the time to actually do this process in a systematic way.

The goals and services provided by each type of organization (those that work within camps and those that work outside) are also different in nature. Having a sound foundation of understanding the needs of the target population and comparing those needs to what the organization provides is essential to modifying the services into culturally relevant programs for the target population. Although the humanitarian guidelines lack minority-focused policies, qualitative tools and assessments could be developed based on the guidelines. This could provide a holistic understanding of the target culture while also allowing for open-ended answers that might produce critical details for the organization. Some possible themes might focus on themes from the IASC guidelines such as food, health, religion, and community. Themes that might emerge would be more situationally focused and might include themes such as humanitarian aid and service quality, loss, and/or the theme of what caused their situation (for the Yezidis, an emerged theme was ISIS [Msall, 2016]). Both types of themes are essential for providing a holistic foundation on which the organizations can develop a culturally relevant program.

The second recommendation for humanitarian organizations is to collaborate with health care providers and the target population's community and/or religious leaders. This can be accomplished through cross-training and cross-referral. In religious minority populations that hold religious and community leaders in high esteem, this would increase the trust given toward NGOs that work with these leaders. Doing so, will allow the organization to implement components into their programs so that they address and are respectful of the target population's religion. A program that is drawn and developed from their religion would be more effective for this population than would other programs, as described in the case study by MacMaster et al. (2007).

Additionally, primary and mental health programs for minority displaced persons could be improved by training religious leaders in screening for basic symptoms of common physical and mental disorders. A major mental disorder found among displaced populations is PTSD due to the experience of direct or indirect trauma (Mann & Fazil, 2006; McFarlane & Kaplan, 2012). However, there is a shortage of guiding frameworks for mental health care that would consider cultural dimensions in the context of displacement (Bala & Kramer, 2010; Slobodin & De Jong, 2015).

Because many religious minority populations report first going to a religious authority when struggling with his or her mental health, access to health services would expand reach to much more of the population. This would especially affect IDPs living outside the camps where minimal resources are available.

The same approach could be taken with humanitarian primary care physicians and mental health professionals. The training of both types of caregivers is essential to a collaborative approach between community and humanitarian organizations. This allows for religious leaders and health care providers to develop a cross-referral system in which religious leaders would perform traditional healing practices with the displaced persons and would then refer those individuals to the humanitarian primary and mental health care providers for problems that require expertise beyond the religious leader's ability.

This process is essentially task-shifting, as described by Murray et al. (2011) in which lay mental health providers (in this case, the religious leaders) are trained by the humanitarian mental health care providers on how to use and apply psychological interventions with individuals. However, when relying on these lay providers, and because humanitarian primary and mental health care providers are not in the field most of the time, a plan must be developed for serious occasions such as suicide or child abuse (Murray et al., 2011). This plan is first implemented when the religious leaders notice symptoms of these conditions. In this case, religious leaders would be able to implement an intervention based on their religious beliefs and on the newly acquired psychological aspects that were taught during their training to prevent the suicide and help the individual. Having such programs would decrease the perceived discrimination from the lack of culturally relevant mental health programs.

The third and final recommendation for humanitarian organizations is to provide cultural awareness training to both international and local aid workers while continually monitoring the cultural relevance of these programs. Although international aid workers do get cultural awareness training in many instances, it is primarily done with a focus on to the majority culture they will serve. In cases where minority populations are involved, international aid workers must recognize the complexities of minority cultures. As the results indicated from my own work within the KRI, the local aid workers must also have cultural awareness training focused on the minority cultures. Without such training, the local aid workers would place their own culture upon the minority population without realizing that many of the cultural aspects are different. The cultural awareness training provided would be developed from the research completed in the first recommendation. This would ensure that the information provided is accurate and up to date.

With developing new programs and implementing new cultural aspects into these programs, comes the organizations' responsibility to monitor the cultural relevance of its programs. Obtaining insight from individuals within the target population as well as aid workers in the field would help organizations understand how programs are working, if improvements should be made, and if the program's goals are being met. This would give the humanitarian organizations multiple perspectives about their services and how they could possibly alter the programs before it is too late. Instead of just knowing the cultural differences between the minority populations

and other populations, which is not advantageous according to Weine (2001), these monitoring programs would allow differences to be discovered and organizations would be able to modify their programs with the minority culture in mind. This should be done even after providing the cultural awareness training mentioned above to acquire information about how effective the training was and if it is being implemented. This process is recommended by the IASC guidelines as well.

Conclusion

As discussed above, research has indicated that most humanitarian organizations do not implement culturally relevant aspects into their programs for minority populations. This chapter further supports the importance of humanitarian organizations implementing cultural relevance into their programs, especially in regions where the humanitarian crises are long term. This will not only benefit the displaced minority populations by reducing perceived discrimination and providing improved services, but the host region as well. This will occur by reducing instances of violent extremism caused by feelings of discrimination, loss, and being an outcast. To accomplish this, humanitarian organizations must direct their resources toward a research team that can conduct in-depth studies involving both individuals within the minority populations as well as international and local aid workers. A mixed-methods approach would best determine what programs are not connecting with the minority populations and what details of the minority culture should be included. Once the programs have been altered to adhere to the minority population's culture, it is essential for the researchers to continue their field research to monitor how well the cultural changes are working within the local population. This gives insight into what is and is not successful, so further changes can be made. Although this task may seem daunting, the outcome would be much more desirable than ignoring the intricacies of native populations by neglecting much-needed research.

Cultural relevance is also needed at the organizational aid workers' level among both international and local aid workers through research-based cultural awareness training focused on minority populations. Although the international humanitarian guidelines often advise that the inclusion of local aid workers within humanitarian programs is sufficient in providing culturally—relevant programs, previous research suggests this is not the case. In fact, the opposite may be true. Local aid workers may apply their own culture and beliefs onto the local minority populations, which could further perpetuate and increase the perceived discrimination among the minority populations. This would, in turn, decrease the trust and rapport between target populations and aid workers, as well as increase these populations' sense of loss and displacement. These issues have been suggested to increase violent extremism. By having culturally relevant humanitarian programs, these aspects would decrease which could lead to improved peace building within the populations and the regions in which these organizations are working.

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Traditional Methods of Promoting Peace in Southeast Nigeria

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Introduction

In African settings, mechanisms are put in place within society to ensure that its members conform to its norms and values. The cultural and religious practices of a group of people have significant bearing on their behavior and peaceful coexistence. Acts that can breach peace are abhorred while peace is entrenched in most African cultures through various methods of promoting peace. This chapter centers on Nigeria, which is known for its multicultural, multilingual, multiethnic diversity. We focus mainly on the Igbo ethnic group in southeast Nigeria.

Nigeria is a pluralistic nation, and it prides itself as a nation with vast mineral and human resources. Nonetheless, competition over resources is one of the immediate and/or remote causes of crises among various ethnic groups. Some crises within the Nigerian traditional context are resolved through conventional methods such as adjudication, and some are resolved through unconventional (traditional) approaches to conflict resolution. Different ethnic groups in Nigeria have ways through which they promote peace and ameliorate conflict in the family and the community. In this chapter, we, first, discuss three disciplinary perspectives used in peace promotion. Then, we examine multiple traditional approaches to peace promotion used in southeast Nigeria.

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Disciplinary Perspectives on Peace

Cognitive Psychology

Cognitive psychology with its empirical work on thinking and the operations of the mind provides a framework for understanding peace. We apply cognitive psychology in relation to the mind, meaning making, and the role of insight in conflict analysis and resolution. When people encounter information, they interpret the information within the context of their past experiences. This means that human perceptions are generally subjective. For example, people who grow up in cultures where mothers carry babies on their back are more likely to understand this practice than those in cultures where babies are usually carried in strollers. More technically, cognitive psychology has shown that humans develop schemas that guide their thinking and responses to stimuli they encounter (Klausemeier & Prayer, 1970; Kool, 2008; Stagner, 1965).

Schemas are mental frameworks we develop from experiences and which we use for interpreting new information. Cognitive psychologists have found that use of schemas in interpreting new information usually occurs automatically without conscious effort (Fiske, 2002). The way we perceive and interpret information depends on our previous experiences. This cognitive framework can be used to understand how specific individuals or groups choose to resolve conflict and promote peace (Njoku, 2011). In the Nigerian context, certain indigenous methods of promoting peace are commonly practiced. Some of these methods are associated with traditional religious practices and some with local practices in specific communities. We believe that the schemas people have developed about peace promotion contribute to effectiveness of their traditional methods.

Cultural Psychology

In the past, some researchers had proposed universal laws that govern our behavior. In more recent times, however, cultural psychologists have found that behavior and mental processes are interconnected with culture in systematic but complex patterns (Shweder, 1991). In a never-ending cycle, people shape culture and culture shapes people. Research in cultural psychology has shown that values, logical reasoning, and cognitive and motivational processes are contingent on context, and, as such, much variation is seen across cultures (Henrich, Heine, & Norenzayan, 2010). We agree with Shweder (1991) that the psyche and culture are reciprocally constructed and inextricable. We equally believe that culturally shaped mental maps guide our organization and understanding of our social world (Fryberg & Markus, 2007). We therefore perceive the traditional practices in areas of Nigeria as specific approaches that are consistent with the needs and experiences of the specific indigenes and residents in different regions of the country.

Psycholinguistics

Psycholinguistics is also helpful for the purpose of understanding the role of the traditional methods of peace promotion in different places. Psycholinguistics is the study of the mental components of language and speech (Menn, 2016). It focuses on the way the brain processes and represents language. Psycholinguistics, as part of cognitive psychology, can help in explaining the language of different places/regions and how language shapes the traditional peace promotion methods in particular places. In the southeast Nigerian context, we encounter the use of both verbal and non-verbal language in peace promotion.

Traditional Methods of Peace Promotion

The inevitability of crisis makes peace promotion a vital discourse. According to the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies (IFRC, 2011), the promotion of a culture of non-violence and peace is not just about the absence of war. It is about creating and enabling environment for dialogue and discussion, and finding solutions to problems and tensions, without fear of violence, through a process in which everyone is valued and able to participate. This is the hallmark of the indigenous approaches to peace promotion which this chapter is devoted to. Traditional methods of promoting peace seek to maintain an environment that facilitates dialogue in the midst of palpable tensions by ensuring that parties in conflict are given fair hearing while explicitly indicating/stating possible consequences for not giving peace promotion a chance. There are several indigenous approaches to peace promotion employed in Nigeria. They include but not limited to oath taking, swearing, the use of fines/sanctions, elders acting as arbiters, umuada (women groups), age-group institutions, etc. We now review these approaches as used in southeast Nigeria.

Traditional Methods of Promoting Peace in Southeast Nigeria

In the Igbo society (Southeast Nigeria), the ultimate goal of conflict resolution is to restore the harmonious status quo ante between conflicting parties. Restoring this status quo implicates the resolution of the matter at issue as well as the removal of suspicion and distrust. The Igbo say that when two relations are eating in the darkness, there is no need to bring in a taper (*Nwanne na nwanne libe nni n'ochichi, fa a na-amunyero oku*). It is also an axiom among the Igbo that when two people are engaged in a quarrel, it is the duty and right of a third person (a relation or any person of goodwill, particularly an elder) to intervene in order to help resolve the conflict. As a part of the rites of accession to Igbo high titles, the title candidate has to swear

that he would never see two persons in a conflict and pass by unconcerned. He also swears to tell the truth without fear or favor.

When there is a dispute between two persons, their relations and very close associates regard it as their right and duty to intervene and help resolve it. This position extends even to intra-family disputes. It is an age-old custom of the Igbo that an accused person shall state his case before judgment is given. Judgment is not given by hearing one side only, and when the due process is followed, no party feels oppressed or cheated.

Elders and Promotion of Peace

There is great reverence for age in the Igbo society, as well as in other Nigerian ethnic groups. When there is a conflict, the elders are expected and enjoined by tradition to tell the whole truth as they know it, no matter whose "ox is gored." Any decision or action they take must be based on the truth.

For example, in Igbo society, an aggrieved person begins by reporting the matter to the eldest person in the family, group, or community. He presents some kola nuts. The elder will then call a meeting of the elders (elders' council). The elders set a date for a hearing and send an emissary to invite the other party, the defendant. Both sides are given ample opportunity to state and explain themselves. The Council produces the decision together, but the oldest person pronounces the judgment. Thereafter, the decision is enforced and protected by the family, group, or community. It is important that the relations of both parties are present at the time of the judgment and are taken to be parties to it. So, even if a person has lost the case, the feeling is cushioned by the presence of his relations (i.e., *ikpe umunna so kpe*). This method could be compared to "trial by jury" (of one's peers), which became part of the English judicial system in the thirteenth century. This position of the elders among the Igbo of Nigeria is in synchrony with the following observation of Oluwabamide (2003):

> The announcers of decisions are always prominent personalities at councils or trials. They are usually men of good address and of a sound knowledge of the customary procedure. They are commonly the holders of the senior ofo. A man of outstanding wealth might in any group attain for himself a measure of chieftainship, if he is able and generous. The group of titled people dares the richest men in the community. They take prominent part in control of the community. They include in their ranks the heads of the most important extended families. They are, in some communities, the principal judges and principal executive officers, who enjoy numerous privileges. (p. 114)

Political Organizations and Promotion of Peace

The principal political organization, among the Igbo, is the *umunna*, the agnates, comprising a number of families and extended families with a common or related ancestry. A number of *umunna* comprise the village, also supposed to be linked by

a common ancestry. Every *umunna* guards its internal harmony and solidarity as well as its corporate image. It is a very important factor in social interaction and cohesion. The Igbo, as a whole, have a great respect for age. The oldest male in a family or family group heads the unit and holds the *ofo* (ritual staff) of the group. In many cases, he equally is the chief priest of the family or the village earth shrine, which is probably the most potent force in the establishment and maintenance of social order in the Igbo culture. In very serious cases, conflicting parties may be asked to go before the appropriate earth shrine and protest their innocence or be purified of their guilt.

A number of villages comprise a town which is the best-known political unit in the Igbo system. Traditionally, the Igbo have a few places with centralized authority at Agbor, Onitsha, Aguleri, Nri, Uguta, and Arochukwu. In the other places, the headship of the town derives from a rotational arrangement among the villages, village groups, and family groups. It is interesting that Igbo villages go to their town meetings primarily as members of their villages in the same way as family groups go to their village meetings as members of their family groups. Each of the units—family groups and village groups—insists on having its voice heard as the voice of their group. This is the famed Igbo republicanism.

Where a number of towns have a historical, cultural, or mythical link, they constitute a clan. The unity among the constituent members of a clan reflects in their customary, cultural, and dialectal closeness and homogeneity, which are sometimes cherished by the Igbo more than the political authority of the towns. In the Igbo, traditionally, unwritten political arrangements and customs are the main mechanisms of social order. A custom in breach has a built-in mechanism of imposing sanctions or extracting reparations. The elders are the guardians of norms and wrongs, and provide the traditional system of restoring equilibrium.

Social Organizations and Promotion of Peace

Among social organizations, which are very strong in the Igbo socio-political arrangement, are the age-group organizations, the classificatory sisters, the classificatory co-wives, agnates and cognates, title groups, and the marriage lines.

Ogbo/Ogba *(Age Group/Set)*

The Igbo generally regard persons born around the same important event or within a locally specified period (generally 2–3 years) as sharing a common mystical bond. Such united persons are called members of an age group. The community, at a certain time, bestows a name on every age grade (*ogbo/ogba*). There are thus such names as *Ogbo Agha* German—those born during the Second World War; *Ogbo Fluenza*—those born during the 1918 Influenza Epidemic; *Ogbo Eklus*, in the year

of the Total Eclipse of the Sun on Wednesday, May 20, 1947; *Ogba Igwe*—those who were the first to ride bicycles in their communities; and *Ogba Udo*—peace makers.

The progress of individual members of an age group is monitored by the society (as is done for members of a class in the modern school system). Each age group usually decides and acts to contribute something to the good of their community. Age groups become instruments of social order, solidarity, and action. Age sets are usually assigned specific duties in the government and functioning of the communities. Age-set organization provides the mechanism for extending relationships from the narrow confines of the patrilineage to the wider society. Apart from serving as mechanisms for extending putative kingship relations, these organizations provide useful mechanisms for social control. For example, to avoid jeopardizing their amicable relationships, age sets are neither allowed to have sex relations with one another's wife nor take one another's daughter as a wife.

Umu-ada/Umu-okpu *(Classificatory Sisters)*

Even though the Igbo are predominantly patriarchal, they have specific roles and deep respect for their women's social organizations. The *umu-ada* or classificatory sisters are probably the most powerful Igbo organ for conflict resolution. They bond themselves into an association usually named after the village of their birth, e.g., Umuada Ogwofia of Ogwofla Autonomous Community in Ezeagu LGA of the Enugu State. They step in to resolve, even the most intractable conflicts, and no wise leaders or elders dare disobey them. The conflicts, which the *umu-ada* step in to resolve, include the following: (a) intra-family disputes, where they threaten the peace and solidarity of the family, the family groups, the village, and the community; (b) boundary disputes, non-conformity with the norms of the village or the community; and (c) breach of peace and of customs.

Umu-nwunye-di/Otu-nwunye-di/Umu-inyom/Ikporo Ogbe *(Classificatory Co-wives)*

All women married into the families in a village are customarily regarded and respected as having a common husband and are called *umu-nwunye-di*. These classificatory co-wives bond themselves into an association usually named after the village or the family of their marriage. They work hard and are fierce protectors of women against matrimonial maltreatment. They are also agents for peace and the resolution of conflicts within the family and the village. They devise or maintain a basket of sanctions and punitive measures, which they impose on the guilty in a conflict.

When a communal problem has become intractable and, as a consequence, an even greater disaster looms, the women band themselves together into a peace march, customarily called *ishue elimagwo* in Imezi-Owa in Ezeagu LGA of the Enugu State, at a time and day appointed by them. They tie some creepers around their waists, their trunks almost bare but painted with cam wood, and march to the compounds of the important factors in the problem, where they could freely defecate. Everybody runs behind closed doors for it is customarily believed that none who meets and looks at them in such a state of emotion and dress will live. In all known cases, where this rare and most stringent measure had been taken, the conflict was stopped in its tracks, and peace was returned and prevailed.

When peace is in maintenance, the *umu-nwunye-di* have music and dance groups, and they function during festivals and ceremonies. Very often, they are mini cooperative groups, bringing a certain level of economic and social development to the village. Consequently, they attract respect and goodwill.

lkwu Nne/Ibe-nne/Umere-nne *(Agnates)*

In the Igbo system, children of a marriage union have freedom of action tantamount to immunity in the village of their mothers. They are regularly called home from wherever they live to participate in the resolution of problems and conflicts. Their views are respected since they are known to speak or act without fear or favor. This right of intervention, which is guaranteed by customs and traditions, crosses the gender line and is applicable to males and females alike. A person's public esteem in the community is diminished if she or he has done nothing to intervene and resolve a conflict raging in his *ikwu nne/ibe-nne/umere-nne.*

Umunna

The Igbo social system is patriarchal and a lot of authority and power reside in the *umunna*. The *ofo* is domiciled in the local community, and customary power over communal lands is usually vested in an elder in the *umunna*. More importantly, members of the Council of Elders are drawn from the *umunna*. Primogeniture, which prevails among the Igbo ensures that seniority is based on age. When there is an altercation or dispute, it is reported to the head of the *umunna (diokpala),* who enacts the machinery for its resolution as stated supra. The *umunna* is one of the important republics in dealing with town affairs. When a town or a community council is summoned, individuals from an *umunna* attend and speak as voices of their respective *umunna*. This ensures that any decision taken has broad-based, support. Consequently, a conflict resolved at the Council brings everybody and every section of the community along with it.

Marriage Lines

Traditionally, Igbo people marry or give out their children in marriage along the business or other social lines already explored by the elders, who then give testimony about the pedigree (*agbo*) of both parties in the projected marriage. In olden times, when special markets (e.g., markets for specialized products like pots and goats) were few and far between, people made friends in the communities on the routes they traveled. They stored whatever they were carrying with their friends and returned for them later. In this way, friendship supported business. From that, marriages often sprang up. If there was any conflict in any community on a trade route, all the friends had a stake in resolving it and all contributed.

In the course of human history, marriages have been used as instruments of constructive diplomacy, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when secular things, dressed in religious themes, were tearing Europe into warring countries and regions. Austria, which was at the head of the Holy Roman Empire, regularly proclaimed to her peoples, "Let others wage war but you ye lucky Austrians marry." They even had an acronym made out of the five vowels of the English and Romance languages: AEIOU stood for Austria Est Imperare Orbis Universae, which means "Austria is to rule the world." Marriage took the Austrians into the dynasties of England, France, Spain, Portugal, and other powerful countries. This helped secure peace for her people and brokered peace among the warring powers of Europe.

Marriage lines have also been important lines of cultural diplomacy in Igboland. In the past, potentates or other powerful people married into the families of other potentates or potential rivals. This helped stabilize emotions and secure peace among the different peoples. Marriage lines are still very important factors of cultural diplomacy in the Igbo society. The following Igbo proverbs underscore this point: (a) *Ogo bu chi onye*—One's in-law is one's personal god; and (b) *Ogo eyighu ogo, n 'ogo a naghu*—Until one has buried one's in-law, the marriage relationship subsists.

Of course, when there is offspring from the marriage, the relationship can last beyond a lifetime into new generations, with the children and their children's children carrying the rights and obligations of having their *ikwunne* and their *ikwunna*, which the communities and families use effectively to douse or resolve conflicts.

Title Groups

Title groups such as *Ozo, Nze, Oba,* and *Ichie* are generally honorific. Freeborn members of a community can accede to these titles if they have attained some level of property and enough money/ownership to pay for the various accession fees. Titled persons are well organized and have the ability to do something effective and good for their communities. Indeed, it was people like them, though they were not educated, that led development agents into rural Igbo communities. The achievement-oriented spirit of the average Igbo person guarantees the continued existence of titles. Everyone hopes to accede to the titles sometime, someday. When peace is

under threat or in breach, titled members, with their strong connections to the economic base, can work for the good of the community by identifying proposed actions designed to lay a conflict to rest.

Mechanisms of Conflict Resolution

In traditional Igbo society, which had no statutes, customs, and tradition were the principal mechanisms for social order. Part of the traditional education of Igbo children was knowledge of what to do and what to avoid, the reward of doing good, the consequences of violating the norms and values of the community, and how reparations are made in cases of breaches of custom. The following represents the predominant mechanisms of conflict resolution and peace promotion in southeast Nigeria.

Ighu Iyi *(Oath Taking)*

Some of the socio-religious rituals installed in the Igbo mechanism of conflict resolution include oath taking. The animist religion of the Igbo implies that there is a life-force in every inanimate object just as there is in a living object. Swearing by an object is, under this system, invoking the life-force to witness. Since the life-force knows the true facts of the matter, it is dangerous to take a false oath because it would only be a matter of time before the powerful life-force strikes. When a matter is in strong dispute or contention, a resort may be made to oath taking. Each party swears to a deity that his own statements are right. Those who swear to it customarily make some small offering to the deity. If, after oathtaking, new facts arise or the parties agree to settle out of shrine, the religious priests can conduct a ceremony of abrogation of oaths (*ibubo iyi*).

The Igbo approach oath taking cautiously because no one is sure what the "Powers" will do in the end, not only to the contending parties but also to their dependants and relations. Although the elders might agree that the oath be sworn to, they prefer that humans handle the matter at issue. The most serious cases, especially those involving lives, are resolved by the dreaded *igba ndu* (blood oath/covenant) or *idu n'iyi/ighu maa* (summoning somebody to the shrine for oath taking). The cases that most often demand oath taking for resolution are claims and accusations, and serious defamation.

Igba Ndu/Iwa Ataka *(The Blood Oath/Covenant)*

The blood oath (*igba ndu*) or *iwa ataka* in Isu-Awa in Awgu LGA of Enugu State is dreaded and regarded as a last resort in extreme cases only. The parties consult the elders of the community and their relations. The consequences of a misdemeanor

can stretch beyond the parties to their relations. Where one of the parties fears for his life either through violence or the use of psychic powers, each of the parties swears that (a) "1 will not cause death or harm to the other person either by myself or through a proxy"; (b) "Nor will I see any danger lurking for him and be silent." The palm of each person is lacerated and each of the parties licks his own blood as well as that of the opposition. The affirmations are then repeated, and the ritual is over.

Iko Mmee *(Scooping up of Blood)*

After an armed conflict between two communities or where a man from one community has murdered a person from another community, the two communities usually engage in an oath cleansing ritual, which some parts of Igboland call *iko mmee* (literally, scooping up of blood). The philosophy is that bloodshed pollutes the earth and is abominable to the earth-force. So, after a conflict, the blood-soaked soil must be cleansed by scooping away the blood-sodden earth. The ceremony puts a seal on the peace agreement between the erstwhile warring parties. The ritual is not punitive because both parties (the victors and the vanquished, offenders and victims) fully participate. In some parts of Igboland, if this ritual is not performed after a war or in some cases where blood had been shed violently, it is taken that the conflict is not over and could erupt again.

*Divination (*Igba Afa/Ije N'Afa)

Among the Igbo, it is believed that every suffering or sickness is the effect of a wrongdoing somewhere in the cosmos. Therefore, to resolve the problem, people trace it to its cause through a system of reading the minds of the "Powers" called *igba afa* or *je n'afa* (divination). They also believe that some people can use their psychic powers to do evil to others. It is unfortunate that where there is such a problem, an individual may be accused of bringing about the evil through witchcraft. When such an accusation has been made, the suspicion can tear a relationship apart. Members of a family might refuse to eat any food cooked by or remotely associated with the accused person. It is in such a case (e.g., unexplained deaths in a family, malignant disease, or habitual failure of business or enterprise) that the family or the community decides to go to a diviner or seer (*dibia/dibie*), often outside the community, to trace the root of the problem. Although the diviner sometimes hits the nail on the head, he also discharges and acquits the main suspect in a case, sometimes tracing the problem to a wrongdoing in the distant past. To the animists, who believe that divination is a revelation from the "Powers," much bad blood is not left after the consultation, especially where the diviner is of high repute. As the diviner often prescribes a propitiatory offering or sacrifice, everybody is content to let the

matter die. Usually, once the offerings have been made, there are no bad feelings left. Divination is a mechanism of conflict resolution that is very much acceptable in the animist Igbo society.

Mmanwu/Mawu/Mmuo *(Spirit Manifests)*

Mmamwu, mawu, or *mmuo* is a widely accepted manifest spirit in Igbo socio-cultural life, often seen in music, dance, song, entertainment, social control, and community mobilization or exhibition gallery (e.g., the *ijele*). Regardless of its specific role or character in Igbo culture, there is an underlying principle to which every Igbo person is meant to subscribe. The fathers and founders of Igbo culture taught that *mmanwu/mawu/mmuo* is a manifestation of a disembodied spirit (e.g., like a dead person, a deity, or a power) which comes from the land of the spirits and, after due rituals, emerges from an ant hole to interact with the living in the land of humans (Emeka, 1991, 1993; Enekwe, 1987; Okafor, 1992, 1996). It is in this spirit-rooted philosophy that the importance or significance of *mmuo/mmanwu/mawu* lies.

Since *mmanwu* is spirit, everything it does or does not do is an action or non-action of the spirits. The result of an Igbo person openly denouncing this doctrine can result in pain and severe sanctions, including death. Igbo customs have applied the doctrine of *mmanwu* to some very important situations outside entertainment. They have granted *mmamvu* a virtual immunity. Therefore, whatever harm (physical or non-material) that *mmanwu* may cause one, one must not retaliate. For any retaliation or hint of retaliation is tantamount to desecration of *mmanwu* or denouncing its spirit nature. Some village communities have invoked the most powerful *mmanwu* in their localities, that is, those with magico-psychic powers to intervene in and settle or decide on a malignant issue or dispute. When they appear and pronounce on the matter, everyone submits, for to do otherwise would tantamount to *ita/ika mmanwu/mawu*. This is what happens in Chinua Achebe's Things Fall Apart in the case between Uzowulu and his wife Mgbafo. The *Egwugwu* masquerade settled the matter:

> Evil Forest began to speak and all the while he spoke everyone was silent. The eight other *egwugwu* were as still as statues.
>
> "We have heard both sides of the case," said Evil Forest. "Our duty is not to blame this man or to praise that, but to settle the dispute." He turned to Uzowulu's group and allowed a short pause.
>
> "Uzowulu's body, I salute you," he said.
>
> "Our father, my hand has touched the ground," replied Uzowulu, touching the earth. "Uzowulu's body, do you know me?"
>
> "How can I know you, father? You are beyond our knowledge," Uzowulu replied.
>
> "I am Evil Forest. I kill a man on the day that his life is sweetest to him."
>
> "That is true," replied Uzowulu.
>
> "Go to your in-laws with a pot of wine and beg your wife to return to you. It is not bravery when a man fights with a woman." He turned to Odukwe, and allowed a brief pause.
>
> "Odukwe's body, I greet you," he said.
>
> "My hand is on the ground," replied Okukwe.

"Do you know me?"

"No man can know you," replied Odukwe.

"I am Evil Forest, I am Dry-meat-that-fills-the-mouth, I am Fire-that-burns-without-faggots. If your in-law brings wine to you, let your sister go with him. I salute you." He pulled his staff from the hard earth and thrust it back.

"Umuofia kwenu!" he roared, and the crowd answered.

This was the end of the matter. Nobody disputed the verdict of the *Egwugwu* masquerade.

In general, the Igbo regard the construction of the post-conflict environment just as important as resolving the conflict itself. Therefore, the end of a conflict or crisis in a community includes concomitant celebrations, including music, dancing, feasting, and, of course, performances by spirit-manifestations in the community. The locals can then say that their happiness has reached the land of the spirits—which is the ultimate.

Ikpu Alu *(Cleansing Ritual/Propitiation)*

When a person has breached a customary taboo in the Igbo traditional community, he is taken to have offended the earth shrine, which, in the Igbo system, is less powerful than the Great God (*Chukwu*). The taboos are classified into *alu* (abomination) and *nso ani/ala* (sacrilege against the earth-force). The person who has breached such taboo customarily excludes himself from some of the rights and privileges in the community until he is cleansed through the ritual of *ikpu alu* conducted by the priests from Nri. Okafor (1994) states:

> In the case of alu, propitiation can be very demanding. it usually includes cleansing rites performed by Nri priests, or priests of the principal Eri clans, or sometimes by priests from Arochukwu. One ritual requires a goat to be dragged along village paths prior to killing or throwing it into the evil forest (njom or ajo ofia); this has given the cleansing rites the appellation ikpu alu ('dragging an abomination') (p. 109).

The cleansing ritual is meant to have set the minds of the "Powers" at ease. And so, there should be no hangover or carryover by humans. The stigma attached to the breach of the taboo lasts only till the propitiatory ritual is done. Nobody likes to be a habitual performer of the cleansing ritual and, therefore, the ritual restores the equilibrium and checks future behavior as well. Some of the taboos that invoke the cleansing ritual include such as making overtures to a family wife (*nwunye uno*), that is, the wife of a father, grandfather, or any close relation; making love overtures or having intimate discussions with a daughter of the family group or of the community within the degrees of kindred in which marriage is forbidden; making overtures to any other person's housewife in the community. Incest is a sacrilege (*nso ani*) and demands more extensive ritual or propitiation since it involves a blood relation. The following are also regarded as *nso ani* desecration of a spirit-manifest (*ika/ita mmanwu/mawu*); stealing effigies from a shrine (*izu umu alushi*); and cold-blooded murder (*igbu ochu*).

Distrainer

If a person commits a misdemeanor in an Igbo community, it is customary for a fine to be imposed on him or her as a way of making reparations. In some cases, ostracism (*ilifu madu, iwupu madu, isupu madu, itochi madu*) was decreed against the offender. If the person pays the fine, the matter is allowed to stop at that—he has made peace with the community. But, if the offender is recalcitrant or is evading opportunities to make contact with the community and will not pay the fine, the elders of the community can levy distraint (*ida nha/ida nra/ili oshi/ize iwu*) upon him. On the appointed day, the youths of the community surge to the offender's compound singing action chants. On getting to the compound, they can seize any property, which the man could redeem upon the payment of the fine. The youths can also seize stray animals from the neighboring compounds, and it is obligatory on the offender to pay for their redemption and return to the owner.

Eating Together (Commensality)

The Igbo use what they eat and what they drink not only for maintaining life and good health but also for the expression of the innermost feeling of love and hate. Therefore, just as hospitality in Igboland is partly social and partly spiritual, so is the sharing of kola nuts, the drinking of palm wine, the eating of coconut, and eating any meal from the culinary science of the Igbo. When there is a conflict, there is no room for eating together or for drinking together (commensality). However, after the conflict, as a process of conflict resolution or of putting a seal on the peace terms, a lot of kola nuts and food and drinks are shared by the erstwhile contending parties to symbolize the restoration of fraternal relationship. Both parties contribute in cash and in kind (Anigbo, 1987).

Meetings

Traditional lgboland has no absolute authority. Even in the few areas with centralized authority, there are various built-in mechanisms for consultation, discussion, and collective decision-making. Many Igbo communities have in this regard skillfully separated the traditional stool from the office of the chief priest. Under this arrangement, meetings are inevitable. The elders, the families, the women's groups, the age-grades, the youths, and the guilds fix their own times and set their own procedures for meetings. Every member's right of speech is guaranteed. Every person attends the meeting and contributes to the deliberations both in his own right as a member and as a member of a family group or quarters. These regular meetings

ensure an easy flow of information between and among the people. They also enable the people to sense and, if possible, preempt brewing problems, and be participants in proactive or preventive action. Attendance at these meetings is mandatory for members. There are various degrees of sanction imposed on a person who fails to attend without permission. However, the members use their commonsense to decide on the merits of the matter. The meetings serve multiple purposes—social, cultural, political, and economic. The meetings provide a mechanism for keeping all the units together and for creating a conducive environment for the resolution of conflicts and promotion of the welfare of members. They can deliberate on any matter, but, when it is time for action, they know the limits of their ability and they deliberate on the obstacles to achieving their common goal and the manner of overcoming those obstacles.

Reparations

The Igbo take the victim, the offender, and the community into consideration in disposing of matters of reparations. Their philosophy is that where, for example, Okoye has stolen Okeke's yams, he has wronged Okeke by so doing. Nevertheless, and more importantly, he has offended against the whole community by implying that the community is a thieving one. Therefore, when Okoye has paid in cash or kind to Okeke for stealing his property, a portion is left for the victim, Okeke, while another portion is retained by the community and shared or kept in a pool.

The same principle is followed in a case of false accusation. The false accuser pays a fine for *bom bofie* (false accusation), a portion of which goes to the falsely accused and the other portion to the community. The false accuser does not partake in benefiting from the fine. On the other hand, neither the accuser nor the accused can proceed against the other again in the matter once it is regarded as closed by the community. Peace has been restored and guaranteed by the community, which continues to monitor the post-conflict situation.

Sanction/Fine as a Means of Promoting Peace

The fourth author had a series of experiences in which the consciousness of being sanctioned/fined served as a guide to appropriate behavior. For instance, when individuals become confrontational, they are reminded of the fine that Eke Obinagu villagers in Enugu State of Nigeria can impose on them for breach of peace in the neighborhood. It appears that the sanction/fine serves as a powerful tool that prevents violence from erupting within the community. The implication of this is that verbal aggression between parties in conflict rarely results in physical aggression among

inhabitants of Eke Obinagu in Enugu State. This is a major strength in using the traditional method of promoting peace among dwellers of Eke Obinagu, Enugu State. A barrier to the use of this approach is favoritism as a way of settling scores.

Case Sample: *Umuada* Orba

Umuada Orba plays a profound role in ensuring peace among the Orba people in Enugu North senatorial district of the Enugu State. The *umuada* Orba is comprised of women drawn from the seven clans of Orba. The members of *umuada* represent other indigenous women/daughters in their clan and report to them on decisions taken at the apex. *Umuada* Orba are highly recognized, respected, and feared, and no one would like to contend with them on any issue.

The Process of Peace Promotion by Umuada *Orba*

When there is an intra-family, inter-family, inter-person, or inter-group misunder-standing, the aggrieved reports to *Umuada* Orba with kola nuts and gallons of palm wine or cartons of beer or nonalcoholic drinks that he considers appropriate. The *Umuada* Orba then invites the party that was reported through their messenger called ori. The duty of the messenger is to inform the party that a case was brought against him/her before the *Umuada* Orba. The person is expected to appear before the *Umuada* Orba with the palm wine or cartons of beer or nonalcoholic drinks on a particular date. The party in conflict is also expected to honor the invitation with the exact amount of items brought by the aggrieved person. At an appointed time, both parties explain the reasons for the misunderstanding, after which they are excused from the group. The *Umuada* Orba deliberate on the case and pass their judgment. The judgment is made known to the parties in conflict. The party found guilty is required to pay in cash the entire amount spent on drinks by the other party in conflict. They are advised to maintain peace and ways for achieving peace are suggested to the parties in conflict.

In extreme cases such as threat to life, conflicting parties are instructed to engage in a covenant called *igba ndu*. The *Umuada* Orba ensures that their instructions are fully obeyed. The *Umuada* at the grassroots level are expected to monitor the parties and report the progress of the peace building to the *Umuada* Orba through their representatives. In situations where the parties flout convention or take a non-conformist disposition, the *Umuada* Orba summon the entire *umuada* in the seven clans and march to the person's house while singing and wailing. They usually carry green leaves with which they use to liter the compound of the deviant. The person is expected to appease them and amend his ways, but if still adamant, the *Umuada* Orba will then report to the Council of elders who can ostracize the recalcitrant party in conflict. *Umuada* Orba always give its unanimous verdict after much deliberation, and it is generally considered to be fair and sacred.

Conclusion

We have summarized the traditional methods for promoting peace and resolving conflict in the Igbo ethnic group in southeast Nigeria. We use the perspectives of linguistics, and cognitive psychology, and cultural psychology, emphasizing, respectively, examination of local and historical language practices, individual belief and behavioral schemas, and local shared beliefs and traditions and sub-group structure in Igbo society. Examples of traditional mechanisms or institutions for peace include oath taking, swearing, the use of fines/sanctions, elders acting as arbiters, *umuada* (women groups), and age-group institutions.

Some/many of the practices identified here may generalize to other contexts, but they will take on different forms and instantiations. The findings provided are relevant for theory, but that theory will need to be contextualized and particularized. For those attempting to promote peace in different regions and places, we recommend that they always first attempt to deeply understand the traditional beliefs, practices, and approaches that are already available to work with. This will require extensive participation by diverse community members and multiple community leaders which, taken together, represent a complex but interrelated social/political/cultural network (Jason et al., 2004). Attempts at peace promotion must start with a deep understanding and respect for current ethnographic realities. "Outside approaches" can also be helpful, but they will have much to overcome until they are tailored to "the local."

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Forgiving, Reconciling, and Peace-Building in Refugee Contexts: Theory, Research, and Data from the War in Syria

Raymond F. Paloutzian and Zeynep Sagir

Introduction

I will let you be in my dreams if I can be in yours.

—Bob Dylan

There are two broad categories of ethics that can function as general orientations for how to confront the myriad factors that affect the probability of war—ranging from large national military and diplomatic affairs to single acts of individuals such as who to vote for in an election—that can guide the necessary decision-making. These two orientations are the ethics of conviction and the ethics of responsibility (Weber, 1946). A person whose choices are based singularly on the conviction of an ethical ideal will make a decision based only on that abstract principle. This orientation sounds noble, but it connotes inability or unwillingness to compromise. As a consequence, taking even small steps toward a higher or more important purpose can be hampered. Thus, requiring pure adherence to one principle to the exclusion of others may inhibit achieving the larger goal. In contrast, a person whose acts are based on more pragmatic considerations makes decisions in light of responsibilities more immediate to the circumstance at hand, and may therefore momentarily set

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aside an abstract ideal or justifiably perceived goal but in doing so may better serve an important larger purpose. In this latter case, temporarily setting aside pure adherence to an ideal is not weakness, but strength.

The above considerations apply to peace-building at the personal, group, and international levels. We apply the argument illustrated above to the context of war and refugees, with special focus on the relationships between forgiveness (often seen as a pure ideal, and sometimes accompanied by social pressure to forgive), reconciliation (understood as a behavior), and truth. The oft-stated assumption that for reconciliation to occur forgiveness must come first might be turned on its head. Psychologically, it may be that truth has the better odds of serving as an anchor for reconciliation (Gibson, 2006), if not immediately then certainly in the long course of future human evolution. In either case, depending on people's degree of trauma and emotional proclivities, forgiveness may at times be an outcome.

However, conflicts and their effects, such as those suffered by war refugees, are sufficiently complicated that trauma and emotional tendencies are unlikely to produce affective or behavioral outcomes in a direct way. Their effects depend on interactions with other factors, a few of which we examine in the present study. This chapter explores the theory and research underpinning these ideas with special attention to their application to the views and acculturation tendencies of refugees from the war in Syria that began in 2011 and continues to this day.

A Roadmap in Theory: Forgiving, Reconciling, Group Identity

In order to explore the degree to which the above ideas might realistically apply to a case of still-active conflict in which the wounds are recent and raw, let us clarify two points about its theoretical underpinnings: First, our model assumes that four things are essential for peace and reconciliation to occur: (1) Both sides of a conflict must want it; (2) truth, honesty, and transparency must, as much as possible, be displayed on all matters by all sides; (3) the reality of the circumstances must make it possible; and, (4) initial reconciliatory behaviors must be performed, reinforced, and built upon. If these four elements are in place, forgiveness may occur.

The above model involves the more pragmatic decision to reconcile based on truth supported by agreed upon steps and protections, without expecting either party to express forgiveness or feel positive toward the other. However, in the case of refugees, who have fled their home country in order to stay alive and are thus residing in a new host country not by free choice, declaring anything directly to the perpetrators is not possible. More immediate is their task of acculturating to a new environment in a way that is livable. Our model, which suggests a greater probability of harmony than expecting people to first forgive so that they might later behave kindly

toward each other, is an ideal for which we can hope, and work (see Marko, 2017, for an example following the 1990s war in Kosovo).

Second, we draw from theory on how humans evolved with an in-group bias, how principles from social psychology suggest that the traditional ordering of forgiving followed by reconciling should be reversed, and how people's perceptions of their in-group must change—initially in mutually integrative steps and as humans continue to evolve. Individuals and groups need to develop a tendency toward reconciliatory behavior combined with foregoing revenge, whether or not people feel forgiving. When we oppose each other, we face this behavioral test of our willingness, capability, and collective efforts to evolve positive peace.

For humans to evolve the ideals noted above will take a long time, as indicated by two sources of psychological knowledge that suggest that humans come with a "built in" in-group bias. First, evolutionary forces produced an in-group bias tied to kinship (Dunbar & Barrett, 2007; Silk, 2007). When faced with the option of doing a good deed for a member of one's own group or another group, primates including humans tend to favor the in-group member. For example, non-human primates sometimes share food, jointly protect territory, and lick another's wound clean (Silk, 2007). Similarly, an out-group member is automatically less likely to be trusted or receive altruism, and more likely to be degraded or perceived as a threat. Second, classic social psychological research on the *minimal group effect* shows that within and across cultures, people favor the in-group (Tajfel, 1981; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). This occurs even when they do not know any individual in either their own or the other group, and even though the people were assigned to groups randomly. In general, when people perceive themselves to be in separate categories, there is an automatic tendency for that sense of separateness to prompt them to interact with those who are unlike them differently.

When we extrapolate this idea and apply it to the issue of what facilitates war, the historical record is clear: Extreme forms of in-group bias, such as nationalism and ethno-national exceptionalism, were major factors that helped trigger catastrophes in the history of both the ancient and modern world—e.g., the Peloponnesian war between Athens and Sparta (Hanson, 2005; Thucydides, 431 BCE/1988/1998), and World War 1 (White, 1970). Manifestations of nationalistic in-group bias are apparent in current intra-national and international affairs.

The mere perception of separateness sets the stage for interpersonal or intergroup conflict, even when there is no real controversy to be conflictual about. But if merely placing people into separate groups by random chance can facilitate in-group bias and out-group prejudice, then any real-world barrier between individuals or groups with a history of hostility can have far greater negative effects. When the sense of separateness is given "value added" strength due to competition, conflict, or killing in the real world, people favor their own kind and tend to avoid the other—even when the others are innocent refugees escaping a war. The issue for us becomes how to get beyond the built in in-group bias, especially in the aftermath of real harm done. This issue would seem to reach an apex in refugees because they have experienced maximum, immediate, and life-changing suffering at the hands of their perpetrators.

Promoting positive peace involves how to foster people's perceptions of humans not as independent or in separate groups (whether nations, ethnicities, sexes or genders, nationalities, or language or geographical groups), but as integrated into one human group. This means evolving so that people acculturate for integration. In this way, people's identity can change from being rooted in a nation-state or an ethnic or linguistic category, to one of *integration and identification with all humanity* (Paloutzian, Shankar, & Luyten, 2014). Ideally, this process would reflect development of a psychological sense of community in the fullest sense (Jason, Stevens, & Ram, 2015; Sarason, 1974). Such a change follows the examples of Gandhi and Mandela (McFarland, Brown, & Webb, 2013). The approach includes pragmatic responsibility such that for people to live peacefully, individuals, groups, and nations must first learn, acknowledge, and accept whatever is true about past events, no matter how anger-inducing or guilt-laden it may be. They must also transparently and honestly incorporate that knowledge into who they are as individuals and as nations. Doing so makes it possible to first reconcile, and reconciling makes it possible to forgive and love the other.

Techniques that can help facilitate these ends include, but are not limited to, mentalization (i.e., the social-cognitive imaginative mental activity that enables us to perceive and interpret human behavior in terms of intentional mental states such as needs, desires, feelings, beliefs, and goals) from clinical psychology (Allen, Fonagy, & Bateman, 2008; Fonagy & Luyten, 2009); systematic dialogue processes from applied social and counseling-community psychology (Busse, Emme, & Gerut, 2010; Green, 2010; Tint, 2010); and teaching all people to perceive all humans as one group (Paloutzian et al., 2014). For example, Busse et al. (2010) first interviewed and then selected a group of grown children of Holocaust survivors and a group of grown children of Nazi leaders to meet face to face for one week of systematic dialogue sessions. Initially, they told their stories, explored parallels and differences among them, and reflected upon them. But after talking in the spirit of mutual collaboration, at length and in safety about their common humanity and the truth of all that happened, some of those initially on opposite sides not only forgave and reconciled, but became friends who kept close contact for many years.

Forgiveness and Reconciliation

Drawing upon the notions of ethics of conviction and of responsibility, forgiveness, and reconciliation—two important concepts often put together in the same sentence and considered critical to peace (Rutayisire, 2010; Tutu, 1999)—are distinct and analogous to the above two ethics in their emotional loadings. That is, just as compromising an ethical ideal for pragmatic movement toward a higher goal can evoke feelings for and against the decision to do so, thinking of reconciling without first forgiving may evoke feelings of confusion, betrayal, or guilt, especially if one has not first received apology or acknowledgement of the offense. Also, holding the ideal of forgiveness may be psychologically functional, but waiting for people to

forgive has not been effective for attaining peace. The study reported later in this chapter is illustrative.

Although many affects and purposes are psychologically valid in the context of war and refugees (e.g., revenge), it is reconciliatory behavior that constitutes the building blocks of the trust on which peace depends. However, peace and reconciliation are often said to rest upon a foundation of forgiveness (Tutu, 1999). But forgiveness is typically construed as a hybrid, or blend, of attitudinal and affective components—which means that a person's attitudes and feelings must change from fearful and revengeful to trusting and forgiving before peaceful and prosocial behaviors can be performed toward the perpetrator. However, a long history of social psychological research on the relations between attitudes and behaviors shows that unless certain contextual factors are in place, attitudinal variables are not strong predictors of behavior. But if a behavior is performed first, especially when not expected or without extrinsic motivation, attitudinal and affective change may follow (Albarracin, Johnson, & Zana, 2005). Thus, reconciling may facilitate forgiving. It is important to know what can facilitate reconciling.

Truth and Reconciliation

Exemplars Gandhi and Mandela promoted forgiving harm-doers even if they themselves may not have achieved the ideal of perfect forgiveness (Paloutzian et al., 2014). But the ideal of forgiving, especially those who killed your loved ones and erased large portions of your family from the earth, may be the most difficult thing that can be asked of a human being (Kalayjian & Paloutzian, 2010; McCullough, Bono, & Root, 2005; Paloutzian, 2010; Worthington et al., 2013). The evolutionarily rooted motivation to attack the attacker, which co-evolved with caring for the in-group member while holding the out-group member at a distance, is deep seated, visceral, and difficult to counter (Kruglanski & Webster, 1996; Mayes, 2000, 2006). Countering it would seem to be especially difficult if the perpetrator(s) do not admit that they did harm.[1] Even so, some evolutionary factors appear to have fostered less human conflict under certain circumstances. For example, McCullough (2008) argued that along with self-protective fighting and defensive behavior, a forgiveness instinct also evolved. "Reconciliation" is probably the more accurate (behavioral) concept that is implied. Thus, reconciling following conflict ought to be less difficult when the truth about who did what is placed openly on the table and accepted by all—dialogue all parties can understand what both sides did and did not do (Green, 2010; Tint, 2010). This was at the heart of South Africa's *Truth and Reconciliation Commission* (Bronkhorst, 1995; Gibson, 2006; Tutu, 1999) constituted following the Apartheid era—a process and outcome that, although not

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[1] As illustrated by the data reported below, refugee victims are hard pressed to be able to feel forgiving or want forgiveness attitudes or reconciliatory behavior with, let alone without, the perpetrators acknowledging their hostile acts and, ideally, being brought to justice for them.

perfect, is in many ways a model to the world. Notably, the name of the commission was Truth and Reconciliation, not Forgiveness and Reconciliation.

Long-term evolutionary processes are essential, but we greatly need near-term solutions. For this chapter, circumstances enabled us to explore a few questions that may be relevant to some near and long-term peace concerns. The issues involved how refugee acculturation tendency, trauma, time as a refugee, and attribution of blame are related to inclinations toward forgiveness, reconciliation, and revenge.

Literature and Research Questions

From Forgiveness to Reconciliation

Most forgiveness research has been done on individuals in context of psychological benefits to the victim. For real-world application, however, we must extrapolate from the research and apply it where reconciliation is needed at the individual and national levels (Christie, 2006; Christie, Tint, Wagner, & Winter, 2008; Christie & Montiel, 2013; Lederach, 1997; see Nadler, 2012, for overviews), in addition to advancing research (Bar-Tal, 2000).

Victims have attitudes, feelings, mental representations, and understand that the perpetrator(s) are people with motivations and goals (Paloutzian et al., 2014). But the ideal of forgiving, e.g., the teaching to *love your enemy*, where love is demonstrated via behavior, for "love without behavior is fluff" (Paloutzian, 2017, p. 210), is sufficiently lofty that it is rarely attained with respect to any real life, behavioral relationship with the perpetrator (Paloutzian, 2010). Thus, we need to step around the forgiveness ideal (although it may be wise to forgive oneself for not forgiving), and instead first reconcile behaviorally in a step-by-step way to the degree that victims wish, are willing, or are capable. Given the enormous amount of research in social psychology that documents that attitudes can follow behavior (Albarracin et al., 2005), we can hope that if people perform reconciliatory behavior, attitudinal processes such as forgiveness may follow. A research question, therefore, focuses on whether or to what degree refugees want to or feel capable of reconciling with, and thereby perhaps forgiving, those who did them harm.

Influential Factors

Factors that distinguish their former life as a citizen in Syria from their present life as a refugee in Turkey may be especially important in affecting the refugees' attitudes, feelings, and actions. First, for example, the nature and amount of trauma and its stress and grief aftermath may leave emotional scars at such a depth that one's feelings are frozen, no longer capable of changing by means of his or her own

strength. A simple hypothesis might be that under conditions of maximum, sustained trauma, refugees might show uniformly low forgiveness or reconciliation and high preference for retaliation. Second, the amount of time that has passed since an individual stepped across a border to become a refugee may be important. Might someone mellow with time in a new host country or, alternatively, might long-term unaddressed anger fester so that it negatively affects not only the refugee but also subsequent generations? Third, perhaps being a firm religious believer makes a difference. In a highly religious Muslim population such as Syrian refugees, the mean score on a 7-point rating scale in response to the question, "How important is religion in your life?" where 1 = "Very little" and 7 = "Very much," is 6.1 (Sagir, 2018). Does this highly religious stance, which includes believing that God is absolutely good, prompt goodwill that extends to the perpetrators? Fourth, highly religious people often attribute events to the deity. Most devout Syrian Muslim refugees believe that Allah oversees and guides events (Sagir, 2018). How do they relate to Allah with respect to this war?

Acculturation Categories

Forced human migration across many cultures is now a major factor that complicates relationships among nations. There are currently 65+ million refugees and others displaced by war and persecution worldwide (UNHCR, 2016). If they populated one country, it would be the 24th largest nation on earth (UNHCR, 2015). But one size does not fit all, not only between refugee cultures but also within the same refugee culture in the same new host country. The present study took this into account.

Cultural psychologists (Berry, 2006) have theorized that when forced to flee to a new country and culture, immigrants can acculturate by becoming integrated, assimilated, separated, or marginalized. These four categories of acculturation result from the crossing of two conceptually independent dimensions—one dealing with the original home culture and one dealing with the new host culture. First, refugees may either retain or reject their former culture; and second, they may either adopt or reject the new host culture. The result is four possibilities: (1) Those who acculturate to the new host culture by accepting it while retaining their culture of origin are *integrated*; they may have relatively good mental health and social behavior outcomes, and perhaps less inclination toward aggression or retaliation. (2) Those who accept their new culture and reject their culture of origin have *assimilated*; feeling relatively comfortable after adapting to their new environment, they may be relatively disinclined to retaliation. (3) Those who acculturate by rejecting the new culture and retaining their original culture are *separated*; longing for home with no replacement for it, they may do less well psychologically and socially. (4) Those who reject both the new and old cultures are *marginalized*; feeling that "home" is now totally absent, they may show the worst mental health and behavioral out-

comes. These hypotheses are consistent with the analysis of acculturation by Rudmin (2009).

Awareness of these four acculturation categories may be combined with our knowledge of in-group bias and out-group prejudice in confrontation with the ideal of perceiving all people as one human group. For example, those who integrate may be most inclined to seek harmony among all and be implicitly directed toward a larger human group. Perhaps they have opted to become multicultural instead of insisting on retaining only their old culture (as have the separatists) or acquiring only their new culture (as have assimilationists). The latter two groups may still want their own exclusive cultural identity, whether the old or new one—a posture that continues a tendency toward in-group bias and out-group prejudice. Thus, at the level of individuals as well as aggregates of people, it may be that the integration orientation has great promise of facilitating long-term health and harmony among diverse peoples (Rudmin, 2009).

In combination with different ways of acculturating, refugees may make different attributions about the responsibility—whether to God or Allah, Man, or a combination thereof—for the war and for their new and unwanted life circumstance. These attributions may be important for their attitudinal and behavioral responses to their status. Also, they can include or be psychologically connected to memories and emotional effects of multiple horrible traumas, inability to communicate in the language of their new environment, loss of economic resources and health, loss of loved ones, and loss of hope. Such reactions may result in an extraordinarily high probability of symptoms of clinical depression (Sagir, 2016, 2018). These reactions in context of the above four refugee categories may in turn affect the person's willingness to or capability of trusting or responding to truthfulness from the perpetrators, should it be offered. Further, perhaps depending on the attributions that are made, future evidence may show that at the deepest levels such reactions may facilitate a range of motivations from those for violent revenge (and thus further escalate war), all the way to the opposite extreme, a vision and motivation for peace and a willingness to take concrete reconciliatory steps to foster it.

Overall, in interaction with other social, contextual, and individual variables, each category may set people up to have a greater or lesser tendency toward dissatisfaction with the present life and be more open to appeals by malevolent forces to engage in harm-doing to one or more targets. Our study aimed to explore whether, given known in-group/out-group processes, differences among refugees indicated by the above four categories might affect the degree to which forgiving and reconciliatory versus revenge motivations might occur, and if so, with what correlates in terms of trauma, time in Turkey, and attribution of responsibility for the war.

Such outcomes would presumably be related to the proportion of refugees whose acculturation strategy placed them in each of the four categories. However, a simple analysis of data to address the above questions assumes that Berry's (2006) fourfold categories reflect how refugees, in contrast to immigrants-in-general, behave. This is open to question. Berry's model is theoretically elegant, but it is presented as a set of four *strategies* presumably applicable to all immigrants. Although people who migrate under conditions of peace may do so with a particular strategy in mind, we

doubt that refugees do. The "strategy" of refugees is more likely to do anything to stay alive, which would imply interacting with people and circumstances and coping and adapting in any way that is effective to establish and sustain life. An acculturation strategy in Berry's sense does not seem likely to be on their minds. Instead, the processes operating in the lives and minds of refugees might be better termed *tendencies, adaptation styles*, or *modes of coping* in whatever way is effective. This difference in motivation between refugees and other migrants may differentially affect the categories into which the refugees move.

The Present Study

Refugees from the War in Syria, 2011–2017

The Syrian war has produced over five million refuges plus another 6+ million internally displaced people due to hostilities, starvation, and persecution (UNHCR, 2016). Because Turkey borders Syria and has allowed refugees to enter freely, Turkey has 3+ million refugees. Most are Arabic-speaking Muslims; a few are from other ethnic and religious groups (UNHCR, 2016).

Victims and Perpetrators

On both theoretical and clinical grounds, it seems reasonable that those who might most want to see retaliation against harm-doers would be the most immediate victims—refugees. In light of our above discussion of trauma, perhaps the more harm received, the greater the wish for retaliation. However, the relationship between harm received and the wish to retaliate may not be straightforward. For example, Vollhardt (2009) raises the counterintuitive possibility that suffering may motivate some prosocial responses. But just as refugees differ, cultural contexts interacting with the nature and degree of refugee suffering may differentially affect the social motivations of refugees in different acculturation categories (Rudmin, 2009). Motivational variations may then lead to different inclinations toward reconciling, forgiving, or revenge. The refugees in Turkey provided the opportunity to collect data on such issues while the stressors, and therefore the issues implied in the above discussion, would seem to be pushed to the limit.

Our task is to understand and document how and why refugees from the war in Syria may respond with various reactions and to explore possible effects of a few variables that may predict those reactions. Our focus is primarily on the degree to which, in these particular refugees, reconciliation is possible at all, and if so, whether or not forgiveness may be related to it for different categories of refugees. The ideal result of our unusual and timely dataset would be that we address the

myriad questions relevant to the relationships between refugees in acculturation categories and their inclinations for forgiveness, reconciliation, revenge, and other variables. Doing so rests upon how well and how evenly the categories accurately reflect refugee behavior. Our first analysis answers that question; the rest extend from and qualify it.

Methods

Participant characteristics and experiences Data were collected from people who had experienced perhaps the greatest misfortune that life can offer. They were 100 Arabic-speaking refugees (99 Syrian, 1 Yemeni[2]; 63 women, 37 men; age range 17–74 years, $M = 31.2$) who had crossed the Syria-Turkey border between 2011 and 2017. They had been in Turkey for 1 ($N = 2$), 2 ($N = 13$), 3 ($N = 19$), 4 ($N = 26$), 5 ($N = 30$), or 6–7 ($N = 10$) years. Participants were recruited through refugee agencies followed by the snowball method via contact with friends and acquaintances and were comparable to the larger (2000+) sample of refugees studied by Sagir (2016, 2018). They expressed willingness, and often gratitude, at contributing (voluntarily and anonymously) to this research. They indicated their fluency in the Turkish language by selecting the 1 of 3 answer options that most closely reflected their ability to read, write, or speak it: "Yes, well" ($N = 4$), "Somewhat" ($N = 46$), or "No" ($N = 50$). They had experienced various traumatic events in the war (N in parentheses): bomb attack (46), being shot (9), being shot at (5), seeing loved ones or friends killed (15), being abducted, arrested, imprisoned (20) or tortured (4), house break-in (2), unspecified but a "yes" answer to experiencing traumatic events (8), a "no" answer to experiencing traumatic events (17), no answer given (9).

Measures and procedure The questionnaire was first written in English, then translated into Arabic, and back-translated into English to confirm accuracy. Then the Arabic version was given to three Syrians—a male psychiatrist, an employed mother of two children, and a male undergraduate student. They checked the Arabic version for accuracy and made final corrections.

The data were collected in Istanbul during July 2017. The participants completed the questionnaire online and in most cases alone; in a few cases, the researcher was nearby and available to answer questions. Participants were first asked to read the statement in each of the four boxes of the 2 × 2 matrix in Table 1, and then mark the box that best reflected their approach to their two (home and host) cultures. Quantitative data were collected via a short questionnaire designed to assess key

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[2] Although 1 participant is from Yemen, this article will typically make reference to Syrian refugees, or refugees from the war in Syria, for the sake of smoothness of the language. All participants are included in our use of such wording. It should be understood that his data are comparable with those of his Syrian co-refugees, and that conclusions or interpretations of the findings are not unique to particular participants.

variables that might reflect their approach to their two cultures. Eight questions asked about the degree to which they felt inclined to keep or reject their home culture and adopt or reject the new Turkish culture, attribution for the cause of the war, and proclivity toward reconciliation, forgiveness, or revenge. All questions were in Arabic and answered on a 6-point Likert scale with no neutral point (1 = "not at all"; 6 = "A great deal"; one exception to this wording was a question that asked about attribution of responsibility for the war, for which 1 = "Man" and 6 = "Allah"). Qualitative data were gathered by asking participants to write short answers to two open-ended questions: (1) "Regardless of how you feel, what, if anything, might enable you to reconcile behaviorally with those who harmed you or your loved ones in the war in Syria?"; (2) "Regardless of what you do, what, if anything, might make you feel forgiving toward those who harmed you or your loved ones in the war in Syria?"

Results and Discussion

Distribution of refugees across acculturation categories The first question to be asked of the data concerns the degree to which the four theoretical acculturation categories shown in Table 1 reflect what the refugees actually reported. The data show a pattern significantly different from chance: 87% opted for integration, 5% for assimilation, 8% for separation, and 0% for marginalization. We can say, therefore, that these four categories are in principle a useful way to conceptualize how immigrants may grapple with facing their attachment to their old culture and the necessity to face the new culture. However, the mode of acculturation for refugees is far from evenly distributed among the categories. Clearly, the vast majority of refugees have neither an inclination nor a strategy to give up their culture of origin. They do not strategize to become marginalized, and only a small number separate or assimilate. The approach of the vast majority is to integrate—to keep both their

Table 1 The fourfold acculturation categories theorized by Berry (2006) and discussed by Rudmin (2009), illustrated via Syrian refugees in Turkey[a] (The N per cell for the present study is in parentheses[b])

| | Home Culture—Syria | |
	Keep	Don't keep
Adopt Host Culture —Turkey	I try to adopt Turkish culture and keep Syrian culture (*Integration*, N = 87)	I try to adopt Turkish culture and do not try to keep Syrian culture (*Assimilation*, N = 5)
Don't adopt	I try not to adopt Turkish culture but do try to keep Syrian culture (*Separation*, N = 8)	I try not to adopt Turkish culture and do not try to keep Syrian culture (*Marginalization*, N = 0)

[a]Participants marked the box that most closely reflected their approach to their home (Syria) and host (Turkey) countries
[b]χ^2 for the distribution of cell frequencies = 206.32, $p < .001$

culture of origin and the new culture into which they have been thrust. This implies that we can't expect them to only assimilate (e.g., "now that you live in Turkey, just become Turkish").[3] They need or intend to be bi- or multi-cultural—a process that will produce change in the host culture, a change that its people and government should understand and be capable of accepting.

The distribution of refugees in the acculturation matrix differs from what would be expected from economic migrants. The latter are relocating voluntarily, typically in search of a better job or other opportunities, or to live near family. Refugees, however, are forced migrants who fled their country in order to stay alive. An important difference in motivation may initiate the movement of these two groups. Economic migrants presumably intend to come to the new country and may want to assimilate. Refugees, on the other hand, presumably never intended to relocate, never wanted the prospect of giving up their home culture. Because of this, we hypothesize that refugees would more likely be integrationists since in doing so they can keep their culture of origin while adjusting satisfactorily to the new one. Fortunately, there are data that support this hypothesis. Berry (2006) reports that the general degree of preference for the integration category has been about 70%. The 87% preference for that category by our refugee sample is significantly higher ($\chi^2 = 8.56$, $p < .005$). That such a high proportion of the refugees would place themselves in the integration category is a revealing datum that warrants comparison to parallel research in other populations.

A number of issues for future theory and research follow from the above considerations. For example, do different kinds of immigrants differ in the mental and emotional processes that guide how they approach their new environment? Does one invoke what would properly be called a strategy, while others are guided by feelings and the needs of the moment? To what degree are clinical or adjustment processes major factors in the character of one's acculturation, and how might refugees who acculturate in different ways differ in denying reality versus dealing with it directly? Importantly for the present study, to what degree are those who integrate doing so as an expression of genuine multicultural motivation, and to what degree do those who assimilate, separate, or marginalize find it incompatible with self-definition?

Ratings of forgiveness, reconciliation, and revenge Table 2 presents the frequency distribution (which in the present study equals percentages), means, and standard deviations of responses to all questionnaire items. Three questions explicitly distinguished between forgiving feelings and attitudes versus reconciliatory or revengeful behavior, in relation to the perpetrators. Participants rated the degree to

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[3] In a context very familiar to the senior author, there has been a parallel continuing discussion in the USA about whether people who migrate to the USA from foreign countries should assimilate (i.e., "become American") or integrate (i.e., combine the features of their former culture with their new American culture). Fierce arguments have been expressed on both accounts; and it remains a continuing issue on which people disagree. At the bottom is the ideological concern with whether America is "one" or "many."

Table 2 Frequency distribution, mean (M), and standard deviation (SD) of responses to all questionnaire items[a,b]

	Rating						M	SD
	Not at all			A great deal				
Item	1	2	3	4	5	6		
1. Keep home culture	0	3	4	12	13	68	5.39	1.04
2. Not keep home culture	75	16	4	2	0	3	1.45	1.03
3. Adopt new culture	4	6	15	26	16	33	4.43	1.44
4. Not adopt new culture	60	18	10	6	3	3	1.83	1.30
5. War due to Man (1) or Allah (6)	63	3	12	7	2	13	2.21	1.81
6. Inclined to forgive	49	14	18	4	2	13	2.41	1.74
7. Inclined to reconcile	51	10	14	14	4	7	2.31	1.62
8. Want to see revenge	22	4	17	8	12	37	3.95	1.98

[a]The frequencies in each row in the table were subject to a 6-cell 1-way χ^2 test of equivalence. Significant non-equivalence ($p < .001$) was found in all cases.
[b]Since total $N = 100$, the frequencies are also percentages.

which they would (a) feel capable of forgiving those who did harm to them or their loved ones, (b) want to reconcile with them, and (c) like to see revenge taken against them. The pattern of means and frequencies in rows 6, 7, and 8, respectively, in Table 2 indicates that the most responses were at one extreme or the other. Fewer responses were scattered among the non-extreme options, and were proportionately greater toward the majority extreme response. Importantly, although the questions clearly distinguished between attitudinal and affective forgiveness versus reconciliatory behavior,[4] the response rates for not forgiving and for not reconciling were almost the same. Approximately half of the participants said "no" to both forgiveness and reconciliation. Thus, although these two constructs reflect technically different responses, so that people can in principle perform one without the other, they are more often functionally integrated than not—at least for victims of war such as refugees. This finding is consistent with their strong and significant correlations, seen in Table 3.

The response pattern for revenge was more evenly split, with slightly more than one-third wanting it a great deal and slightly less than one-fourth wanting it not at all (Table 2). The overall pattern of results, therefore, leaves doubt about the hope that suffering would facilitate prosocial responses toward those who harmed oneself and loved ones. This notion may be partly true, but there is a lot more variance to account for. It may be, therefore, that many refugees are less strongly but nevertheless not disinclined to favor revenge taken upon the perpetrators. Further research should unravel this puzzle. These findings should be taken into account in help efforts for refugees and any potential contact they may be expected to have with the perpetrators.

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[4] Including with researcher help if needed.

Table 3 Correlations among all 8 questionnaire variables and number of years in Turkey

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Keep home culture	1							
2. Not keep home culture	−.38***	1						
3. Adopt new culture	−.02	−.11	1					
4. Not adopt new culture	.11	.15	−.44***	1				
5. War due to Man or God	−.16	.08	.02	−.17*	1			
6. Forgive no—yes	.03	.20**	.06	−.01	.05	1		
7. Reconcile no—yes	.03	.19*	.08	.03	.13	.57***	1	
8. Revenge no—yes	.18*	−.12	.14	−.05	.04	−.40***	−.16	1
9. Years in Turkey	−.05	−.03	.00	−.01	−.16	.08	.12	.05

Note: $N = 100$. All tests are 2-tailed, df = 98
*$p < .05$
**$p < .025$
***$p < .005$

Qualitative data: Open-ended questions, gender, and time in Turkey The voices of the refugees yield qualitative data that add to our understanding of these numerical ratings. For example, regardless of how they felt, no less than 49 participants gave emphatic negative answers when asked whether they might be able to "reconcile behaviorally with those who harmed you or your loved ones." A few of their statements are: "No," "I won't ever," "Don't want to," "The wound is too deep," and "No no, because of the blood." When asked what might incline them to forgive, 17% expressed forgiveness as important, as a wish, or as a hope, with a comment that too much damage has been done and "nothing can fix it." Only 12 participants answered "yes" to the prospect of forgiving. Often they deferred God's authority: "God will judge them," "God forgives everyone," "Only if they are first brought to trial and brought to justice," "I will complain my situation to almighty God, and God is the one who forgives," and "Forgiving these people is hard, because they are criminals, and only almighty God can forgive them, if they confessed what they have done."

The written responses were translated into English and submitted to analysis by NVIVO11. For each question, the two keywords and their variants (for question 1, *reconcile, reconciling, reconciliation*; for question 2, *forgive, forgiving, forgiveness*) were coded into three categories according to the meaning conveyed in the context. The categories were 1 (Yes), 2 (No), and 3 (Other, which could connote circumstances in which forgiving or reconciling might occur, that they would accept Allah's response, or state that the perpetrators would have to be caught, tried, and confess prior to consideration of reconciliation of forgiveness). In response to the question about reconciling, 28 said yes, 57 said no, and 11 said other things ($\chi^2 = 33.8$, df = 2, $p < .001$). In response to the question about forgiving, 22 said yes, 60 said no, and 13 said other things ($\chi^2 = 39.3$, df = 2, $p < .001$). The proportion of answers within cells to these two open-ended questions did not differ significantly by gender or by number of years in Turkey.

Table 4 Mean ranks[a] (based Kruskal-Wallis 1-way ANOVA) and range of participant ratings toward forgiveness, reconciliation, and revenge, for refugees with an integration, assimilation, or separation acculturation strategy

| | Acculturation Category | | | |
Response Inclination	Integration	Assimilation	Separation	*H*
N	87	5	8	
Forgiveness				
Mean rank	49.3	84.6	42.4	7.69[b]
Raw score range	1–6	1–6	3–6	
Reconciliation				
Mean rank	50.5	62.8	42.5	1.51
Raw score range	1–6	1–6	1–6	
Revenge				
Mean rank	51.2	25.6	58.5	4.34
Raw score range	1–6	1–6	2–6	

[a] A higher mean rank reflects higher inclination.
[b] $p < .03$, df = 2

Acculturation categories and forgiveness, reconciliation, and revenge Given the high proportion of participants who prefer to integrate, compared to the small proportions opting to assimilate or separate and none opting to marginalize, the degree to which we can make definitive assessments of whether differences in acculturation category predict tendencies toward forgiveness, reconciliation, and revenge is tenuous. With that caution made clear, Table 4 presents the mean ranks based on a Kruskal-Wallis test of participant ratings toward forgiveness, reconciliation, and revenge, for the three cells of Table 1 with non-zero frequencies. The results indicate two interesting findings.

First, those in the assimilation group were significantly more inclined to forgive. The integration and separation groups both showed less, with the integration group nonsignificantly more inclined to forgive than the separation group. This is an unexpected finding given our earlier comment that the integrationists might be those inclined to live with "others" while retaining their original identity—thus fostering peace. However, a case can be made that it is those few who actively adopt assimilation as a strategy—who want to be more completely identified with their new culture—who are capable of forgiving even the worst things others could have done to them. That is, they may be the people who can leave it behind and let it go, and may thereby be free from the wounds that brought their new circumstance upon them.[5]

Nobody expects people to forgive immediately. The issue emerges of over what time span assimilating and integrating might foster forgiving feelings and attitudes.

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[5] An alternative notion, based on clinical psychological reasoning, might be that such a response is due to a dissociative reaction of emotional detachment from extreme trauma, so that imagination, if not actual perception, of interpersonal warmth, care, and contact help satisfy needs for safety and companionship. We make no attempt at attributing clinical diagnostic to a participant. Such issues require further research.

Our interpretation of the data is that people who assimilate are more prone to forgive in the short term—that is, they may forgive quickly although in far fewer numbers—as part of what going on in life in their new circumstance means to them. In contrast, those who integrate, although they feel comfortable living within two (or possibly more) cultures and show less immediate forgiveness at the personal level, may foster greater intergroup harmony in the long term, given their large numbers and multi-group capabilities. Longitudinal research is needed to address these issues.

Second, the pattern of rankings across the three cells for reconciliation is relatively flat compared to that for forgiveness. This suggests that forgiveness feelings and reconciliation behavior are distinguished in the minds of these participants. That is, although the correlation and frequency data imply that they function in combination given certain circumstances, refugees also psychologically separate them. This is illustrated in a statement by one of our participants, "I can forgive but not reconcile." These findings indicate that future research may profit by including knowledge and suggestions from people who lived through the war in Syria.

Attributions, forgiveness, reconciliation, and revenge Our next question was whether the overall pattern of correlations in Table 3 shows associations that are understandable in a straightforward way, versus associations that are nonobvious—which require us to dig deeper to understand what they mean. Both kinds of associations were found. For example, the strongly inverse associations between preferring to keep home culture and not wanting to set it aside, and between adopting and not adopting the new culture, are no mystery. Their meanings are clear, and are in effect checks on the validity of the matrix in Table 1.

When asked who or what was responsible for the war, the distribution of responses was vividly skewed. Looking across row 5 of Table 2 shows that 65 attributed the war to Man (1–2), 15 to Allah (5–6), and 19 to a combination of the two (3–4). The percent of participants who hold either Allah or Allah and Man jointly responsible for the war is approximately one-third or one-fourth, respectively, less than the proportion that holds Man responsible.

Because these participants are refugees from a war zone, one might expect those who attribute the war to Man to also be less inclined than those who attribute it to Allah to forgive or reconcile with, and more inclined to favor revenge upon, those who harmed them. But Tables 2 and 3 show low and non-significant relationships between attributing the war to Man vs. Allah and a tendency toward forgiveness, reconciliation, or revenge.

When asked, those who said the war was the will of Allah overwhelmingly said that it was a test of their faith. This association between believing that Allah is associated with the war and that it is a test of faith, although present in a minority of the participants, warrants further in-depth research, since believing that the war is due to god can take on either positive (test of faith) and negative (blame for the hostilities) meanings, and thereby affect reactions to the war via positive or negative religious coping (Pargament, 1997; Sagir, 2018). This is a matter for psychological research into the nature of theodicy (Hale-Smith, Park, & Edmondson, 2012).

Gender and time in Turkey   In order to explore possible gender differences, t-tests were run between men and women on all questionnaire items. There was a significant difference on the item that asked if they would not keep their home culture, with men ($M = 1.72$) showing a greater willingness than women ($M = 1.28$) to not keep it ($t = 2.01$, df = 98, $p < .04$). No other differences were significant. Also, one-way analyses of variance were run on all items in order to see whether they differed according to the number of years the participants had been in Turkey. The results were nonsignificant. This may have occurred because in the lifecycle of refugees, 7 years is a relatively short time. A longer term test with those who have been refugees for 50 years, or of second- or third-generation refugees, might be informative in important ways.

General Conclusion and Recommendations

Theory and Prospects for Peace on the Ground

Pondering the theoretical ideas summarized above in combination with the findings from this research with Syrian refugees in Turkey leaves us with a mixed picture of the possibility of durable peace. The argument that in-group bias is part of the problem is compelling. Those who propagated the war made it clear that for victims the choice was simple and blunt—either accept "our" teachings and practices, or be killed. The victims, however, do not for the most part adhere to such a restricted ideology or identity. The vast refugees are content to integrate and hold more than one cultural identity. It is encouraging that most refugees from this war are so inclined because it is they who hold the greatest promise of being capable of accepting, adapting to, and living in a many-cultured and unified world with many "peoples"—that is, in a world that is one and whose residents want to live and work in peaceful collaboration with each other.

Our ideal is a world in which barriers between humans do not exist. A more realistic idea would be a world with differences among people that are recognized and enjoyed, but that do not matter in terms of the equal value and treatment of all people. Importantly, talking openly facilitates acceptance of the truth by others in an unfamiliar context. This increases friendships in the new environment and with its new people and culture. Similarly, truth-telling and truth-hearing by both sides in combined groups of victims and perpetrators can result not only in the relief from emotional suffering, but also in deep and caring friendships between those who came from opposite sides (Tint, 2010). Such lasting changes have been documented, as shown by the lasting friendship, noted earlier in this chapter, between the daughter of a Nazi killer and the son of those he killed (e.g., see Busse et al., 2010, and Albeck, Adwan, & Bar-On, 2002). This conclusion accents the value of responsible pragmatism as the preferred decision-guide to peace for individuals, groups, and nations. We promote the mutual collaboration of all humans.

Recommendations

Our recommendations to the field of psychology, all levels of education worldwide, all religions and non-religions, and all governments, include the following: The concept of "the other," although prehistorically advantageous to group survival, is no longer tenable if any specific group, or the human group, wishes to survive. Human survival requires that we evolve beyond the tendency toward in-group bias. Cultural adaptation takes a long time. Harmony as the human "default mode of behaving" may take a century or a millennium to develop, but it is required. It is no longer an option that humans at all ages and in all domains inculcate a change of mind and behavior from in-group favoritism to all-human wholeness. Progress toward this change must be made through education, systematic dialogue among formerly hostile groups, manner and messages in music and the arts, international individual and group contact, and social and political leadership. Progress can also be made as people begin to marry "others" so that they and their offspring reflect and belong to the people of the world and not only one ethnic group. People must also teach a trans-religious and a-religious ethic that says, as does the ancient Hippocratic Oath, "First, do no harm." This ethic should be admonished without compromise as a means of facilitating transparency and openness in all human transactions, so that individuals and governments will come to understand and act upon the knowledge that peoples are no longer independent but are irreversibly interdependent in a manner not seen before in human history.

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Part IV
Promoting Peace and Social Justice

From a Junkyard to a Peace Promotion Sports Park: A Transdisciplinary Approach

María C. Izquiel, Ignacio Cardona, Manuel Llorens, and Martin La Roche

For years the community of Petare, which is one of the fastest growing *barrios*[1] in Venezuela and where more than 800,000 people live, clamored for a Sports Park. Not one recreation park existed in this community plagued with poverty and crime. In response to these needs, the municipal government opened a contest in 2011 for proposals to design and build a Sports Park on the grounds of an old landfill/garbage dump on the sector of Mesuca, Petare. However, the community of Petare having a long and proud tradition of community activism also urged the municipal representatives to use this project as an opportunity to address additional needs. One of the central needs they repeatedly emphasized was to decrease crime levels. The process of designing this Sports Park then offered the team (an interdisciplinary group of

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[1] *Barrio* in Venezuela refers to self-configured neighborhoods that were born through the occupation by migrants of those lands discarded from the regular urbanization process. The growth of *barrios* has implied high levels of self-construction, and its formalization process usually happens gradually over many years. In some literature, these territories are called slums or informal settlements.

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psychologists, architects, and other professionals) not only the opportunity to build a Sports Park but also to create an opportunity for peace in this community.

This chapter describes the ongoing process of promoting peace in this community. Nevertheless, it is important to highlight here that the main goal of this project was to build a Sports Park to promote peace not to conduct a research study. Consequently, the need for rigorous research methods was not emphasized, as this was not the initial goal.

The Community of Petare

Petare is the largest *barrio* in Caracas, the capital of Venezuela. Thirty-one million people live in Venezuela and about 76% of them live in extreme poverty (National Survey of Living Conditions in Venezuela: Landaeta-Jiménez, Herrera, Ramírez, & Vásquez, 2017). Unfortunately, the levels of poverty continue to escalate as the country spirals down into a severe humanitarian crisis that has been deepening since 2012. The crisis started after oil prices, which historically had fueled Venezuela's economy, collapsed. This collapse occurred in combination with a systematic mismanagement of the productive apparatus by the central government and a radicalization of political conflicts that have worsened this crisis. In 2016, Venezuela surpassed Haiti as the poorest country in the western hemisphere (Landaeta-Jiménez et al., 2017). This poverty and enormous food shortages have led Venezuelans to lose an average of 18 pounds of weight in 2015 (Landaeta-Jiménez et al., 2017).

Inequality along with a long political conflict, characterized by an increasing militarized and authoritarian government has produced a huge economic crisis, nationwide protests, and political persecution as well as violence.[2] At the time of the project, the Municipality was governed by an opposition party to the central government, which complicated things for the community. As a result of this crisis, the levels of crime in Venezuela have soared. The rate of homicides in 2015 surpassed the figure of 90 per 100,000 residents, which is one of the highest in the world (Venezuelan Observatory of Violence—Observatorio Venezolano de la Violencia, 2017). Similarly, Venezuela has one of the highest rates of firearm-related homicides

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[2] Venezuela had what was widely considered the most stable South American democracy until the 1990s when two military coups, spurred by growing inequality, propelled Hugo Chávez to the national spotlight. Chávez won the presidential elections in 1998 inaugurating what he proclaimed as the "Bolivarian Revolution." A host of factors helped him retain power until 2013, which included wide popular support and an international oil boom that elevated prices of oil, Venezuela's main commodity. But he also increasingly strengthened his chokehold on power through military involvement in government, corruption, the dismantling of democratic institutions, and the destruction of private productive apparatus. It is during this time that the municipality of Sucre was won by the opposition to Chávez. This municipality governed against the central government's constant pressure that included budget restrictions and sabotage through parallel institutions.

The death of Chávez in 2013, along with a downfall of oil prices has precipitated an economic and political crisis, to which the government has responded with increasing authoritarian measures such as jailing political opponents and staging fraudulent elections.

and crimes (90%) in the world (World Health Organization, United Nation Office on Drugs and Crime, & United Nations Development Program, 2014). Unfortunately, most crimes and only 4% of homicides ever reach the Venezuelan justice system; a fact that is illustrated by a current common saying, "Only as a street thug do you have a future in Venezuela (*Solo como malandro tienes futuro en Venezuela*)". A growing number of institutions have equated the current levels of violence in Venezuela with those of countries experiencing a civil war [Non-governmental Organization for the Protection and Promotion of Human Rights (CIDH, 2015)].

In Caracas about 25% of the urbanized territory, and more than 45% of the population live in *barrios* (Instituto Metropolitano de Urbanismo Taller Caracas, 2012), which are composed of *ranchos* or self-built houses. *Ranchos* are made with cheap materials (e.g., cardboard, corrugated zinc roofing sheets) or materials discarded from construction sites (e.g., wood studs, brick walls). They are often built on high valley slopes or watercourses where it is difficult—and even dangerous—to build solid structures. Many families in *barrios* have little or no access to basic services such as water, electricity, or gas. Even fewer have access to public facilities like schools and/or health centers. Despite the fact that current national regulations require the existence of more than 11.5 m^2 of public facilities and/or public space per inhabitant (Ministerio de Desarrollo Urbano, 1985), Mesuca had less than 0.24 (Cardona, 2012).

People often need to leave the *barrio* to go to work, study, or for recreation. Commuting in the *barrio* often entails going up and/or down an average of 40 floors per day. (Cardona, 2012). Stairs are often irregularly built and are rarely maintained. It is not infrequent that they are slippery, as sewage drip through them. Furthermore, most *barrios* like Petare are not only disconnected from the city and other *barrios*, but also sectors within *barrios* are disconnected from each other. Sectors are delineated areas within *barrios*. Many sectors are demarcated by natural barriers (hills, waterflows) that make it difficult for a person living in one sector to reach others in different sectors. As a result, it is often that people from different sectors do not know each other. This lack of communication segregates sectors within *barrios* and disconnects social groups generating a splintered territorialization of private domains that produces an emergence of forms of citizenship located in urban enclaves (Alsayyad & Roy, 2006). This emergence of "states within the state" (Pirenne, 1939) ends up producing new cultures and laws within each sector. Gangs and/or other violent groups often become the enforcers of their own private law (Izquiel, 2007). A lack of contact between sectors promotes groups within one sector to consider people living in other sectors as "others." As people are construed as "others," a distorted and stereotypical view of them is created (Fiske, 2017). Many times, their unique identity and humanity is lost in this process (Fiske, 2017). Furthermore, in climates of fear or even outright terror stereotypes rigidify and strengthen. This dehumanization helps perpetuators to justify their acts of violence towards perceived subhuman people (Chirot, 2001). The ongoing state of violence, poverty, and helplessness within Venezuelan *barrios* fosters a heightened state of fear, vulnerability, and helplessness.

In *barrios* trauma is a common, almost daily, occurrence. Most crimes are committed in the *barrios* (CIDH, 2015). Acts of violence (e.g., shootings, domestic violence, child abuse, sexual abuse) are so frequent that they are often normalized; they are not considered out of the ordinary (Llorens, 2013) and may not be consistent with traditional DSM-5 constellations and meanings (La Roche, Fuentes, & Hinton, 2015). Nevertheless, violence not only has devastating effects on people's mental health (e.g., increasing hopelessness, substance abuse, health issues) but also on the cultural context (Hinton & O'Neill, 2009).

Researchers in Latin America have consistently documented how chronic violence not only leads to emotional pain, but also to a disruption in the community relationships (Adams, 2017; Martín-Baró, 1990). For example, Adams concludes, through her research in Central America, that chronic violence deteriorates intimate family functioning, encourages isolation and social polarization, and weakens civic engagement and support for democracy. In a similar line, Martín-Baró (1990) coined the phrase psychosocial-trauma to underline the fact that chronic violence experienced in El Salvador during civil war did not only affect individuals but also seriously damaged the social fabric; producing polarization, dehumanization, and a "militarization of the mind" that refers, among other things, to the idea that the use of force and violence is the main option for conflict resolution. Both authors concluded that an effective psychological intervention must not only attend to individuals, but also to community relations in order to foster emotional and social growth and empowerment.

Pervasive violence in *barrios* has corroded the social fabric which is an important source of social support and growth (Izquiel, 2007). Within this pervasive climate of terror, violence becomes an everyday way to solve problems. However, Grotberg (1995) explains how a community alternative emerges to face the social trauma through its capacity to connect and activate its positive resources in the face of adversity, a concept defined as community resilience (Sonn & Fisher, 1998). Resilient communities have the possibility to channel their pain as an instrument of social transformation (Izquiel, 2007) and Petare is well known for its high level of social activism.

Conceptualizing the Peace Promotion and Design Process

In 2011, the municipal government opened a contest for proposals to design and build a Sports Park on the grounds of Mesuca, which was then, an old landfill/garbage dump. Garbage, up to 28 ft. high, covered the land. However, this space was chosen because it could bridge many sectors within Petare and beyond. In August of 2011, the proposal of the architecture office AREPA Architecture Ecology and Participation in alliance with the Luis Azagra Psychological Unit (UPLA for its acronym in Spanish) won the municipal government's contest. The construction of the foundations of the first part of the building started in October of 2011. However, the specific ways in which spaces were to be designed were left open. The goal was

for the community to complete this design which would reflect the assets and the needs of Petare.

Perhaps, one of the reasons AREPA and UPLA won the municipal contest was because they were able to concretize Petare's ideals of community participation, empowerment, and resilience. Consistent with Soja's (2010) ecological conceptualizations, AREPA and UPLA adopted a view in which space is a social construction carved by social practices and needs, which is consistent with resilience and empowerment models that aim to strengthen the capacity of the community to identify and address their own problems as they manage their own resources (Freire, 1996; La Roche, 2013; Martín-Baró, 1994; Montero, 2004; Montero, 2006; Rappaport, 1981). Izquiel's (2007) understanding of community resilience becomes a central tool to conceptualize the collective ability of a *barrio* or dwellers of a geographically defined area to become stronger and continue developing despite adverse living conditions and chronic trauma (Aldrich & Meyer, 2015; Chenoweth & Stehlik, 2001; Izquiel, 2007; Quillan, 2003). Communities can transform their experiences of adversity or trauma into strength when they feel acknowledged and empowered (Izquiel, 2007). The concept of resilience implies a constructive and dynamic approach to problems based on the mobilization of internal and external resources (Cyrulnik, Manciaux, Vanistendael, & Lecomte, 2003). This dynamism occurs because resilience is not a stable characteristic; it depends on the resources of the contexts and the possibility of the community to connect to these resources.

Resilience does not occur in a vacuum. Public spaces—like parks, plazas, squares, or sport fields are often helpful to foster growth and hope through the connection and activation of community resources. This common space can become a place for dialogue between different groups and sectors (Aldrich & Meyer, 2015) in which residents could pursue common goals (e.g., play soccer, socialize). Over half a century ago Sherif (1958), in his landmark study, found that the most effective violence reduction strategy is to promote frequent contact among rival groups and encourage them to pursuit of common goals. However, to accomplish this goal it is necessary to design a space that fosters communication and strengthens community relationships. Furthermore, public spaces can even become a resilient space in which it is possible to acknowledge the tales of community trauma as means to transform tales of terror into tales of growth (La Roche, 2013; Rappaport, 2000). To encourage a nonviolent relationship, it is necessary to promote social networks and projects of community participation, from which people can build or rebuild their spaces and perceive the "others" as a possible interlocutor instead of an enemy (Zubillaga, 2009).

In addition, community participation helps people to become aware of their own realities to begin a process of transforming themselves (La Roche, 2013). This includes not only addressing the impact of episodic violence (e.g., witnessing a shooting), but also challenging structural violence (e.g., lack of resources addressing violence in the community; Christie, 2006). Peace promotion in this chapter is consistent with a peace psychology framework (Wagner et al., 1988) and encompasses strategies for addressing negative peace (i.e., the absence of violence) and positive peace (i.e., the challenging of social structural inequities that perpetuate violence; Galtung, 1996).

To effectively structure spaces according to this social practice, it was first necessary to identify and prioritize the needs of the community (Montero, 2004). The method to systematically acknowledge, examine, and then address these needs was through Participatory Design Workshop (PDW) in which residents from Petare sat in different discussion tables. Although we opened PDWs to every resident in Petare, four main groups were consistently sitting at the table. These four groups were: the Sucre's Municipal Government, AREPA, UPLA, and the Community Council of Petare which is a community-based organization created in 2008 to represent the needs of Petare's residents. Some of these actors were stable. For example, two community leaders were always present at all the meetings, while the Major of Petare only came to a handful of meetings.

During February of 2012, the PDWs started meeting every week. After a few months, the PDWs would meet biweekly. Sometimes, when there were too many participants—at times there were over 100 participants—or the discussion was too complex it became helpful to create smaller groups of between 5 and 15 persons. Sometimes there would be multiple tables taking place simultaneously and each table addressed different or parallel issues. Architects would often start PDWs by showing maps and/or pictures of the space to be designed. They would encourage table discussants to draw or write their proposals on these maps/pictures. Then, the team would encourage them to discuss their ideas with the rest of the group. Each table appointed a reporter, and a general assembly director to guide the discussion and to foster agreements. The design feedback produced in the PDWs was regularly digitized, tabulated, and georeferenced (Cardona, 2016) to more effectively visualize specific ideas. However, architects would define the parameters of what was feasible given the space and budget limitations and what was consistent with urban guidelines. In addition, the team of architects also emphasized the need to make the Sports Park beautiful as a peace promotion tool (Gates, 2015); according to Hardy (2005) there is a significant relationship between feelings of being devalued, disrespected, and violence with filthy and/or displeasing contexts. Beauty was conceived as a civil right rather than a cursory cosmetic issue. Beauty has been demonstrated to be a significant factor related to community satisfaction (Florida, Mellander, & Stolarick, 2011). The design of the Sports Park arose from the reinvention of the community's ideas listened to thoroughly through these PDW.

From the first PDW there was an agreement and much excitement about the need to build a Sports Park. However, there was much disagreement about how to conceptualize it. Many questions emerged: What needs should be prioritized? What structures should be built? How can the Sports Park become a center for peace promotion and community resilience? To whom should it be directed? What community interventions should accompany the design and construction process? Multiple ideas and sometime conflicting interests were heard in order to be able to respond to a wide range of needs beyond sports such as cultural activities (e.g., music, theater), community meetings, and playgrounds.

For example, from the first PDW the Municipal representatives forcefully presented their views of what type of Sports Park they wanted to fund. For example, they wanted to construct an Olympic-size swimming pool (50 m/164.0 ft. in length),

which would be the first Olympic-size swimming pool in a Venezuelan *barrio*. Building this pool would be a tangible accomplishment that could be showcased for political purposes. However, the residents did not see the need for an Olympic-size pool. Instead they repeatedly underscored the need for a therapeutic pool. For example, Richard a short and athletic looking father of 6, eloquently described how he had to travel every weekend with his paraplegic son to a distant community center for his son to get his therapeutic swimming exercises. Additionally, other residents explained that their children had never seen a pool, and therefore it would be more useful for them to have smaller pool in which they could learn to swim. The repeated and increasingly loud comments of the residents allowed AREPA and UPLA to advocate for a semi-Olympic pool (25 m/82.0 ft. in length) and a therapeutic/learning pool (12.5 m/41.0 ft. in length). The community considered this change an important victory. A relevant anecdote that reflects the community's excitement regarding the inauguration of the Sports Park was when the mayor invited a new team of swimmers recently named "Petare" to perform a swimming demonstration as part of the celebration saying: "And now Petare to the water!", neighbors interpreted it as an invitation to all, and many quickly and euphorically jumped into the pool, fully clothed. For many kids, it was the first time they had been in a pool. To this day, the smaller therapeutic/learning pool is more frequently used than the semi-Olympic one.

However, after a few months the PDWs soon stagnated with intractable conflict. It became increasingly challenging, if not impossible to tackle multiple and complex problems because PDWs participants were unable to accurately communicate their needs and ideas, leading them to produce false consensuses that did not necessarily encompass different opinions (Cooke, 2001; Harvey, 1988).

It became evident that a multidisciplinary approach, viewed as collaboration between stakeholders, was insufficient to address the many conflicting and complex needs of the community. The ideas being proposed by different professions were disconnected and in opposition with each other. Many professionals were unable to understand the ideas of other professionals and/or transcend their own areas of expertise. It was difficult to reach resolutions in the design process. A new methodology of interaction among participants was required to permit knowledge to travel from field to field (Cardona, 2008; García-Canclini, 1990).

PDWs were rearranged to promote a "transdisciplinary" approach (de Toro, 2000), in which the limits of each field were expanded to the areas of expertise of other fields (Cardona, 2008; de Toro, 2000). Each person sitting in a PDW table had to think as architects, Petare residents, clinical-community psychologists, or educators as a means to identify the needs of the community and then respond to them in designing the Sports Park. A transdisciplinary approach requires that professionals put themselves in the place of other professionals and go beyond their own areas of expertise. At some point, it was believed that this approach would dilute the credibility of each field; but instead it proved to strengthen them. The borderless and overlapping focus of the transdisciplinary approach allowed conflicts to be addressed more effectively. The transdisciplinary approach continued to underscore the voice and needs of the community members, but it enhanced even further their reflective

capacity, which became one of the most important assets of the design process. It could be argued that in some ways this approach encouraged an even more complete and better understanding of the "other," being the other one who thinks differently or who belongs to another sector. This possibility of connection with the other was one of the key strategies that fostered dialogue and community resilience as a tool for community empowerment and peace promotion.

The PDWs allowed residents to pour their views into the design of the Sports Park, which allowed them to feel engaged in the Project. This sense of involvement was particularly true for children and adolescents. It is hoped that this involvement will endure and encourage the community to continue contributing to the Sports Park's maintenance, sustainability, and future protection. The participatory process was conceived as a way for the community to assume ownership of the space, considering that it was something that they helped to build, which in turn was an empowering experience (Rodríguez-Mancilla & Boada Suraty, 2016).

Furthermore, as the community realized that they had a voice in the design and construction of the Sports Park, it is likely that they felt increasingly empowered to take charge of their lives, rather than feeling hopeless and trapped (La Roche, 2013). The Project was designed as a center for inclusion and dialogue; a space of and for the community. The Sports Park aimed to become a space for exploration, resilience, peace, and growth rather than violence.

It is important to note that additional construction projects were developed throughout Petare. Although the Sports Park was the largest and most visible building several other plazas and playgrounds were built. The community was also very interested in multiplying the number of sports teams, cultural groups, music academies, and many other community organizations. The Sports Park gradually established different agreements with different groups who can now freely use the Sports Park installations.

Unfortunately, the Sport Park has not yet been completed; many of the design's proposals have not been constructed. As inflation in Venezuela rose exponentially the Municipal Government's budget shrank. The Municipal Government ran out of funds and Venezuela's central government hampered this project. Currently, the community of Petare continues to rally to complete this project and many PDWs have focused on this need. Similarly, many professionals (including some of the authors of this chapter) have repeatedly, but unsuccessfully advocated completing the Sports Park. Part of the intention of this chapter is to cooperate in this ongoing struggle (Fig. 1).

Impact on the Community

Three different methodologies were used to examine whether the design, construction, and use of the Sports Park reduced violence and promoted peace:

1. A survey counting the number of homicides from 2012 to 2016
2. An ethnographic study carried out in Petare during 2016
3. Other qualitative indicators

Fig. 1 Sports Park
Mesuca, aerial view.
Photo: Enrico Pugliese,
2014

- **Counting the Number of Homicides.**

  The Citizen Security Department of Municipal Government of Sucre (2016) counted the number of homicides from 2013 to 2016 in the sector of Mesuca as recorded by the Police Department (Polisucre). Only homicide rates were used because many people in Venezuela, particularly in *barrios*, do not bother to report when they are assaulted, injured, or even shot to an overwhelmed Police department. Only homicides are routinely tabulated and as a result, homicide rate was the only valid indicator that could be used to assess violence rates. In 2013, during the first year of this survey, just as the PDWs to design the Sports Park started seven people were killed in Mesuca. In 2014 the number of homicides was 4 and during 2015 the number was 3. During 2016, the last year in which this survey was conducted the number of homicides went down to 2, which is a 71% decrease in the homicide rate. The municipal government also reports that the

number of homicides throughout Petare also diminished, but less dramatically so than in Mesuca.

This decline is particularly relevant because the overall crime rate in Venezuela spiked during the same period. According to data from the Venezuelan Observatory of Violence (2017), the rate of homicides increased 50% in the same period. However, this significant reduction in homicide rates is not only a result of the design, construction, and/or use of Sports Park, the project was framed in a set of citizen security policies institutionalized by Sucre's Municipal Government (Giusti & De Viveiros, 2012), being the Sport Park Mesuca the most import public space built.

Despite the fact that the police seem to be incapable of making a statistically reliable study regarding the crime rate and its relationship with different social or urban variables, this percentage drop in homicides, in a context as violent as Venezuela, suggests that the Sports Park Mesuca may have had an effect in reducing violence in the community.

- **Qualitative Indicators of Peace Promotion.**

    Several qualitative indicators were used to measure the impact of peace. First, a 1-year ethnographic research project was conducted in Petare to evaluate the impact of the Sports Park on the lives of the community (Llorens, Cisneros, & Perez, 2016). Using open-ended interviews and participant observations, five researchers recorded the residents' narratives of how the Sports Park had influenced their lives. Petare residents were directly asked about how the Sports Park had impacted their lives. Given the ethnographic framework, interviews, and participants, the observations were dissected using thematic analysis, emphasizing the narratives of the community and comprehension of the relation to the Sport Park. These narratives are excellent illustrations of how the Sports Park has benefited the residents of Petare.

    A good example is Carlos' story. Carlos was born during the final game of the Soccer World Cup of 1998. His family had joked that he was meant to become a football player because of his birthday. Carlos, in fact, loved soccer and had always dreamt about joining an organized team. However, the only opportunities to play soccer were on the streets with his neighborhood friends. During his early adolescence, many of his friends began to join a local gang, because, among other factors, of the lack of spaces to develop positive identities and social connections. As a result, he separated from them, but soon he had no one to play soccer with. He described this period as a time of fear and sadness. However, a few months later his cousin niece told him about a try-out for a team that had recently been inaugurated at the Sports Park. He went along without much enthusiasm or hope but soon he found himself running excitedly through a field. He joined the team. He happily subjected himself to the rigorous physical discipline and the long team practices. Carlos soon made new friends; many were from different sectors within Petare. He excitedly said to the interviewers, "When I play soccer my mind goes blank and my mind says play, have fun, enjoy. I had never imagined that soccer could be so much fun and that it could give me so much

energy and hope… I am happy because I fulfilled my dream. For the last four years I have been playing soccer on an official team."

Soccer not only provided Carlos with hope, but it may have also saved his life. Most of his friends who joined the gang are now addicted to drugs, killed, or incarcerated. Narratives such as Carlos' suggest how the Sports Park is not only an important site for social networking but also an empowering environment to grow and learn (Cuenca, 2004; Fredricks & Eccles, 2008; Izquiel, 2007; Zarrett & Lerner, 2008) in order to promote community resilience and peace. In the ethnographic study (Llorens et al., 2016) and consistent with Carlos' experience the narratives of many additional residents reported experiences of positive emotional learning (McCarthy, 2011) and an increased ability to project themselves into the future was documented. For example, in a drawing contest promoted by the Major, children were asked to draw images of symbols of peace and many of them drew the Sports Park. These examples suggest that the Sports Park has and is influencing the way in which the residents of Petare think of themselves. In addition, many more talked with pride about how the Sports Park was an invaluable part of Petare.

- **Other qualitative indicators.**

There are other indicators that suggest that the Sports Park, among other smaller public spaces built in Petare, has become a space for the construction and strengthening of community networks. It is a space used by residents to generate positive connections as opposed to those of violence (Fig. 2).

From 2009 to 2017 the number of soccer leagues grew from 6 to 24 and the number of players multiplied from 500 to 3600. Before 2014 there were no girls' league. Now girls' leagues are growing faster than boys' leagues. Teams are routinely composed of players from different sectors in Petare. As a result, adolescents from different sectors are now in frequent positive contact with each other.

Fig. 2 Drawing from the "Petare is Peace" contest. Sucre's Municipal Government, 2015

Although the Sports Park was mainly designed to foster sports activities, through the PDWs it became clear that it could have many uses. Thus, the Sports Park is currently used for frequent and ongoing citizen assemblies in which public officials hear residents' needs, complaints, and recommendations. Also, there are spaces exclusively devoted to recreational and social events such as weddings. For example, in 2016 the largest community wedding (85 couples) in the history of Venezuela was celebrated in the Sports Park.

This project is also an opportunity to examine fundamental questions about architectural design and psychological interventions in underprivileged contexts. For example, how should the design process for a public physical space be driven to become a center to promote peace and foster resilience? Now there is evidence that it should be accessible to all and conceived as an inclusive center in which people can safely dialogue with each other. However, it must also be flexible enough so that its spaces can be used in different activities and for multiple purposes. Connectivity and flexibility became two important guiding principles that informed the work during the design of the Sports Park, just as these two principles were essential during the PDWs and are central in most psychological interventions (La Roche, 2013).

In addition, the participation of the community during the whole design process through the PDWs facilitates a sense of community ownership that promote the future preservation of the space as a territory for peace promotion. Otherwise, this space could easily be abandoned and taken over by criminal gangs as has happened with other public spaces in the city.

As Venezuela and many other regions in the world are suffering extreme sociopolitical tragedies, this Sports Park and its design process are a reminder of what can be accomplished when people are able to work together.

Conclusions

Given the pervasive and pernicious effects of violence, crime, trauma, and poverty, Petare's struggle for peace may have seemed insurmountable and even hopeless but nothing was farther from the truth. Together, the community, municipal government, and different professional teams transformed a junkyard into a dynamic Sports Park and together peace was promoted. In conclusion, seven of the main lessons and hypotheses learned in working with the community of Mesuca are summarized.

1. As the voice and needs of the residents was acknowledged and transformed into concrete spaces (e.g., therapeutic pool), they may have felt increasingly empowered and hopeful about their ability to continue improving their lives, which may have reduced the levels of violence. Similarly, the participation of the community in the design process encourages their appropriation and care of the built space.

2. One of the most effective tools to reduce violence is by promoting dialogue between different groups (i.e., sectors) through the creation of public spaces. The Sports Park became a public space in which people living in different sectors could establish dialogues (e.g., as they played soccer) and pursue common goals (Sherif, 1958). Instead of fearing the unknown and stereotypically construed "others" they started to collaborate and learn from each other.

3. People are embedded in cultural contexts (e.g., Petare & Venezuela) and if our architectonic designs or psychological interventions are not embedded into these contexts they will crumble (Llorens, 2013). A conceptual model, such as the cultural psychotherapeutic model (La Roche, 2013), has much potential to link contextual/ecological and psychological meanings.

4. The PDWs are an effective tool to engage the community in peace promotion activities (Cardona, 2016). PDWs broaden and deepen participants' understanding of their community and cultural context. As communities and professionals develop a more accurate and complex understanding of their community and context they are more effective in identifying problems, resources, and solutions (La Roche, 2013).

5. A transdisciplinary rather than a multidisciplinary approach seems to be more effective in addressing complex issues with multiple and distinct stakeholders (Cardona, 2008) since it allows a more horizontal participation among them.

6. For mental health clinicians to effectively work in severely deprived and traumatized *barrios* such as Petare, at times it may be needed to redefine their clinical roles. The medical model (i.e., diagnosing and treating individuals) and individualistic framework may be inadequate; it seems that it is more useful to share and directly transmit psychological knowledge to the community and other professionals (as was done in PDWs through the transdisciplinary approach). In contexts of poverty and marginalization, mental health clinicians may be more effective as they focus on empowering people and groups to promote growth and resilience rather than solely focusing on symptom reduction.

7. Similarly, the high prevalence, perpetuation, and even normalization of trauma/violence challenges traditional views of normality as reflected in the DSM-5 (American Psychiatric Association, 2013). Instead of understanding symptoms as qualities residing within individuals it is more accurate to understand them as an expression of unjust and marginalizing socioeconomic contexts (Martín-Baró, 1994). Intervention therefore should go beyond individualized approaches of treatment towards collective interventions that promote community's power and access to resources (Burton & Kagan, 2010; Prilleltensky, 2008).

Despite immense obstacles, it is promising that so much of the Sports Park was constructed, which underscores the resilience and promise contained in communities to transform and improve themselves (Izquiel, 2007). Nevertheless, it is also important to highlight that the efforts of those involved are far from sufficient. Venezuela remains in a severe and a seemingly intractable sociopolitical crisis; much remains to be done in Venezuela and in so many parts of the world.

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Social Justice and Peace

Linda M. Woolf

If you are neutral in situations of injustice, you have chosen the side of the oppressor. If an elephant has its foot on the tail of a mouse and you say that you are neutral, the mouse will not appreciate your neutrality.—Bishop Desmond Tutu

Social justice, human rights, and peace are intertwined threads in the broad, global tapestry of life. However, for many individuals and communities around the globe, social justice is fundamentally distorted or denied. A young girl may be refused access to education or be sold into sexual slavery. An elder may have limited or tenuous access to basic health care or housing. An individual who identifies as transgender may be attacked and then afraid to contact government officials for fear of further harm. Sadly, human rights, social justice, and thus, peace for many individuals and entire communities remain non-existent. From a social justice perspective, all individuals have the fundamental right to live free from the threats of harm, brutality, torture, or genocide but also free from the burdens of inequality, discrimination, and lack of basic rights such as access to health care, housing, legal services, or adequate education.

Social justice is grounded in the presumption of equity, human rights, respect and value of diversity, and the promotion of equal social, political, and economic rights and opportunities. Definitions of social justice vary but most include elements of distributive and procedural justice. Distributive justice entails fairness related to the distribution of goods, services, opportunities, and other societal elements that foster well-being (Deutsch, 1985). Such distributions should be based on equity, equality, and need. Bell (2016) broadened her definition of social justice to include insuring that social justice processes are also ecologically sustainable. Although

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most scholars argue for fair and equitable distribution of resources, services, opportunities, and responsibilities, there is no general agreement as to what is "fair" or what is "equitable." Should all receive equal resources, should resources be divided by need, or is fairness tied to what one contributes in a community? For more analyses of distributive justice, see Olsaretti (2018).

Walzer (1983) argued that "Human society is a distributive community. That's not all it is, but it is importantly that: we come together to share, divide, and exchange" (p. 3). Distributive justice concerns the determination of what communities share, divide, and exchange. Procedural justice involves processes of distribution (e.g., decision-making; implementation) as well as how it is controlled (e.g., monitoring; evaluation, Opotow, 2002, 2018). The goal of procedural justice is the establishment of fair processes within social systems. Research concerning procedural justice has been largely focused on specific contexts such as the workplace (e.g., Bobocel & Gosse, 2015; Shin, Du, & Choi, 2015; Taylor, 2015) and the legal/criminal justice arena (e.g., Hollander-Blumoff, 2017; Johnson, Wilson, Maguire, & Lowrey-Kinberg, 2017; Murphy & Mazerolle, 2018; Pickett, Nix, & Roche, 2018). For example, one might argue that the criminal justice arena in the United States (US) is unjust on a procedural level highlighted by the disproportionally large number of African-American men who are incarcerated or killed by police. Such procedural injustices have sparked the Black Lives Matter movement in the US.

In addition to ideas related to distributive and procedural justice, many researchers include elements of rights or respect between individuals. For example, Jost and Kay (2014) included the following in their definition:

> Social justice may be said to represent a state of affairs (whether actual or ideal) in which … human beings (and perhaps other species as well) are generally treated with dignity and respect not only by authorities but also by other relevant social actors, including fellow citizens. (p. 3).

This definition embodies not only elements of distributive and procedural justice but also the rights and responsibilities that individuals have to each other, including within social systems, grounded in ideals of respect and dignity. Bell (2016) expanded her definition to include elements of human agency and social responsibility. Unfortunately, structural barriers may exist within and across communities and nations, which diminish both individual and collective agency (Bandura, 2000, 2001). Until recently, in many places around the globe, women were reticent to speak up about sexual harassment and assault, as they felt powerless to effect change. The #MeToo movement exemplifies the power of collective voices to effect social change.

Social Justice Within a Framework for Peace

Social justice exists within an ecological framework, which includes elements ranging from intrapersonal peace to the impact of globalization on peace processes affecting individuals and communities (see Fig. 1). Ecological frameworks within

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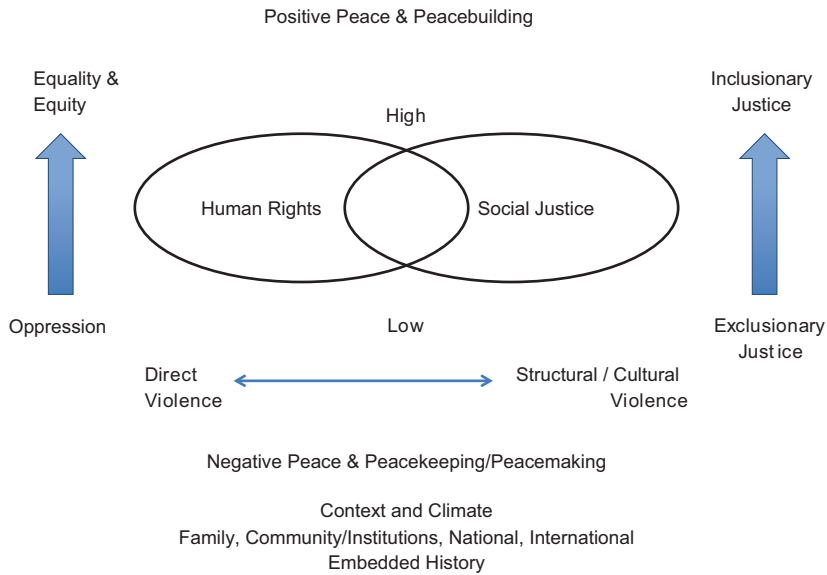
Fig. 1 Human rights and social justice in context

peace psychology, multicultural psychology, community psychology, and indeed, international relations examine the interdependence of elements within human systems. Key elements within an ecological approach to social justice include elements such as negative and positive peace; direct, structural, and cultural forms of violence; inclusionary and exclusionary justice; and human rights.

At its foundation, social justice is rooted in context, climate, and history. When examining any social justice concern, psychological scholars, practitioners, researchers, teachers, and consultants must be informed about cultural norms, such as kinship patterns, language, educational policies, economic structures, and government, and historical context. Cultures at risk for social injustice often share similar characteristics. For example, cultures at risk for hate and mass violence often are noted for glorifications of aggression (e.g., violent media; gun culture) and use of aggression as a primary means to solve problems (e.g., history of war; violent crime). Moreover, the culture may view of the world as competitive as opposed to cooperative (e.g., security dilemma) and have a long history of us-them thinking grounded in a perception that some individuals are fundamentally superior to other individuals or groups (Woolf & Hulsizer, 2004, 2005). As such and as noted by Hammack (2018), historical analysis is an essential element in understanding ongoing processes of social injustice impacting individuals, social groups, institutions, and the broader social context.

Additionally, it is imperative that psychological practitioners, regardless of area of practice (e.g., clinical, community), understand the current socio-geo-political climate. Communities, nations, and broader geo-political regions may experience a range of destabilizing crises, such as war, economic turmoil, environmental disasters,

political upheaval, decolonization, failed democracies, or terrorist attacks. During times of destabilizing crisis, existing patterns of social injustice magnify (Woolf & Hulsizer, 2005). Crisis tends to be very unsettling and disorienting for individuals. People experience confusion over personal identity, a loss of group pride, an escalation of fear and prejudice, and possible frustrations related to needs and wants (Staub, 2003). Individuals and groups, when frustrated, frequently may lash out at any outgroup regardless of whether that group was previously liked or disliked. During crisis, individuals tend to be drawn to groups to restore a sense of security, belonging, identity, and balance. Individuals may elect to join productive groups that endeavor to build connections through cooperation or join destructive groups that endeavor to increase subjective well-being through processes of marginalizing and demonizing others. Groups most likely to engage in patterns of injustice against an outgroup are those who experience loss of privilege during times of crisis (Woolf & Hulsizer, 2005). Governmental and group leaders can increase that destructiveness, particularly if they scapegoat marginalized groups in an effort to restore a sense of group pride or nationalism.

Within cultural and historical contexts, individuals may experience direct, structural, and cultural forms of violence. Direct violence represents instances of harm that are largely visible, intentional, dramatic, personally directed against another, and may be motivated by instrumental needs, ideological goals, or on occasion, for power or sadism—a person is physically assaulted, a woman raped, or a country is at war (Christie, Tint, Wagner, & Winter, 2008; Christie, Wagner, & Winter, 2001; Galtung, 1996; Opotow, 2001). Because of the overt nature of direct violence, it can be prevented and there are periods of nonviolence.

Structural violence represents social inequities that have long-term negative impacts on individuals and communities. As such, structural violence is much more insidious, ubiquitous, and continuous (Christie et al., 2001; Galtung, 1996; Opotow, 2001). Although individuals may be physically harmed as a result of structural violence, there is no identifiable perpetrator. Hence, individuals may become ill and die but the process tends to be slower, less personal, and reflects problems institutionalized within a culture. For example, marginalized populations within a culture may have limited access to good jobs, adequate housing, basic health care, or even food. A homeless person who dies of exposure in the snow is a victim of structural violence. The harm caused to individuals is not as a result of a direct violent action but rather, the long-term effects of social inequality, neglect, and failure to respect fundamental human rights for devalued populations. Galtung (1969, 1996) identified these seemingly intractable forms of structural violence built into societal norms as cultural forms of violence. Ideologies that promote inequities and violence (e.g., work ethic, racism, culturally defined gender roles, heteronormativity, cisgenderism, class structures) cause harm but are viewed as normal and appropriate, often bolstered by religious belief systems or those holding social dominance orientations (Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, & Malle, 1994).

Galtung (1969, 1996) further differentiated between positive peace and negative peace. Too often, people conceptualize peace as an absence of direct violence or conflict. Some individuals might argue that the absence of destructive conflict

translates into communities of peace. However, this characterization only defines the concept of negative peace and does not encompass the equally important concept of positive peace (Shields, 2017). Negative peace addresses intervention during times of violence—interventions designed to prevent further destructive action and endeavor to reach goals aimed at reconciliation and reconstruction post-violence. Ultimately, negative peace involves strategies aimed at promoting nonviolence and eliminating direct forms of violence.

During and following times of destructive conflict, psychologists may be involved in peacekeeping, peacemaking, or peacebuilding (Christie et al., 2001; Christie et al., 2008). Peacekeeping is designed to prevent violence by keeping those involved in destructive conflict separate from each other. Interpersonally, police may separate individuals engaged in potentially violent domestic disturbances. On an international level, the United Nations sends peacekeepers to regions of conflict to prevent further conflict and violence. Peacemaking represents efforts to settle disputes and to forge peace agreements (Christie et al., 2001; Christie et al., 2008). Diplomacy, the use of mediators, and active negotiations all represent efforts at peacemaking. Occasionally, direct peace negotiations can be conducted between disputing parties but more often, a neutral party will be enlisted to assist with the negotiation process. Experts in conflict resolution and multi-track diplomacy can assist individuals and groups as they move towards alternate paths of negotiation to bring about peace. Peacekeeping and peacemaking focus on creating conditions of negative peace—removing sources of direct violence. However, unless the disputing parties make efforts towards reconciliation and reconstruction of communities, conflicts may resume.

In contrast, the aims of positive peace focus on reducing structural and cultural forms of violence and enhancing social equality and opportunity. Unless societies, both within and across geo-political boundaries, address issues of racism, sexism, ageism, homophobia, ableism, classism, poverty, cisgenderism, and other forms of social, political, economic, and ecological injustices, positive peace cannot be attained. A comprehensive path to peace necessitates strategies aimed at both negative and positive peace. One such strategy is peacebuilding, which is designed to bring about conditions of positive peace. Peacebuilding focuses on reducing structural violence and barriers to social justice and aims to foster communities characterized by conditions of enablement, social equality, equity, justice, and value of human rights (Christie et al., 2001; Christie et al., 2008; Staub, 2003). Unfortunately, the creation of such communities may threaten the status quo and reduce the amount of privilege enjoyed by a majority culture. Loss of privilege may be perceived as a new form of oppression. Hence, communities must engage in third-order change— changing a community's worldview, assumptions, and normative practices (Bartunek & Moch, 1987). According to Jason et al. (2016), "Communities in which third-order change occurs have developed a culture of continual questioning, constantly identifying problems and social precipitants to problems, implementing solutions, and engaging in ongoing process and outcome evaluations for these solutions" (p. 21). As such, steps to building communities of peace must involve paths of critical self-evaluation both intra- and interpersonally, open dialogue, collaborative problem-solving, diplomacy, and restorative justice.

Human rights and social justice are inextricably linked concepts and processes. A culture that does not support human rights for all of its peoples is also lacking in social justice. If a society denies social justice for a population, then their human rights most likely are being violated. Human rights are inherent and fundamental rights, freedoms, and protections entitled to all persons regardless of ethnicity, national origin, gender, sexual orientation, age, socioeconomic status, race, religion, ability, or other classification. These rights are universal, inalienable, and indivisible. Human rights include civil and political rights, as well as social, economic, and cultural rights. In 1948, the United Nations (UN) established human rights under customary international law with the signing of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights by most member states of the UN. The rights enshrined in the 30 Articles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights were further codified in international law with the adoption of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (UN, 1966a) and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (UN, 1966b).

Ideally, all nations will sign (i.e., a formal representative of a government signs the treaty), ratify (the legislative body of a government votes to become a party to the treaty), and enforce the various UN human rights treaties. Unfortunately, not all countries have signed and ratified these conventions. Moreover, a nation may sign/ratify a UN human rights treaty but only with the inclusion of reservations or qualifications, which essentially make the Convention unenforceable. Other core human rights documents have followed such as the Convention on the Rights of the Child; Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women; Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities; and the Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment. The UN (2018) Office of Human Rights Interactive Dashboard includes a list of human rights declarations, conventions, and protocols and the status of signing and ratification for each instrument—http://indicators.ohchr.org/.

Violations of human rights often occur as direct forms of violence. Individuals are tortured, directly harmed by a denial of education, or forced into slavery. As such, one of the challenges of human rights doctrine is its individualistic approach. Nonetheless, social justice overlaps with human rights as violations of fundamental rights may be maintained and promoted on structural and cultural levels. For example, a woman may be a victim of battering by a domestic male partner—an instance of direct violence. However, lack of police response or concern, governmental laws legalizing such abuse in some nations, and patriarchy all continue to fuel violence against women. Until broad social injustices against women are addressed, domestic violence and other forms of assault will continue as the largest category of human rights violations around the globe.

Dominant groups within a culture sometimes engage in exclusionary justice practices in relation to marginalized populations. For example, in 1987, a Florida judge joked during a case involving the beating death of a gay man, "That's a crime now, to beat up a homosexual" to which the prosecutor replied, "Yes, sir. And it's also a crime to kill them." The judge replied, "Times have really changed" (Stryker, 1998). Unfortunately, all too often the US criminal justice system and entire

communities turn a blind eye to discrimination and violence against gender and sexual orientation diverse individuals (e.g., lesbian women, gay men, and individuals who identify as bisexual, transgender, queer, intersex, asexual (LGBTQIA+)). In some nations, violence against LGBTQIA+ individuals is not only condoned but sanctioned by the state with penalties including imprisonment or death.

Exclusionary justice is embedded in practices of moral disengagement (Bandura, 2016) and moral exclusion (Opotow, 2001, 2018). Moral disengagement is a process, whereby despicable acts are morally justified (e.g., for the greater good) and minimized. For example, as part of the US war on terror, prisoners were tortured. Yet, such actions were justified through the use of euphemistic language such as "enhanced interrogations:" palliative comparison was that such "interrogations" are better than allowing a city to be bombed; and dehumanization of the victims. Dehumanization is a necessary tool to reduce the cognitive dissonance that may occur when individuals behave negatively towards other human beings (Berscheid, Boye, & Walster, 1968).

Reductions in social justice and human rights translate into increasing levels of exclusionary justice and oppression of marginalized and targeted groups. At the heart of oppression are systematic violations of human rights and increasing levels of structural and cultural violence. Oppression is built into society's institutions, laws, norms and values, and may intersect with systems of injustice on a global scale. Marginalized groups may internalize oppression (Banks & Stephens, 2018) and as such, take on the identity designated to them by the dominant culture and "accept their subordinate status as deserved, natural, and inevitable" (p. 91). Young (1990) also argued that oppressed groups experience powerlessness, marginalization, and violence.

Issues of oppression and privilege are complicated as individuals live in a crossroads of identities—intersectionality (American Psychological Association, 2017). As such, an individual may have privilege as a white male in dominant US culture but be oppressed as a gay man. Individuals must learn to navigate and negotiate through life, maintaining multiple social identities or what Rice, Enns, and Nutt (2015) referred to as "living at the borderlands" (p. 257). Although various forms of oppression may have similarities, particularly in terms of the psychological impact on individuals, it is important to remember that different forms of oppression interact (Shin, 2015). For example, an older white man and an older African-American woman may both experience ageism. However, their experiences are different because of gender, race, and their unique histories embedded in culture.

Although social injustice and exclusionary practices are built into many social structures, it is important that recognize that individuals from dominant sociocultural groups may perceive their privileged status as normative. Certainly, cultures vary in the degree to which they are characterized by diversity as well as the degree to which they are open to and tolerant of such diversity. Exclusionary justice, oppression, and violence appears to be related to the degree to which individuals, groups, and nations accept imperialist beliefs and promote ideas highlighting a designated group as superior and more deserving. The promotion of neo-liberal economic policies has resulted in benefit for some and deprivation for others. Dominant groups frequently

come to perceive other individuals and groups as disposable (Giroux, 2017). Additionally, victimized individuals are more likely to be devalued and blamed for their misfortune. If such misfortune is perceived to result in extended suffering, the degree of victim blame increases—after all, we must live in a just world (Correia, Vala, & Aguiar, 2001).

Example: Globalization and Child Sex Tourism

Structural inequities and injustices such as poverty, gender inequality, educational barriers, cultural norms, the effects of war, and economic demand all fuel contexts perpetuating child sex tourism (CST). Children are routinely bought and sold for a variety of reasons (e.g., domestic labor), with child sex trafficking constituting one of the largest and most profitable arenas for transnational crime (Davy, 2013, 2014; Majeed & Malik, 2017; Parmentier, 2010; Penttinen, 2008). Sadly, CST can occur in any city or tourist resort around the globe (Lusk & Lucas, 2009). Although individuals have been trafficked for labor or sex though much of recorded history, the rise in globalization has been a spark igniting CST, a relatively new global phenomenon (Eirienne, 2009; Majeed & Malik, 2017; Panko & George, 2012; Penttinen, 2008). Globalization and the growth of neo-liberal economic policies have further deepened social injustices in many regions around the globe as well as fostered new forms of injustice in a globalized network of have and have-nots.

There are no clear estimates concerning the number of children trafficked for sexual exploitation. Kosuri (2016) placed the number of children exploited as part of the sex tourism trade at approximately two million. Sadly, statistics are largely estimates based on a variety of parameters attempting to measure a hidden population using select data from select counties. The U.S. Department of State (2016) acknowledged, "Given the complex nature of human trafficking, it is difficult to amass reliable data to document local, regional, and global prevalence" (p. 12). Moreover, some categories of sexual exploitation of children are defined as outside the realm of trafficking or CST. For example, child marriage is treated as a distinct category. Yet, in some nations (e.g., Iran, Egypt) a man may commit to a "short-term contract marriage," whereby he has access to his girl bride for a period of hours or for the summer (Mikhail, 2002, p. 47). As such, statistics concerning child sex trafficking as well as sex tourism are guesstimates at best.

Although trafficking is not a new phenomenon, the rise of migration both as a feature of and contributor to globalization has led to the burgeoning of the sex tourism industry (Davy, 2013, 2014). Trafficking is often described as a ramification of migrations from global South to North as individuals become ensnared in a trap while trying to improve economic opportunity (Eirienne, 2009). Families may be assured that their children are going to lands of prosperity as nannies, domestic workers, or for an education, only to be smuggled into a new land or have their passports taken upon arrival and forced into sexual slavery. Although some of these children land in places such as the US or western Europe, traffickers take other

children to destination countries where the demand is high for CST—a crime that often occurs with impunity. According to Davy (2014), the new global architecture is less about North-South but rather "which divides humanity into elites, the bourgeoisie, the marginalized and the impoverished, cuts across territorial and cultural boundaries, rearranging the world into the winners and losers of globalization" (p. 45). It is those winner elites that are able to travel to CST locales with the children as losers. Children are no longer viewed as human but rather as commodities to be purchased.

Within economically poor nations, child sex trafficking is a consequence of uneven economic development and irregular migration often consisting of labor movements from rural to urban areas in developing countries (Voelkner, 2014). In states such as Cambodia, Vietnam, and Thailand, globalization has unevenly transformed agrarian economies into neo-liberal manufacturing economies, with marginal wages and displacement (Davy, 2014). Economic desperation may force young girls in rural regions into CST as families endeavor to fend off debt, displacement, and starvation (Davy, 2013). Moreover, as the International Labor Organization passed protocols banning child labor, many children found themselves "transitioned" into CST.

Although migration and economics are inextricably linked, there are several important economic dynamics related specifically to globalization and CST. For example, Majeed and Malik (2017) identified several push/pull factors related to the growth of CST. In Thailand, poverty, changing economic systems, and gender inequality are all push factors moving children and young women into cities with promises of financial gain. However, these individuals, particularly girls, are at risk of being trapped in a CST brothel. Traffickers also experience a push due to the lucrative nature of CST and what was once a business run by local criminals and pimps is now part of an organized transnational crime network (Davy, 2013, 2014; Penttinen, 2008). The primary pull factor is the large global demand for child sex workers and virgins (Davy, 2013, 2014; Lusk & Lucas, 2009; Majeed & Malik, 2017). Virgins in particular are valued as a commodity as they are perceived as being less at risk for transmitting sexually diseases (Davy, 2014) and are sometimes viewed as a potential cure for HIV/AIDS (Meel, 2003).

Bales (2004) documented the costs versus benefits of child sex slavery across a range of child sex brothels in Thailand. He noted that a brothel can generate an income of approximately $81,000 per month while only spending about $10,000 on food, clothing, other necessities for the children, and the cost of police bribes (the largest expense). The police further bribe government officials up the line such that CST occurs in many places with relative impunity—procedural justice is nonexistent. In states, with lax CST laws, trafficker income increases dramatically. In countries such as Malaysia and Indonesia, the sex industry makes up between 2 and 14% of the national gross domestic product (Cotter, 2009). According to Cotter's analyses, in the Philippines, the sex trade is the fourth greatest contributor to the gross domestic product. Many developing nations view sex trafficking as development capital (Davy, 2013). Poor families and children are not the beneficiaries of distributive justice.

Peerapeng, Chaitip, Chaiboonsri, Kovacs, and Balogh (2013) used data from six countries to analyze the relation between factors such as trade and foreign direct investment. According to their analyses, trafficking correlates positively with direct foreign investment. As such, it may be that transnational corporations in search of cheap labor are unintentionally destabilizing cultures, magnifying existing social injustices, creating new forms of oppression, and placing women and children at risk of trafficking.

Even in economically wealthy countries such as the US, sex trafficking and tourism are profitable. According to Kosuri (2016), tourism companies enjoy a $20 billion profit per year by arranging sex tours to places such as Thailand, Costa Rica, Cambodia, and Brazil (Kosuri, 2016). Of course, such tours are organized in a way to maintain deniability and escape from US prosecution. CST is a high income industry with relatively few costs due to inadequacies in local, state, and international enforcement of laws against CST and trafficking (Penttinen, 2008).

Technology has also facilitated and profited from CST. The U.S. Department of Justice (2016) reported that the Internet has been a boon for CST or "extraterritorial sexual exploitation of children" (para. 4). The Internet serves as a medium for child sex tourists to easily meet individuals, exchange information, find locations for travel, and recruit others to participate in CST. Additionally, travel is easier, faster, and cheaper enabling individuals to travel who may not have been able to afford the cost or time previously (Davy, 2013, 2014). The growth industry of budget airlines, which advertise online, has become a popular tool of those involved in CST (Chang & Chen, 2013; ECPAT, 2016).

Globalization in relation to CST is also a sociocultural process. Conceptions of "otherness" appear in the research literature concerning CST. Sex tourists often have a romantic or exotic view of sex with an ethnically diverse child (Eirienne, 2009; Kosuri, 2016). The child exists within a foreign culture, which is viewed "as a product, something to dabble with, to taste, but not to analyze, empathize with, or internalize" (Eirienne, 2009, para. 7). Additionally, it is likely that Koops, Turner, Neutze, and Briken (2017) were correct in their assessment that sex tourists view children from different cultures as things existing outside of normal human boundaries. Abusers morally disengage and the child is attributed the same level of humanity as an amusement park ride or other tourist attraction.

In some states, such as Thailand and Vietnam, neo-liberal ideas of trade have led to the normalization of the sex trade (Penttinen, 2008). According to Voelkner (2014), in Vietnam, *Đổi Mới* has occurred, changing the country's economic path towards a socialist market-driven system. However, one of the unintended consequences of this path has been a change in social identity of girls and young women and the commodification of sex, including CST. It has become normative. The government of Vietnam has endeavored to reclassify this element of trade as a social evil. However, as a young woman recounted:

> My family was so desperate. Back then, we were poor to the extent that with plain rice, you'd count the bowls and never was there enough. I was in ninth grade. I was a good student. I had to quit after I took the exam. Before I could go to the tenth grade, I had to quit to look for work. I hid what I did from my mom. The money I made I brought home

to feed the little ones. Back then, school fees were a few dong for the little ones, and I brought home more than one hundred thousand dong in one day. Can you imagine? (Voelkner, 2014, pp. 380–381).

The global economics of sexual exploitation can be difficult to wash away with statements and campaigns regarding social evils.

Path to Social Justice and Peace

The promotion of social justice and positive peace can take many forms from intra-personal to international. As such, it is unrealistic to think that a clear path can be delineated in a brief chapter. Opotow (2018) noted, "Social justice is a construct bound up with hopes and ideals. A socio-political imaginary, it can be envisioned even when present circumstances are wanting. Indeed, the specifics of social justice can become equally vivid in their absence" (p. 41). Nonetheless, all of us can take actions to increase social justice in small arenas at home as well as on national and international levels.

Legal Responses: International and Domestic

Although the UN plays a key role in the promotion of human rights, the work of protecting human rights occurs within nations. The UN has limited enforcement mechanisms and adjudication of cases before the International Criminal Court or ad hoc tribunals is largely limited to the most heinous crimes against humanity (e.g., genocide). Individuals can work to insure that nations ratify all of the human rights treaties and achieve complementarity between domestic and international human rights law. Many countries and smaller communities maintain their own human rights commissions and councils providing assistance and support to victims of human rights abuses. Individuals can engage in efforts to expand the resources and power of these commissions to enforce human rights, work on prevention and broaden social justice and change within their territories.

For example, responses aimed at addressing CST have involved both international and domestic law approaches. On the international law level, the Palermo Protocols (UN, 2000) set out to address issues of trafficking, including the trafficking of children, using a comprehensive international approach. The Protocols establish human rights international law and adjudication mechanisms in relation to trafficking as a transnational crime. The UN (1989) Convention on the Rights of the Child established human rights law and norms for children including a prohibition against sexual abuse and exploitation of children.

On the domestic level, for example, in 2003, the US passed the Prosecutorial Remedies and Other Tools to End the Exploitation of Children Today—the PROTECT Act. This law allows for extraterritorial jurisdiction and prosecution of those who

travel for the purposes of and/or engage in sex tourism with children. The law applies not only to those who engage in CST but also creates penalties for anyone who might arrange or profit from such travel. Currently, less than 50 of the UN member states have extraterritorial laws for the prosecution of individuals involved in sex tourism (ECPAT, 2018). According to Kara (2011), the best way to reduce demand is to increase risk for traffickers—those who organize and profit off trafficking.

Advocacy

Non-governmental organizations address a variety of social justice and human rights concerns. For example, the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch, and International Federation of Human Rights, all fight for the rights of individuals both domestically and internationally. Moreover, these organizations often document human rights abuses, work for the enforcement of human rights law, and promote agendas and policies aimed at social justice. Individuals can not only support but also work with and within non-governmental organizations to bring about positive peace.

There are many programs on the transnational level as well as local levels aimed at the prevention and elimination of the trafficking of children, both in relation to forced labor and sexual exploitation. In addition, these programs offer services to victims of trafficking. On the international level, groups such as UNICEF (https://www.unicef.org/) and End Child Prostitution Child Pornography and Trafficking of Children for sexual Purposes (ECPAT: http://www.ecpat.org/) are essential in fighting for the rights of children. According to Davy (2013, 2014), there are a vast number of anti-trafficking organizations but these organizations' actions are not well coordinated. Hence, there is a call for greater inter-agency partnering.

Voelkner (2014) argued that in addition to micro-level responses to child sexual trafficking, that more work needs to be done on the macro-level. Although responding to the needs of children and their families is imperative, it is equally important to address government and political concerns, migration, cultural norms, gender inequities, and economic inequalities—changing structural and cultural forms of violence.

The Role of Psychologists

Psychologists can play an active role towards building cultures of peace and social justice. In 2018, APA President Jessica Henderson Daniel (2018) initiated the Citizen Psychologist program. The program was designed to recognize the work of psychologists engaged in advocacy and change around the world. APA has honored psychologists, from practice, research, consulting, education, and all fields in which psychologist endeavor, for their role in improving the lives of others and communities. As psychological practitioners, at all educational levels, it is imperative that we use our knowledge to help provide services for individuals who are victims of

human rights violations and injustice as well as build communities of positive peace grounded in the ideals of social justice.

In 2017, APA adopted the *Multicultural Guidelines: An Ecological Approach to Context, Identity, and Intersectionality*. This resource includes ten specific multicultural guidelines, background research materials, and applications for psychologists in practice, research, and consultation. Additionally, the resource provides case studies for analysis and discussion. Although not every multicultural issue is included in the resource, it can be used to expand one's thinking and place issues of human rights and social justice into an ecological context.

All individuals interested, studying, or engaged in psychology should review and incorporate the ethical positions inscribed in the Universal Declaration of Ethical Principles for Psychologists (International Union of Psychological Science, 2008). This set of principles provides a benchmark for ethical service and practice within a global context and "reaffirms the commitment of the psychology community to help build a better world where peace, freedom, responsibility, justice, humanity, and morality prevail" (Preamble). As noted by Gauthier (2008), "Psychologists are citizens of the world. Adherence to ethical principles in our work contributes to a stable society that enhances the quality of life—and respect for human rights—for all human beings" (para. 1).

Final Thoughts

When looking at the enormity of human rights violations and social injustices in our communities and in nations around the world, it would be easy to despair. Nonetheless, all of us can engage in what Jewish tradition calls *Tikkun Olam*—repair of the world. We may not be able to fix all the ills of the world but we can work to insure that child victims of trafficking are provided the care they need, schools to help prevent a life in sexual slavery, and other reforms to increase their opportunities in life, grounded in ideals of social justice. Together with professionals from other disciplines such as sociology, human rights, law, international relations, and anthropology, psychologists can have an impact on the local and global level. Without action, social justice will continue to be denied, individuals will be harmed, and unfortunately, lives will be lost. If everyone engages in small acts aimed at equity, inclusionary justice, human rights, social justice, then we will be closer to a vision of positive peace.

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Peace Stories: A Model for Creating and Sustaining Peace

Mary Gloria C. Njoku and Jessica Senehi

Introduction

Peace as defined by Njoku (2015) is "a basic human rights issue. It involves respect for human dignity, justice, altruism, empathy, communication, sense of community, sense of control, fairness, wellness, environmental harmony, environmental safety, and access to basic needs such as food and shelter." Peace has been associated with economic, social, and political development. Recently, the United Nations included peace in the agenda for the millennium development goals (MDG). Many nations have adopted specific actions to safeguard peace. Unfortunately, among the first lines of actions taken by nations in times of difficulty is engagement in war.

U.N. resolution 52/13 affirmed that the purposes and principles of the United Nations were aimed towards the transformation of an international system of war and violence to a culture of peace and nonviolence. Aspects of moving towards a culture of peace include moving towards peaceful ways of conflict resolution, gender equality, and social solidarity rather than marginalizing and harming targeted groups, and human rights (Richard & Swanger, 2009). It also includes moving away from corruption, control of the press, and emphasizing value of framing in financial terms at the expense of social relations (Richard & Swanger, 2009). Peace leadership is leadership that is mindful of creating and sustaining a culture of peace, often

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The names of all individuals and families discussed herein have been edited to ensure anonymity expected in cases where the stories were retrieved from the public domain.

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in the aftermath of political and interpersonal violence (Njoku, 2013a, 2013b) and promoting value of social relations and the common good.

In Nigeria, for example, when the eastern part of the country decided to separate from Nigeria, the leader of the nation declared war against those engaging in the cessation because of the need to keep Nigeria "one." There are other examples from other nations that have turned to war as a way to solve their problems. These examples give the impression that war is necessary for peace. We also know that the peacebuilding mission of the United Nations has not been successful with creating more peaceful nations. The increases in violence and war in this millennium suggest that we need to change the strategies we are using to resolve differences and conflicts. Indeed there are signs that indicate the move towards new approaches to peace such as storytelling.

Senehi (2002) describes storytelling as "language encompassing vocabulary, grammar rules, norms of communicative behavior, and narrative forms" (p. 43). Language has many functions. When we speak, language conveys our ideas and thoughts to the listener (Myers, 2007). Language is also the bedrock of education. Noam Chomsky (1972) posited that the study of human language helps us to attain the qualities of the mind that are unique to human beings. Steven Pinker (1990) expressed that language is "the jewel in the crown of cognition."

Language transforms our experiences. And because we can describe our experiences, when other people are involved, we are able to check our understanding of the same experience with those with whom we had the experience. Sometimes, the mere fact of finding the language to describe our experiences can create transformation of such experiences. It is this transformative power of language that makes telling stories of peace an instrument for creating and sustaining peace.

This chapter focuses on the role of storytelling as a path to peace and social transformation. First, the article addresses the role of storytelling through the lens of theories at the intersection of psychology and peace. Second, some ways through which people have drawn on the power of storytelling for peace are reviewed. Finally, the case of Coal City 92.9 FM radio Peace Program in Enugu, Nigeria, is reviewed. Three stories used in the program are presented with discussion of why the stories were used, and lessons learned from the project.

Background: Storytelling for Peace

A story, most simply, is "someone telling someone else that something happened" (Smith, 1981, p. 228). Stories are a way of knowing and for giving expression to events. Life is a series of events, and so storytelling is an expressive form that gets at a person's experience of living life, including life's challenges and how one responds to them. Arguably, it is only through experience that one learns the most important things about how to live one's life, as well as vicariously through hearing about the experience of others—which will naturally be in the narrative form.

Whether stories are drawn from a person's experience or are fictional, they will still address the nature of life (Senehi, 2002).

Involving a teller and at least one listener, storytelling is a social interaction (Ryan, 1995). For people who are not able to hear and speak, stories can be related through sign language. Storytellers emphasize that there is more or less an equilibrium among the storyteller, the story, and the recipient of the stories. The storyteller, who makes the choice of what to tell and how to tell it, is in a position of influence in the social construction of meaning (Bauman & Briggs, 1990). The story itself encodes meaning, and for the whole history of language and across all cultures, social knowledge and values are encoded in stories that are passed from one generation to the next. Also, listeners can decide to embrace, negotiate, or reject a story (e.g., Bobo, 1996). If a story is completely at odds with a person's experience, they may reject that story (Neuhauser, 1993). All stories are not equal: destructive storytelling dismisses the experience of whole groups of people, creates and affirms description, and misrepresents reality; constructive storytelling promotes inclusion, respect, and awareness (Senehi, 2002).

A perennial question is whether art reflects or shapes society. While it may be hard to demonstrate or see the effect of a particular speech act, expressive event, television show, radio program, or film, these forms of expressive culture influence collective understanding and build a society (e.g., Foucault, 1972/1993; Gerbner, 1998). If stories encode meaning, then more constructive stories will enrich an environment with more ideas and knowledge on which people can draw. Constructive stories provide discursive resources, and in times of stress, confusion, ambiguity, and challenge, such resources can promote insight, problem-solving, resilience, and hope (Senehi, 2017).

Storytelling is a way of getting at meaning, and this is at the core of how storytelling is important for psychology and for peacebuilding. Metaphors are powerful ways to synthesize the significance of things (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; Loue, 1993). While language is intangible, the interpretations, motivations, values, and even the sense of what is possible are held and encoded in language, this becomes a basis for thought and action, and have "narrative potency" (Raheja & Gold, 1994). Stories are about what happened, and they also have a point—for example, that a particular response to a situation backfired, or a particular approach to a problem worked.

Meaning is at the core of one's identity because it addresses the question, who am I and why am I here? And it is at the core of relationships because it addresses the question, who am I in relation to others? Meaning encompasses personal and cultural values, as well as particular interpretations of experience, including social situations. How we interpret the cause of something will likely determine our response. If we blame the other, we will attack the other. If we can see a particular problem as the root cause, we can attack the problem, and even attack the problem with our previous adversaries as allies, and put our energies into identifying and meeting people's needs.

Positive psychology has drawn on the power of storytelling for motivation in business (Neuhauser, 1993) and sports (Parkin, 2010). There is a strong component of sense- and meaning-making across psychotherapy models (Njoku, 2013a, 2013b). Stories have been seen as a respectful way to invite someone to change

without overpowering them, and perhaps for that reason have been shown to be effective with young people who have been rejecting of authority (Painter, Cook, & Silverman, 1999). In all cultures and all religious traditions, storytelling has been the primary means of teaching and sharing values.

Because one's life is made up of experience, one's identity is bound up in understanding one's life (Bruner, 1986, 2002). Through metaphor, and through combining disparate events in an overarching narrative that make sense, people find meaning in their particular lives and connect that life within larger webs of collective and cultural knowledge and expectations (Ochs & Capps, 2002). When people face challenges, traumatic losses, and social, economic and political upheaval, how a people understand who they are, the world, and their place in the world can be disrupted or shattered (e.g., Herman, 1992). Because storytelling is a way to work with sense-making, it is critical for trauma and healing. Storytelling is seen as critical for reducing the physical distress associated with trauma (e.g., Pennebaker & Seagal, 1999). However, there is also the potential for storytelling in such situations to be re-traumatizing (e.g., Nylund Skog, 2010), and narrative therapists address this by seeking to understand how to "tell stories in ways that make us stronger" and strengthen resistance and resilience in the face of devastating personal and collective loss (Deborough, 2006).

Storytelling is accessible in many ways: almost everybody has the capacity to tell a story or understand a story without any special training or certification; and oral storytelling requires no special equipment (Senehi, 2002). This makes it effective in situations of constraint and in complex emergencies affecting thousands of people (Matenge, 2013; Reeler, Chitsike, Maizva, & Reeler, 2009). No special equipment is required for telling a story.

While media such as radio may require equipment and cost, sound alone is very effective and video is not needed. Arguably radio and sound is even more effective because when we hear a story, rather than watch a film, we may be more likely to visualize ourselves and our loved ones in the story. If a person hears a story, for example, about a mother, that person may visualize in their mind's eye, her or his own mother. While people will still relate videos to their own lives, these internal representations may be less vivid.

Almost everybody has the capacity to both tell and understand stories. Children as young as one-and-a-half can tell and understand a story (Peterson & McCabe, 1991), and even people labeled with an intellectual disability can understand stories (Folostina et al., 2015). This may make storytelling seem overly simplistic, but the human capacities essential for life need to be shared by everyone. Storytelling is likely such a capacity. Sharing information about our lives and living is essential to human life and survival.

Many insights about storytelling are borne out by neurological research. Hearing something surprising in story releases neurochemicals that promote memory retention (McGaugh et al., 1990). Neurological structures support storytelling, and suggest that storytelling is a fundamental part of the human mind and psychology (e.g., Haven, 2007). It has been found that people filter all their experience through internal stories that they have engrained in their psyche, and this explains why multiple people seeing a particular event will relate that event differently. Importantly, information received in the form of a story will be less affected and

distorted by that internal filter, perhaps because story is already in the form that our brain needs to digest human experience (Haven, 2007).

Storytelling gains its power because it is not didactic, but intersubjective. In 1942, psychologist Carl Rogers developed the idea of client-centered therapy, which placed the power not in the mind of the therapist, but with the client. He wrote: "The aim is not to solve a particular problem but to assist the individual to grow, so that [he or she] can cope with the present problem and with later problems in a more integrated fashion" (p. 28). The role of the therapist is to facilitate, through dialogue, clients' capacity to make sense of their own experience and determine their future course of action. Educator Paulo Freire (1970/1994) also spoke about the need for a dialogic process for persons to critically examine and better their social situations and their lives. Persons do not have the world explained to them, but rather become better able to interpret the world themselves. Stories of human experience are a powerful way to engage in such intersubjective dialogue. Listeners decide what they take from the story and how to apply it in their lives.

The Coal City 92.9 FM radio Peace Program is a means of vicarious dialogue in the sense that the listener is not physically in the same place and able to talk back to the speaker. The stories comment on aspects of life and themes that are very compelling to people and that many people, perhaps all people, are struggling with every day. People can draw on these stories, as discursive resources, to make sense of the challenges and moral dilemmas in their own lives, and to determine their course of action.

Review of Practice: Storytelling for Peace

Social and interpersonal conflicts are complex and have many aspects (e.g., Byrne & Carter, 1996). There are both material and intangible aspects to conflicts and conflict resolution that interconnect and interdepend in complex ways; it is important to address both aspects in parallel (Ross, 1993). While this may be a source of disillusionment in potentials for peace, it can also be seen to open up multiple pathways to peace, and to suggest the possibilities for addressing "pieces of peace" (e.g., Butler, Ruane, & Sastry, 2015), multi-track diplomacy (Diamond & McDonald, 1996), everyday peacemaking (e.g., Richmond, 2009), and local peacebuilding projects (e.g., Leonardsson & Rudd, 2015).

Storytelling is an effective way to work with the intangibles of conflict, for example, the role of socialization, identity, emotion, memory, and meaning (Senehi, 2002). All of these aspects can be destructive forces in conflict. For example, stereotypes about the identity of others can be perpetuated by socialization processes; emotions of loss and devaluation can lead to rage; and divergent interpretations of the past and geography can be a source of and sustain conflict in the present and throughout generations. Storytelling is also a way to find constructive avenues for teaching nonviolence and constructive conflict resolution; for mutual recognition, humanizing the other, and reversing internalized oppression; achieving empathy, mutual respect even in a context of conflict; and building awareness and understanding and identifying superordinate needs and goals.

Peacebuilding workshops and encounters have drawn on the power of story-telling to bridge chasms of difference, anger, and pain. Dan Bar-On developed a project called "To Trust and Reflect" that brought together the children of Holocaust survivors with the children of convicted Holocaust perpetrators, and later Palestinian and Jewish Israelis (Maoz, 2000). Participants reported that sto-rytelling was key to transforming relationships in this encounter. Building on Bar-On's work, Maureen Hetherington, in Northern Ireland, developed a program called "Healing through Understanding," which brought together former victims of violence and former paramilitaries (O'Hagan, 2008). Journalist Marina Cantacuzino (2016) developed the Forgiveness Project, which brings together people who are both affected by and perpetrators of hurt and trauma, with projects all over the world.

Some artists have drawn on the power of storytelling to address inter-communal conflicts. In Theatre of Witness, Teya Sepinuck (2013) works with participants affected by political conflict to develop their stories in community over a period of time, and then prepare a final production that is performed for an audience. In 2007, Carol Grosman developed Jerusalem Stories: Exhibit, Performance Dialogue that drew on the power of storytelling through oral history, theater, and photography to explore and promote within-group dialogue about what the ongoing Palestinian–Israeli conflict and the city of Jerusalem meant to both Palestinian and Israeli Jerusalemites (Jerusalem Stories, 2015; Senehi, Kahanoff, & Shibli, 2008).

Throughout the world, innovative storytellers, artists, therapists, community leaders, activists, and peace-builders draw on the power of storytelling for peace (Solinger, Fox, & Irani, 2008). Storytelling through writing, narrative, film, and even embroidery have been a means of emancipatory and participatory methods for promoting peace in communities (Seedat, Suffla, & Christie, 2017). In Winnipeg, Manitoba, in Canada, the Winnipeg International Storytelling Festival has been the leading edge of a movement in the city that draws on the power of storytelling for personal and social change (Senehi, 2013).

The Coal City 92.9 FM radio Peace Program is an example of an innovative, local project that draws on the power of storytelling to inspire listeners to find a path towards peace. While there are many innovative story-based projects around the world, there is little analysis of how people have envisioned these projects and what they have learned. This chapter is an opportunity to share how the program was put together, as well as insights gained. This is significant for understanding the role of storytelling in peace, as well as offering guidance for similar projects elsewhere.

Application: The Coal City 92.9 FM Radio Peace Program in Enugu, Nigeria

The peace program on Coal City 92.9 FM Enugu, Nigeria, is a weekly program conceptualized, written and anchored by Mary Gloria Njoku (first author) to draw on the power of storytelling for peace in order to critically examine issues related to

peace or the need for peace. The program is produced in English and is targeted towards all age groups. The listener is encouraged to make relevant behavior modification to create and sustain peace.

The program has been instrumental to reconciliatory activities of some families and individuals. For example, following a presentation of a peace story on one family's ability to be at peace despite their diverse religious denomination affiliations, a pastor went to his community and settled a long-standing conflict there. There were also reports of family reconciliations that occurred as a result of listening to the peace story. Some individuals reported that they felt inner peace after listening to the peace stories and some indicated that they were inspired to promote peace in their work places. Below, three sample stories are presented, with discussion about how people found insights in their stories, and the actions they took based on those stories.

Story 1: "Innocent on Trial," Written by John O. Njoku

The civil war in Nigeria had just ended. The people of Umuozu did not see Nigerian soldiers until the day the war ended; the soldiers were shouting "One Nigeria! One Nigerian!!" No one was killed as soldiers were parading through the length and breadth of the community. The people of Umuozu took part in Biafra by sending their able-bodied young men to the warfront as soldiers. Those who could not go to war fought at home by joining the militia, vigilantes, and the Red Cross.

Innocent was one of those who joined the Red Cross. The war devastated the community. Men and women died in droves owing to starvation and hunger, whereas kwashiorkor played havoc with the children. It was this ugly situation that touched Innocent to the marrows. He decided to help his people. He took two men, Mr. Amadi and Mr. Nwoke, and travelled to Uturu, a distance of 30 miles by bicycle. Uturu was the seat of the Red Cross. Their aim was to invite the Red Cross to bring food and medicine to his people. The Red Cross director was not available when they arrived. They slept in the open air at the mercy of the harmattan blizzard. They reported the devastating situation in the town. Mr. Limport was moved by what he heard and decided to visit the community 3 days later. He advised Innocent and his colleagues to go home and set up a clinic where the sick people would be treated.

When Innocent and his group returned to Umuozu, they summoned the leaders of the community and informed them about the result of their trip. A committee was set up to handle the matter. The primary school in the town was converted into a sickbay. Two qualified nurses were hired and the sick people were assembled in the school. Mr. Limport came as promised, bringing with him food and drugs. The nurses started to treat the patients at once. The people of Umuozu were very happy. At least some lives would be saved. Things went smoothly but unknown to Innocent, his cousin, Mr. Ekwedike, was not happy with the situation. He felt

Innocent was trying to outshine him in the town since he was a wealthy man and the people were worshipping him. He began clandestine moves to remove Innocent from the leadership of the sickbay.

Mr. Ekwedike and his godson, Mr. Ikekwe, who claimed to be the Red Cross chief in Ugiri area, sent uncomplimentary reports to Mr. Limport at Uturu. They claimed that Innocent and his group were mismanaging the relief materials sent to the clinic. But it was a big lie. Innocent and his group ignored them and continued with their humanitarian work. As a result of much pressure, Mr. Limport came to Umuozu again and sacked Innocent and his group. Mr. Ekwedike took over the management of the sickbay and the relief materials. His first action was to carry the food and the drugs to his house. These had been kept in a store in the school premises. At the time when Innocent was at the helm of affairs no life was lost but when Ekwedike took over, people started to die. The reason for the frequent deaths was that Ekwedike confiscated the relief materials and sold them. Innocent could not believe his eyes that his own blood cousin could do such a thing to him. This sounded like a palace coup. Innocent calmly left the scene.

Mr. Ekwedike was not yet done with his grand design to eliminate Mr. Innocent. He concocted a story claiming that Innocent hired policemen to search his house for missing relief materials. He assembled the elders and the people that mattered in the village to try Innocent. The trial took place in his house. When the people assembled, he fed them with his stories. He produced two witnesses whom he claimed saw when Innocent brought the policemen. One of the witnesses stated that he heard that Mr. Innocent brought policemen but he did not see the police-men. The other witness disappeared from the scene. The people were confused and did not know what to do. Instead of telling Mr. Ekwedike right in his face that he goofed, they decided to use traditional means. Meanwhile Innocent had no idea what Mr. Ekwedike claimed. The elders summoned everybody to Nkwodim market square. There they brought out their traditional *ofo* (staff) and said "let the guilty person die" and hit the ofo on the ground. Everybody left to their various homes.

Innocent was so sad. He couldn't understand that people who suffered the ravages of the Biafra war, people for whom he sacrificed his life, were unable to say one good thing but preferred to blind themselves with injustice. Innocent went home and handed everything to God, who is a just judge. And because Innocent was not guilty of the accusation made by Ekwedike, he did not die. He did not hold the harm done to him against the elders of Umuozu and his cousin. Innocent continued to make sacrifices for his people.

The story was used to explore the aftermath of wars. As expressed in the story, there were problems of starvation, illnesses, and deaths. Wars are associated with many challenges that go beyond those described in "Innocent on Trial." Displacements are also common in war-prone areas. This story was used to make a case for working to ensure that conflicts are resolved through strategies that do not involve war.

A second element in the story that is central to the promotion of peace is finding solutions to social challenges. In "Innocent on Trial," starvation, illnesses, and deaths were social problems that could be solved. Innocent recognized that he had a responsibility to contribute to the welfare of his people and embarked on the mission to bring relief through the Red Cross. This aspect of the story was used to discuss social responsibility and encourage people to promote the common good. Innocent's action challenges all to look for solution to the many social problems facing communities.

Other lines of discussion drawn from Innocent's story include issues of jealousy, personal aggrandizement, injustice, bearing false witness and using traditional rites in settling cases. A final thought from this story involved the quite exit of Innocent from the scene. Innocent embodied several aspects of peace that should lead people to embrace peace.

Story 2: "Justice and Compassion" Written by Sr. Brenda Walsh and Used with permission from Fr. Siciliano

Today, many people are asking about the meaning and importance of compassion in our lives. Recently, I was invited to share with an interfaith group on the subject of compassion. It is very timely because most major religions of the world all speak about the divine, about God as a God of compassion and they stress the need to live and practice compassion in our daily lives. It is a virtue that is badly needed in today's world that values competition and power and greed over compassion. In the Gospels, Jesus said: "Be compassionate as your heavenly Father is compassionate."

How do I understand compassion? Literally it means to suffer with, to be with people when and where they suffer and to willingly enter into their struggle, weakness, and pain, to let it get inside of us and compel us to make a compassionate response. One example comes to mind that worked in our area. It started three decades ago when we had very high unemployment in Racine. Families of the unemployed came together monthly and shared their pain. Often at meetings, parents would be weeping because their children who were ill could not get needed care. After one of the meetings, a few of us got together and agreed that this situation could not go on. We convened a group of local people and explored the possibility of making something happen. We got an amazing response. The hospital offered their services, a local church offered space, some health care providers offered free health care, and the State of Wisconsin agreed to provide liability coverage for those who would serve in the free clinic. Thirty years later, 350 volunteer providers serve in the clinic known as the Health Care Network which is still booming. In 1 year, over 10,000 appointments were provided for medical and dental care. It has been a blessing to many over the years. Thanks to the original group that allowed the pain to enter their hearts and they called forth a compassionate response.

This case explores issues of unemployment and our collective attitude to unemployment problems and health care system. Employment and health care problems are social justice issues that we must confront to support our brothers and sisters in need. The story also examines compassion. Compassion calls for not just feelings of pity but necessary actions to help those who are impacted by injustice. Compassion helps families, friends, coworkers, and even strangers to become other-centered and less self-centered.

An important component of the story was the approach Sr. Brenda and her group used to solve the health care problems of their community. They did not just bring an intervention. They implemented a participatory approach that included the members of the community in discussions about potential solutions to their pressing needs. This is an approach that is often forgotten in initiating humanitarian services. Sr. Brenda's story invites those who seek to make a difference in their communities to use participatory methods in propounding and implementing solutions to identified social problems and in creating peaceful relationships.

Story 3: "Making Peace" by Mary Gloria Njoku

Remember Innocent from my previous edition? Innocent was the man who suffered to get Red Cross aid for his people during the war but his cousin connived and took over the coordination of the Red Cross aid from him and accused him of an offense Innocent did not commit. Innocent was later proven innocent of the accusation.

I had the privilege of meeting Mr. Innocent again and again. I discovered that Mr. Innocent has not changed his attitude and the promotion of peaceful resolutions to issues involving him and others. During the month of July, Innocent's nephew, Onyema, who was assisting him in his home poisoned him. Indeed the story was told that Onyema's real target was Mr. Innocent and his wife. Unfortunately, Innocent's wife, Amarachi, did not feel like eating that faithful night so she went to bed without eating the poisoned food with her husband.

In the middle of the night, Innocent starting having problems. Amarachi, his wife tried to help to ease his pain but his pain worsened with every minute. Luckily for Innocent, Amarachi thought of giving him palm oil. When Innocent had consumed the palm oil, he began to purge until he released the poison in his system. The next morning, Amarachi called her children and told them about the ordeal and how they discovered that Onyema, their nephew, gave Innocent the poison.

The children were very infuriated because of this occurrence and they demanded that Onyema be sent back to his parents at once. One of the daughters, Ugonma called her friend and shared the experience with her friend who advised that Onyema should be arrested. Ugonma who seemed to understand her father's way of life discussed the implication of arresting Onyema. She felt that the arrest may

bring conflict in the family and so she advised her father to send Onyema back without wasting time.

Innocent listened to Ugonma but asked that Onyema be given 2 weeks before being sent home. Innocent and his daughter Ugonma reflected on the best possible way to send him home without disruption of family peace. Eventually, they agreed to send him home as soon as he completes his term examinations, which was in 2 weeks' time. So Innocent sent Onyema home on the Saturday following the completion of his examinations.

Innocent did not tell Onyema's parents what he did. When Innocent returned home and told his wife and children that he did not inform his parents about his poison behavior, Innocent's children were infuriated and wondered why their father did not spill the beans. Innocent quietly explained to them that he would inform Onyema's parents later when things have calmed down.

Throughout this experience, I was informed that Innocent remained calm about the whole situation. When some of his children wanted to take up the case, he advised them to let things be. He was thankful that his life has been spared. I also learned that Innocent is now afraid of eating the food through which he was poisoned.

The story in case 3 was used to explore issues of pain, family conflict, violence, unexpected death, death in general, the justice system, family cohesion, forgiveness, and healing. In this story, forgiveness was considered a necessary process for bringing closure to painful events and for growth. This story does not depict forgiveness as an easy task rather it presents forgiveness as an ultimate decision that must be taken by anyone who has been so badly hurt. Forgiveness is a path people must take to achieve optimal mental health.

Conclusion: Lessons Learned from the Peace Program

This chapter has explored the role of storytelling for peace by reviewing some of the theory and practice that has taken place, and also providing insight into a particular story-based intervention, a radio program of storytelling for peace. Three example stories have been shared to clarify types of stories the program explained, and why Dr. Njoku, who developed the program, used these stories and saw them to be related to peace. There are several lessons that we have learned from the peace program.

Lesson 1: People were influenced by the stories to respond to conflicts in their lives in constructive ways. Over the 4 years of this program, Dr. Njoku and her colleagues in the project received many phone calls, texts, and office visits from those who listened to the program and were empowered to seek peace. There were cases of families and friends who made peace after listening to the program. There were also reports of inspirations that led people to improve their behavior. One of the surprises we had was the case of a retired police sergeant who informed us that he received

relief from a physical illness after listening to the program. The above lesson has been instrumental to the continuation of the program despite challenges associated with getting stories, analyzing and recording them, and funding the program.

Lesson 2: Creating structures of support for the storytelling was a significant task that required dedication and perseverance. It was discovered that a lot is involved in running a radio program. We found strength to do this because the program was so consistent with our personal disposition and journey. First, there is the issue of funding the program. Sometimes it is possible to find sponsors for a program but sometimes there are no sponsors. In the case of the peace program, the Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria (FRCN), Coal City FM gave a 50% discount for the program. The cost of the remaining 50% was still high and could lead to extinction of the program. Each year, Godfrey Okoye University and other individuals contributed to the sponsorship of the program. Despite these contributions, those involved in producing the program often gave up their allowances and pocket money to keep the program running, and had contemplated ending the series on two occasions. But each time, the calls and texts received inspired us to maintain the program. We consider this program a way of giving back to the society.

The second issue involved time demand. Each program takes an hour to three hours to prepare. The recording time is usually 10–15 min. We had our work to attend to during the day and so often spend nighttime writing these stories. Sometimes we get existing stories from the Internet and only needed to analyze the story. At other times we receive stories from friends and family. In some cases, we write the stories of our interventions. Regardless of the source of the story, we spend time to prepare the story to fit into the peace program. When we complete the stories, we travel to FRCN Coal City FM station to record them. Given that the program is a weekly program, we prepare 13 stories per quarter for a total of 52 stories per year. The program is now in its fifth season. Our interest in promoting peace has sustained our zeal for the program.

Lesson 3: Storytelling is a powerful way to promote peace.

The overarching lesson we learned from running the radio peace program was the affirmation of the possibility of using storytelling to promote important concepts such as peace. It suggests that storytelling could help to transmit ideas, experiences, skills, and new knowledge. It could also engender the type of transformation discussed by Senehi (2002).

Considering the medium of transmission of these stories, the outcomes of the peace program denote that radio is still relevant to our society. Whereas new media have opened up more opportunities for creating and implementing interventions, traditional media such as the radio are beneficial to society. The media has been used for a wide range of programs to promote a variety of mental health and behavior change interventions including tobacco reduction, HIV prevention, and substance use disorder reductions (Jason, 1998). The current chapter extends this reach to a radio show with the intention of promoting peace. Others have also used radio to promote self-help activities such as self-help groups (Jason, 1985), but the current examples from Africa extend this type of reach that can occur in different parts of the world to promote peace.

Summary

Storytelling is one way of transmitting information and experiences that may create transformation. The stories form a discursive resource that people are able to draw on to make sense of the challenges in their lives and take constructive and peaceful steps to address them. The peace program uses storytelling to promote peace through a traditional medium, radio. Although there are several challenges associated with maintaining a weekly radio program, personal fulfillment and the reported impact of the program on the target population make the program a worthwhile project. This approach to peace promotion holds promises for the future of peace work and should be further explored by peace researchers and practitioners. This also suggests that it is important to create structures of support for constructive storytelling in societies in order to promote and sustain cultures and lives of peace and justice.

Another unique aspect of this chapter is the use of the media to promote peace activities. The media has been used for a wide range of programs to promote a variety of mental health and behavior change. The current chapter extends this reach to a radio show with the intention of promoting peace. The current examples from Africa can occur in different parts of the world to promote peace.

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Social Movements: Transforming Problems into Solutions

Rachel M. MacNair

No long-lasting large social movement can exist without problems that are a constant source of frustration. In most cases, these are problems that need to be solved or defy solution and must be lived with—after all, the whole reason that social movements are needed is because society has problems. If all society members were mindful of the problems and inclined to solve them, no social movement would be necessary. Movements always have to work against the forces that are arrayed against them and which caused them to arise.

Yet there are other problems that can be understood as ones that can be expected and normal and worked with. If we are at least aware that these are normal, and understand why they are to be expected, they can be less frustrating. At times, a good understanding can turn them to positive benefit. These include the unseen problems of other groups, a set of paradoxes that arise with progress being made, differing schools of thought in how to go about conducting the social movement, and dealing with the animosity that comes when trying to convince people to change their minds about their long-standing beliefs.

Unseen Problems of Other Groups

My observation in all the movements I've participated in is that participants have a feeling that one's own movement has so many problems, while the opposition runs so very smoothly. The impression often arises that it is only the group one is involved in that has excruciating problems inflicted on it. Other movements, by comparison, have it easy.

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However, members of opposition groups are not likely to publicize their own personality clashes, territorial squabbles, financial difficulties, and insufficient volunteers. Such things are simply not publicized. One's own movement is not publicizing its problems of those kinds either.

I suggest that this is a variant of the outgroup homogeneity effect, in which people in a different group with whom one does not have interaction are seen as being much more similar to each other than they are, or than they see each other. In this case, it is an outgroup unseen-problem effect.

The problems of one's own movement tend to weigh more heavily on the mind. The problems are also great in opposition movements, along with businesses and governments, and other social movements one might be sympathetic to but not active in. These problems are widespread and predictable. Even religious groups that stress harmony have them.

People often find it discouraging when they find such problems and I have observed many who believe their group is uniquely afflicted with them. It is actually quite encouraging to know that this is normal. This is life. This does not distinguish one movement from another. Any movement without such problems is either very small or very short-lived.

Some problems, such as a shortage of volunteers, or financial difficulties, can for all practical purposes be impossible to solve, because they are bottomless pits. If an organization wishes to simply sponsor an event or provide a well-defined service, then it can have enough volunteers and money. If it wants to help solve a major social problem, its members are unlikely to perceive that they have enough volunteers or money. The creative mind can always come up with more projects for more resources than are available. The budget could be ten times the current one and very shortly be seen as insufficient.

In those social movements that have another social movement in opposition, the tendency is to see the other side as having it easy on the finances and volunteers. It is unlikely the other movement sees itself this way. Even if they do have more money, they are likely to be more impressed with what they cannot do, and more impressed with what their opposition does do, and therefore perceive that the opposition is rolling in money while they are strapped.

The amount of problems does vary widely. The ability of a group to handle this with conflict resolution techniques can make a difference. Yet whenever frustrations arise, they can be exacerbated by a misperception that these are unusual. Conversely, knowing that these are not only normal helps, as does knowing they are undoubtedly present even though not seen in the opposition. That opposition is not nearly as powerful and smooth-running as it tries to make itself appear.

When activists express frustration about personality clashes and similar problems, my experience is that pointing out to them that their opposition almost undoubtedly has similar problems that they avoid mentioning in public seems obvious once stated. They simply had not thought of that point, and now that they do, it does help put things in perspective.

Progress and Gloom

A comparison between social indicators of the year 1900 and the year 2000 shows considerable progress in many ways. Life expectancy increased by decades for all demographic groups. High school graduates in the United States went from 6 to 85%, with similar rises around the globe. The right to vote in the United States in 1900 was limited to men 21 and older, with African American and Hispanic and Asian men being effectively blocked from the polls. All over the world, utilities and technology that were unimaginable luxuries in 1900 are commonplace now (Best, 2001).

Yet rhetoric suggesting the world is getting worse is easy to find. Medical care is insufficient in many areas, lowering the life expectancy of the poor—not over what it was, but what it could be if medical care and nutrition were up to the standards the middle class now expects. If 85% are graduating from high school, then that means that 15% are not. Voting irregularities and restrictions are still prevalent. New technologies bring pollution problems and were often produced with sweatshop labor.

These are all real problems, but the comparison of the two times still shows that there has been progress. Why is the progress unacknowledged? Is there a reason that a glass which is half-full is so often perceived as half empty?

Joel Best (2001) suggests four paradoxes for how greater progress leads to a sense of lack of progress. The paradoxes of perfectionism, proportion, proliferation, and paranoia are described below.

- The Paradox of Perfectionism

    The ideal of social perfectibility is grounded in optimism. It has the paradoxical consequence of fostering pessimism. Our efforts in the real world fall short of perfection. Those with a goal of perfection perceive the failure to achieve it, rather than the progress made toward it.

    "Problems," unlike social conditions, are meant to be solved. Expecting short-term, correct "solutions" to problems means disappointment when conditions are such that long-term, incremental improvements occur instead. The incremental improvements are not appreciated as progress because the ultimate goal of a problem solved has not been achieved.

- The Paradox of Proportion

    When large problems get solved, smaller problems come to weigh more heavily. When medicine prevents many deaths from infectious diseases, then killers like cancer and diabetes are no longer overshadowed. They get the worrying energy that used to go into the more egregious diseases. When we no longer have widespread lynching and women commonly have the vote, we find more subtle kinds of racism and sexism. When people in general are better educated, there is a different idea for how much education a person can have and still be regarded as insufficiently educated. All of the smaller problems are real problems, but their being ignored previously was not callousness. It was

the observation that there were larger problems with greater urgency. Once the larger problems are solved, the smaller ones become more compelling. The threshold for what constitutes an urgent problem has been lowered. Progress is made, but not perceived.

- The Paradox of Proliferation

    In the same way, social progress encourages the recognition of a larger number of problems. The contagion of successful social justice movements in one area encourages people to think in terms of social justice and rights in a wide array of other areas. Society is more receptive to listen to more claims. Activists have gained the skills necessary to promote such claims. The proliferation of cable channels, talk shows, and the internet accelerate this trend.

- The Paradox of Paranoia

    Progress not only makes us aware of new problems, but problems take on more of a fear of potential catastrophe. Doomsday scenarios abound. Social progress has led to large, intertwined institutions that we depend on, and we have ordered our lives thoroughly around certain technologies. We can feel the vulnerability to the dependence. Our higher expectations for institutions inspire greater fears about possible institutional failures.

The danger in these four paradoxes is that people who desire progress toward peace may pronounce the progress already made as trivial and past social policies as ineffective. This is not only untrue, but can thwart commitment to new policies and further progress.

I have observed many activists who believe that an emphasis on how great problems are is the best way to encourage people to take action. It may have the opposite effect. It is discouraging to think that all the effort put in by so many people in the past has led to only trivial changes or none at all. The assertion that no incremental progress was made with old policies gives ammunition to the arguments of those that oppose instituting new ones. It also dampens enthusiasm from those who might otherwise think they are a good idea. Pessimism and paranoia lead to despair, not eagerness. If people are to have a sense that it is worthwhile putting effort and energy into further progress, they are more likely to do so if it is acknowledged that the effort and energy invested in the past has born fruit. It is reasonable to think further effort also will.

For all of these paradoxes, the helpfulness of knowing about these is similar to knowing about unseen problems of other groups: understanding how these are normal can lead to better discernment rather than frustration. Most particularly, paying attention to progress that has in fact been made on any issue one is working on—and many issues of violence have long-term progress even in the face of short-term setbacks—is far more heartening and leads to greater enthusiasm in continuing the activism.

Schools of Thought

Several kinds of arguments continually appear in most large, long-lasting nonviolent social movements (MacNair, 2012, pp. 165–167). People are often distressed by these divisions, and feel that if there were more unity, the movement would be more successful. Since these show up so consistently, it may be a better approach to expect people to have differing views and work with this point harmoniously. In each case, movements are actually better off with schools of thought, since they can get the advantages of both. Sometimes one "side" will address the disadvantages of the other (MacNair, 2012, pp. 161–167). These divisions include:

- The "Old-Timers" vs. the "Newcomers"

    This is the case where it is most obvious that both are needed. Newcomers to a movement are crucial and this is rarely a controversial point. A movement does not grow without them. They bring in fresh ideas, enthusiasm, and help to avoid ruts. On the other hand, old-timers of a movement have experience of what does and does not work. They have long practice in the needed skills, and they are aware of what has happened before.

    Newcomers that are brimming with new-found enthusiasm may also have the impression that nothing has happened before. They were not there when it happened. They may think that the movement was not doing successful things because it has not been all the way successful yet. Experienced people will explain that something was tried and did not work, and the newcomers may discount that out of a sense of assurance of what ought to work. The contempt for the experience and accumulated wisdom of those who have been working hard for years can be very painful to the targets of the contempt.

- "Reform" vs. "Root Cause"

    There is a parable of the people of a village who awake to find many babies floating in their nearby river. They immediately help the babies, pull them out, dry and clothe and feed and shelter them. This happens day after day. Finally one person decides to go up along the river to find out why on earth all these babies are being thrown in.

    This story is often told as an explanation of a radical approach, that is to say, one that goes to the root. The babies are obviously better off not being placed in danger than they are being rescued. In the field of Community Psychology, this is sometimes referred to as first order versus second order change (Jason, 2013).

    Still, while the person is searching for the root cause, the babies are still in desperate need of immediate assistance. What if the person cannot find the root cause, or cannot quickly do anything once found? What if the fact that people are rushing to the rescue rather than ignoring the babies is part of the approach needed to reach the consciences of those endangering the babies?

Both approaches are therefore needed. Each can best be done by the people most
motivated to take that specific approach.

- The "Purists" vs. the "Pragmatists"

    Purists say compromise is immoral and detrimental in the long run. Pragmatists
    argue for an "all or something" approach, believing it immoral to allow vio-
    lence to continue while waiting for purity.

    These two approaches can complement each other. The purists keep the compro-
    mises from getting too watered-down. The pragmatists can use the purists to
    make themselves appear more moderate, making it more likely they will gain
    a hearing. This will be illustrated in a section below.

- The "Street" People vs. the "Straight" People

    Nonviolent "street" people argue it is immoral to wait for normal legal channels
    rather than taking direct action immediately. "Straight" people believe
    respectability is crucial to success. This is not a strict division. Both groups
    attend legal demonstrations, and those who may engage in civil disobedience
    might still lobby for a certain bill. Still, there are usually tensions, as those
    who are desperate for respectability think that those who opt for the priority
    of urgency are hurting the movement, and vice versa. This also will be illus-
    trated in a section below.

    Again, these two perspectives provide for a more holistic movement. Those in
    the street who communicate urgency can be ignored if seen as crazy and not
    respectable. Those who are respectable can be ignored because the issue is not
    understood as urgent. Both together can bring about a greater likelihood of
    being listened to.

- The "Single-Issue" vs. the "Everything's Connected"

    A focus on a single issue has greater clarity. It allows more people to work on a
    specific single problem, since widely divergent views on other issues do not
    matter. The strategy of building coalitions is designed for this, to allow people
    who would argue with each other strenuously on other topics to nevertheless
    work in concord on one specific point.

    A focus on multiple related issues has greater coherence. It allows for a greater
    sense of community among people who are concerned with inter-relationships
    in a larger context: various peace issues, feminism, civil rights, anti-poverty,
    the consistent life ethic (MacNair & Zunes, 2006), and so on.

    Yet a disadvantage of a single-issue approach comes especially with elections:
    candidates have a package of ideas, and if a candidate is good on one issue but
    terrible on others, or good on nonviolent issues in general but terrible on the
    specific one of concern to the single-issue advocates. Credibility on how con-
    sistent are the principles that underlie advocacy on that issue can be called
    into question. Conversely, a major disadvantage of the multiple-issue approach
    is that factionalism can so easily arise as people argue about side-issues; the
    advantages that go with focus on one only are lost.

The different approaches are useful in different contexts. Because there are advantages and disadvantages to both approaches, some discernment about what is called for in specific situations is helpful.

These are some of the common "divisions" that beset social movements. But if people in those movements are aware that these are common, and are mindful of how both can work in a complementary fashion, with the disadvantages of one approach addressed by the other approach and vice versa, then everyone can participate in the movement in the way that makes most sense to them and not be distressed that other people do things differently. "Division" becomes multiplication.

Using Cognitive Dissonance

According to the theory first advanced by Leo Festinger (1957), any bit of knowledge a person has is a "cognition" or "cognitive element." This can be a known fact or a vague concept, and everything in between.

The relationship between two of these cognitive elements is "consonant" if they agree with each other. Hugging someone is consonant if one is fond of that person. But if one cognition would imply another, but the opposite is what is actually believed, if there is a contradiction, then the two elements are "dissonant." Voting for someone one does not believe is qualified for the office is an example.

Cognitions that are neither consonant nor dissonant are "irrelevant." Eliminating dissonance does not necessarily mean making the ideas agree. It only means they do not disagree to the point of causing tension. Whenever someone has cognitions that disagree with each other, she or he experiences cognitive dissonance. This is a tension, and it motivates action. Most people try to seek relief from this instability in their thoughts. They may or may not succeed in reducing it, but most commonly, they will try. There will be some attempt to get rid of the problem by changing one element or the other to make the two either consonant or irrelevant.

Strategies for dealing with cognitive dissonance vary from person to person. But this dissonance is a strain, and people do try to get relief from it. Human beings seem to have a basic psychological need to have consistency, stability, and order in the way they see the world. When new information threatens their previous views or assumptions, they feel uneasy and resort to defensive maneuvers of one kind or another. They may screen out upsetting experiences. They may deny obvious facts. They may try to reinforce beliefs by making aggressive and belligerent declarations.

There are quite a number of otherwise puzzling events or attitudes that seem so very illogical yet can be explained with this theory. For example, some people are very reluctant to vote for someone they deem unqualified, yet feel compelled to do so under a two-candidate scenario where they hold the other candidate to be worse. If the person they voted for does win the election, then they will later justify their behavior by being far more supportive of the candidate who becomes the office-holder. That office-holder may not have improved over what made the voters

reluctant to start with, but they feel a need to make their behavior—the vote—consonant with their attitudes.

This may explain, for example, the upsurge of Republican support for Donald Trump after he took office. Republicans will claim they like his performance, and that would be another explanation. Yet when other people tried to explain what was wrong with his performance, they wondered why their logic was not seen as persuasive. They may well be working against efforts to resolve cognitive dissonance without realizing it. People who did not vote for Trump have no such problem, and therefore do not feel the same tension in hearing the arguments concerning his performance.

This is a problem each and every time a social movement is bringing to the attention of its society that there is some injustice that needs to be rectified. A common set of thinking is:

- Cognition #1: Our society is noble and virtuous and just and compassionate.
- Cognition #2: There is a problem which demonstrates this is not so.

It is common that activists will resolve the dissonance by deciding against Cognition #1. They will commonly discover that people they are trying to persuade are not so ready to do so. They will find those people instead questioning the veracity of Cognition #2, either deciding that the facts about the problem are incorrect or that those facts do not matter because it is not actually a problem. Activists keep trying and then try some more to convince people of Cognition #2, oblivious to how its contradiction with Cognition #1 makes people unwilling to hear it. The tension of cognitive dissonance is working against anything being said about Cognition #2.

The solution is clear: frame the point in a way that reinforces the positive feelings about the society rather than attacking them. The ideal way to do this is if there is any aspect in which the problem is subsiding—happening less than it used to. If it is diminishing, well then, of course it would not continue in a compassionate society.

According to the theory of cognitive dissonance, if people are given information that behavior is changing, they will then seek out information as to why this is so That is, they want to strengthen the case for Cognition #1, for positive attitudes about their society. Therefore, reasons for behavior change that have to do with people realizing that something was not as good an idea as we thought it was before will be latched onto. Activists will have such reasons readily available, of course.

As a matter of framing, instead of saying: "There is this awful problem, we are terrible to have allowed it for this and this reason, what will we do now?," we have instead "There was this awful problem, and since we are a compassionate people it's declining for this and this reason, but as a compassionate people we want to act to accelerate its decline."

This also has the advantage of keeping the problem from seeming so overwhelming that action is unlikely to succeed and is therefore pointless. To make action consonant with motivation, it helps to have a strong indication that success is achievable.

I have observed many activists under the impression that the best way to motivate people to action is to explain how terrible the situation is, and those activists will actually resist efforts to show any improvement, trying to document that the situation is worse rather than better. They know what motivates them, but they are already activists. For persuading other people, it is the knowledge that behavior is changing in the right direction that is more likely to solve any tension of cognitive dissonance and therefore make persuasion—indeed, the active seeking of reasons for why the behavior is changing—that is much more likely to be effective.

In this way, the very cognitive dissonance problem that was causing a major barrier can be used to make progress in persuasion instead.

How Do We Study These Points?

How would one study all these points empirically? Likert-response scales could be developed to assess how much people feel a deprivation of their own groups in comparison to others, how much they have the attitudes consistent with the paradoxes of progress, where they are in the different spectrums of the schools of thought, and how they see others on the opposite ends of those spectrums. These could be correlated with other measures, and most particularly, experiments could be done to see if the intervention of explaining these points changes attitudes in a positive direction.

Though there is discussion of the points in the literature, I found no studies in which such measures had been created or used. However, I do know from extensive personal experience that when the concepts are presented to activists at the time when they are making the points to which these are counter-points, the response has usually been positive. Activists tend to find immediate relief in the presentation of the counter-points, and can see the veracity of them immediately. Though not always accepted, I have never found anyone arguing against them.

The point about cognitive dissonance is harder to study; there are many studies and many approaches that might work, but there is a problem, as shown by my experience: a colleague and I spent a great deal of time designing a study, but abandoned it upon the realization that stating someone suffered from cognitive dissonance was, in scholarly terms, indistinguishable from asserting that they were philosophically wrong. That was in the nature of how that particular study was designed; in that case, the fact that people get agitated when they are disagreed with may be due to cognitive dissonance, but it also may be nothing more than that they are agitated when they are disagreed with. Any study would need to take care that it was actually measuring a cognitive process that involved dissonance.

Still, my personal experience is that when doing interviews with reporters on activist projects, if I start out with an explanation for how the problem being addressed is actually subsiding, the prediction that they will then become interested in reasons why this is so is commonly confirmed. These are much more

productive interviews than ones in which the dire nature of the problem is in the first item presented.

Therefore, most of the study of these points is yet to be done, and accumulated experience will assist in ascertaining how valuable they may be. Here I offer a couple of examples of how the "schools of thought" approach, as opposed to despairing over divisions, works in practice.

Pragmatists vs. Purists: Peace Psychology Scholars Dealing with Torture of Detainees

In 2005, in the midst of the aftermath of the September 11 attacks, the American Psychological Association (APA) accepted a report of its Presidential Task Force Report on Psychological Ethics and National Security (PENS). The report concluded that psychologists' participation in interrogations in which harsh measures were used would enhance their safety and effectiveness. There was a rally of APA members in opposition to the report; protesters held that this amounted to participation in and legitimation of torture.

Practically all members of Division 48, which focuses on Peace Psychology, believed this to be the case. However, a stark division arose on strategy.

One group of Division 48 members worked with the APA Board of Directors to set up a task force to try to revise the report so that torture would be more clearly excluded. By virtue of working within the system in a legislative manner, to make progress rather than achieving the final goal, these can be designated as the "pragmatist" end of the spectrum.

The other group of Division 48 members was outraged that this new task force included military people, and understood it to be a compromise that amounted to selling out. They instead pushed for a petition campaign to "annul" the PENS report (Coalition for an Ethical Psychology, 2011). Hence, they are the purists.

The pragmatists explained that there was no provision in the APA by-laws for "annulment." The purists regarded this point as irrelevant. Extensive heated e-mail barrages and accusations ensued. I was an official in Division 48, including being president for the last part of it (in the year 2013), and so had a duty to intervene as best I could for promoting harmony.

I proposed to the two groups that they were experiencing a purist/pragmatist distinction, as outlined above as one of the different "schools of thought" that arise in all large and long-lasting social movements. Both sides confirmed that this was helpful terminology, that it did apply, and they knew which side was which without further explanation.

Of course, it is only a continuum. Pragmatists have to have firm principles or they are not very pragmatic, and purists have to give some thought to what strategies might actually work or else they are not very pure.

Yet the proposal that, rather than choosing which side was right, both sides were actually having a role to play, was one that several people involved in the conflict could see as sensible.

However, the pragmatists saw it far more clearly. When I proposed that the purists, rather than being any kind of competitors, were instead making the pragmatists appear more moderate by comparison, one of the people on the task force confirmed to me that she could see this clearly. They had been seen as radicals and extremists when they first proposed the task force to revise the PENS report, but when the purists came and harshly reprimanded them for it, they suddenly became the people to be worked with. As a divisional president, I saw this on the e-mail listserv for all APA division officers. The APA officials most harshly criticized by the purists, officials who harshly criticized the purists in turn, regarded the pragmatists with sympathy for being attacked—and, therefore, the anti-torture points were better made than they would have been alone.

So the pragmatists needed the purists. The purists also needed the pragmatists, in that the petition to "annul" the report was never something the APA Board would take seriously. But when the revised report came out (American Psychological Association, 2013), it officially *rescinded* the PENS report—that is how it was publicly perceived, and how it was presented by APA.

The purists were not satisfied. Rescinding was not annulling. APA only said the PENS report was outdated—not that it was *wrong*. More importantly, while decrying torture, it was still allowing psychologists to participate in the interrogations. This would allow the problem to arise again. Pragmatists agreed that this was a problem, but asserted that they had done what realistically could be done. This would allow for more progress later.

After a great deal of negative publicity against APA—much of it fostered by the work of the purists—the APA finally arranged to have an investigation done. Dubbed the Hoffman Report (Hoffman et al., 2015), its 546 pages documented the case that the purists had been making all along. In 2015, APA passed a new policy disallowing psychologist participation at all, thus coming close to satisfying everyone.

This is a clear case where the interplay of the pragmatists and the purists led to a better outcome than either one was likely to do alone. Some of the people involved found the analysis helpful, and found the entire conflict a little less frustrating because of it.

Straight People vs. Street People: Separating Immigrant Children from Parents

In the "schools of thought" some people think respectability is crucial, while others stress urgency. An illustration comes from the upsurge of protest that came with the June, 2018 "zero tolerance" policy that the United States administration started to enforce at the USA–Mexico border. Central American families especially were

escaping horrific violence in their own countries, and many were seeking asylum. Children were suddenly separated from parents, even very young children.

The feelings of urgency led some to take actions of protest against administration officials most noted as associated with the policy. This led to public debate as to the propriety and effectiveness of such tactics. On June 26, 2018, for example, the PBS News Hour aired a discussion from different points of view. From the transcript:

> William Brangham [interviewer]: Sarah Sanders gets asked to leave a restaurant. Protests are occurring outside Kirstjen Nielsen's home. These protesters seem very angry about what they are protesting. What do you make of all of this?
>
> Quentin James: I think it's great. It's great for our country… Listen, the administration is, you know, in the midst of working on critical issues that are affecting people's real lives. We are removing children from their parents at the borders … These are real issues that get to the core of American values. And so I think it's a great show of where the country stands, where America really is on these issues, and, you know, we want to see more of it….
>
> [Former Pennsylvania Governor] Ed Rendell: Well, I think you have to draw a line. If people protest outside a governmental office, outside the Senate chamber, the House chamber, or at a town meeting where a public official is called it as part of his or her business, that's absolutely appropriate and fair. And the left should do it and the right should do it, because that's our God-given right as Americans. But to interfere with someone's private life when they're going out with their family somewhere, that is uncivil discourse…. if we keep doing this, it's going to fire up the Republican base in ways that nothing positive can. And it's going to make winning the election much more difficult. (Public Broadcasting System, 2018)

These are expressing well the differing points of view.

What would happen if protests of that kind did not occur? Proponents think the lack of a sense of urgency would be devastating, and opponents think that the protests instead interfere with achieving needed goals. Conversely: what would happen if such protests did occur, but no one argued that there was a problem with them? Would the movement be dismissed as merely over-wrought? Certainly, its opponents wish to do so.

A controlled experiment to see which one is correct cannot be done on the simple grounds that this kind of debate happens in practically all large or long-lasting social movements. It would be rare to find a social movement where no one cares for expressing urgency or no one stresses the importance of respectability. Nevertheless, they can both work in concert. They usually have to.

Conclusion

Several features of social movements are commonly seen as problems, yet when underlying psychological dynamics are understood, they can be explained and accommodated. At times, problems can be reframed and transformed into positive developments, and this has been emphasized in the fields of both social and community psychology (Jason, 2013; MacNair, 2012).

One problem is the perception or attribution that one's own social movement has many distressing problems, but the opposition movement is running smoothly. However, the opposition, similar to one's own group, is not likely to publicize its problems.

There can be a problem of a constant feeling that events are worsening at a time when they are objectively improving, resulting in unfounded and unrealistic discouragement.

Another problem is when a diversity of perspectives is seen as producing divisiveness. The solution is to understand the differences not as divisions, but as multiplications—"schools of thought" that constitute complementary perspectives.

Many problems common to social movements and which may seem intractable can become much easier to handle when the underlying psychology is understood. Reduction of unwarranted discouragement can help make movements more effective. Several aspects of participation in such movements that frustrate or discourage people are actually quite normal and can either be worked with or, in some cases, deliberately turned into advantages.

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Creating an Edible Dialogue for Peace: Community Gardening, Horticulture, and Urban Fruit Tree Orchards

August John Hoffman

The Healing Qualities of Natural and Green Space Environments

Resilience, empowerment, and interdependency are terms that traditionally have had profound meaning in community psychology and related disciplines that examine the psychological and psychosocial dynamics of human engagement and social interaction. Resilience is a term that is especially important among community psychologists because it refers to an individual's capacity to withstand and tolerate different types of stress-related factors (i.e., economic factors, oppression, and discrimination) that often disproportionately impact lower socioeconomic groups and underserved populations. The term resilience has been described in several ways, from an ecologically oriented model (Longstaff, 2005) to a more broadly used concept addressing how communities may adapt from stressors through the utilization of a variety of resources (Ahmed, Seedat, Niekerk, & Bulbulia, 2004; Brown, 1996). The term "community resilience" has also been used to generally describe how larger groups within the community may rebound from specific types of challenges and adversity, including higher rates of unemployment and health risks (Norris, Stevens, Pfefferbaum, Wyche, & Pfefferbaum, 2008). More recently research has identified natural and organic (i.e., *biophilia*) environments, such as community gardens, green spaces, and fruit tree orchards as both unique and ideal locations that can facilitate the development of both resilience and improved mental health among community residents (Okvat & Zautra, 2011) who reside in impacted (i.e., urban) environments. Additionally, increased contact with nature through green space environments has been shown to help establish resilience and self-confidence among younger populations (e.g., children and adolescents) through participation

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involving nature, best survival practices, and a variety of outdoor challenge programs (Besthorn, 2004). Communities that provide green space environments (fruit tree orchards) to specific vulnerable populations (i.e., victims of hate crimes, natural and human-related disasters) have been identified as highly effective and instrumental mechanisms that benefit victims both in their recovery process (i.e., PTSD) and development of increased resilience (Tidball & Krasny, 2007).

Boy's Totem Town Garden, 2018

Kelly's Ecological Theory and Green Sustainable Practices

One of the most influential theories that examined the relationship between individual levels of wellness and health with the structure of the social and physical environment within the community was James Kelly's (1966, 1968) *Ecological Theory*. This important summary has provided a foundation for community psychologists in understanding the dynamics of ecological systems and how community development works as an interdependent system between individual growth, resilience, and community responsiveness. Kelly's *Ecological Theory* provides relevant information pertaining to the reciprocal relationship between community development and resources provided by individuals that can help to build empowerment and provide a stronger sense of purpose and connectedness within the community. Community gardening activities, green space and natural environments serve as both contemporary and ideal examples in identifying the important characteristics of Kelly's ecological analogy and how outdoor natural environments can organically foster interdependence and understanding within diverse communities. Kelly offered four distinct theoretical ecological principles that work both ideally and collectively in harnessing the skills of diverse groups and serve as a foundation within community development: Interdependence, adaptation, cycling of resources,

and succession. As Jason et al. (2016) have noted, theories need to not only describe and predict behaviors but also identify *how* different types of varying circumstances (i.e., cultural variables, demographics, and community values) may influence human interaction and engagement: "A well-formulated theory should be able to explain the phenomena of interest and posit under which circumstances and conditions (people, settings, and times) a given set of propositions apply" (p. 4). Community gardens and green space environments are by definition interdependent in that the creation (and maintenance) of these gardens are dependent on the *collective* efforts of the community residents, and the success (or failure) of these gardens is determined by planning and organization principles of the community.

A successful garden is measured not only by the harvest of the healthy foods produced, but perhaps more importantly how well community residents work cooperatively and understand that the principles of trust and community resilience develop from what Norris et al. (2008) refer to as "networked adaptive capacities" and skills (p. 135). Kelly's (1968) second theoretical principle of ecological analogy is adaptation. Adaptation refers to an individual capacity to change and meet the demands of different types of environments. In this way, both adaptation and resilience are dependent on future generations learning the skills and wisdom from previous generations. Community elders and older populations in society unfortunately often become marginalized in what is euphemistically referred to as "retirement homes" or "senior centers." However, older adults and community elders can often find purpose and meaning in their lives by teaching younger populations important gardening principles (i.e., environmental stewardship practices) and the relationship between positive emotional well-being, natural environments such as community gardens, and physical health (Huynh, Craig, Janssen, & Pickett, 2013).

Kelly's third principle of *Ecological Theory* addresses the role of cycling of resources. A basic principle in healthy community development is simply in how individuals feel about and identify with their own communities—do they feel as though their communities are responsive to their needs? Do they know where to go to meet and engage with others and participate in programs that build a more resilient neighborhood where they live? Community gardening programs provide an ideal opportunity for individuals from diverse backgrounds to interact with each other and to share their skills, resources, and talents in building a more successful and productive garden. In the Inver Hills—Metropolitan State Community garden, students from West Africa shared their knowledge in improved water irrigation systems for vegetables and weed management practices, whereas students from the rural Minnesota farming regions shared their knowledge in cultivation and soil management to produce healthy vegetable harvest yields. Combined together, these collective processes of cycling resources not only improved the overall yield of fruits and vegetables but helped establish what Campbell and Cornish (2010) refer to as "health enabling social spaces"—locations for individuals to improve their positive states of psychological well-being and build social relationships with each other.

Inver Hills—Metropolitan State Community Garden

The final principle of Kelly's (1968) ecological analogy is succession. Succession refers to a process of change—recognizing that community systems and development are ever-changing and depend on the flexibility of the residents to adapt to these changes. As climate conditions change, for example, community gardeners need to adapt to these changes and produce crops that are more drought resilient and productive during extreme climate change.

Green Space Environments, Resilience, and the Sandy Hook "Victory Garden"

Communities that have been impacted by horrific and senseless tragedy (i.e., school shootings) that often impact a specific population of individuals (e.g., children) have also discovered the highly therapeutic value of outdoor green space environments and sensory healing gardens. Through a process known as Community-Partnered Participatory Research (CPPR), numerous communities have begun their own recovery process from various forms of natural and human-related disasters through a shared practices approach that builds trust, empowerment, and most importantly hope for a better future (Grolnick et al. 2018). Shortly after the December 14, 2012 Newtown, CT shooting at the Sandy Hook Elementary School, community residents, council members, and school administrators helped establish a "Victory Garden" to honor the memories of the victims (Hoffman 2015). The Victory Garden was created through the collaborative efforts of local community members and students from Metropolitan State University that planted a variety of donated native

cultivar Minnesota apple trees (*HoneyCrisp*®, *Haralson*®, and *Frostbite*®). Several of the community participants indicated that the Victory Garden would help to preserve and honor the memories of the victims and provide psychological support and "food for the soul" as the fruit trees matured and provide healthy foods for the community. Recovery programs that utilize the CPPR intervention model provide community residents and surviving family members an effective toolbox of interpersonal and relationship building skills that enables their community to address their crisis collectively and build empowerment and resilience. Some of the defining features of community resilience include the identification of specific interpersonal resources and making those resources (e.g., social capital) available for use and distribution among community residents. Many contributing factors that have been identified in the development of community resilience (i.e., psychological states of well-being, community connectedness, and stewardship) now include methods that provide greater exposure and access to the natural or organic (i.e., "green space") environment (Moskell & Allred, 2013; Okvat & Zautra, 2011; Thatcher & Milner, 2014).

Newtown, CT Victory Garden (2014)

An increasing body of research suggests that communities that incorporate a higher proportion of green space access (e.g., parks and recreational facilities) and community gardens can actually reduce individual stress (de Vries, Verheij, Groenewegen, & Spreeuwenberg, 2003), help decrease reports of chronic depression (Korpela, Stengard, & Jussila, 2016) and increase levels of activity among children, thereby improving physical activity and lowering BMI rates (Dietz, 2015). Additionally, communities that provide opportunities for residents to engage in and participate in a variety of outdoor "green space" activity programs (i.e., recreational parks and community gardens) have been identified as having a significant impact on improved mental health and well-being as well as overall improved levels of

physical health (White, Alcock, Wheeler, & Depledge, 2013). The current study will examine how communities may implement different types of green space programs and community gardens and summarize the numerous psychosocial, interpersonal, and physical benefits (i.e., community connectedness, increased resilience, and intergroup harmony) that these programs offer to community residents.

Realistic Conflict Theory and Positive Intergroup Contact

Community psychologists have traditionally examined the unique and reciprocal relationship between the environment and individuals and how social change may develop to improve living conditions (i.e., physical health) within that community (Wolff, 2014). When groups of individuals work collaboratively on a variety of tasks that benefit society, important psychosocial and psychodynamic changes impact not only the individual but the group itself (Shinn, 2015). Classic research by Muzafer Sherif and colleagues (Sherif, 1966; Sherif, Harvey, White, Hood, & Sherif, 1961) and more recently Al Ramiah and Hewstone (2013) have identified the dynamic relationship between groups of individuals who share limited resources and how the context of intergroup relations may be influenced through the development of superordinate goals. An essential element in facilitating intergroup cooperation and harmony is in providing the mechanisms that facilitate increased positive contact and allow group members to share their skills in the acquisition of these resources (Brown & Hewstone, 2005).

Realistic Conflict Theory (RCT) was first introduced by Donald Campbell (1965) and generally refers to some form of intergroup conflict that is exacerbated over the existence of limited finite resources (i.e., healthy foods, living spaces). RCT is a common psychological and ecological phenomenon among larger group members when limited resources need to be distributed in some form of an equitable process. When an unequal distribution of resources exist and are disproportionately provided to only some (i.e., dominant group) of the group members, group polarization typically occurs and often minority group (i.e., ethnic immigrant group) members become isolated, victimized, and scapegoated as being responsible for a variety of problems facing the community (Green, Glaser, & Rich, 1998). Research addressing antisocial human behaviors (i.e., aggression) responding to limited resources and in-group versus out-group bias is not new and can be traced to the classic Frustration-Aggression Theory (Miller, 1941). Unfortunately, more current research still identifies vulnerable groups and ethnic minority members as frequent targets of hate crimes as they are typically blamed for a variety of economic, ecological, sociological, and political problems facing communities and society (Green & Seher, 2003). RCT can also explain how related problems of discrimination, bias, and ethnic conflict can exacerbate the quality of interethnic relationships as dominant group (i.e., "in-group") members attempt to justify and accommodate their own needs typically at the expense of others (i.e., "out-group") members (Jackson, 1993).

Resolving Conflict via Interdependency and Superordinate Goals

In order to better understand the dynamics of group polarization and how competition for scarce resources can often result in hostility towards perceived "out-group" members, Sherif and colleagues (1966) intentionally created a highly competitive summer camp environment at the Robber's Cave State Park, located in Latimer County, Oklahoma. Sherif and colleagues wanted to show how group divisiveness, competition, and bullying can be first initiated and then transformed into a more cooperative and engaged approach in the acquisition of and distribution of shared recreational resources at the camp. Sherif had designed the study to progress within three clearly defined stages:
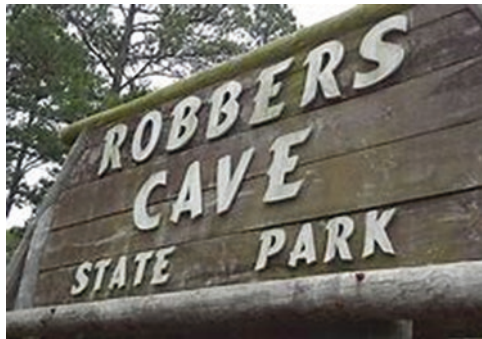
1. The "*In-Group*" formation stage where individuals typically form initial friendships with each other based on perceived similarity. This is a common initial phase among groups of strangers who first meet together in the development of some type of group project.
2. The "*Fractious*" stage where groups engage in some form of conflict due to competitive or dominant hierarchy within the group or attempts to secure limited essential resources. This is common among communities where essential resources such as food, water, living environments, and employment opportunities are in short supply and population increases threaten the availability of resources.
3. The "*Integration*" phase. The integration phase occurs where the groups realize that if they communicate, cooperate, and work together, they have a better opportunity to share their limited resources in a more equitable process. The integration phase has been identified as the final necessary component in the process of achieving superordinate goals. During the integration phase, group members typically discover that they often share more things in common with each other through frequent communication and contact with each other and that their previously held negative views (i.e., bias and stereotypes) were inaccurate and are now debunked (see Fig. 1 below) (Sherif et al., 1961):

Fig. 1 The psychological dynamics of group process

Benefits of Green Spaces and Community Gardens

Perhaps one of the most universal and inherent benefits of community gardens, green spaces, and urban fruit tree programs is simply the strong historical and popular appeal that they hold for so many people throughout the world. People have enjoyed the creation, maintenance, and development of gardens (and urban agriculture) while experiencing natural elements (e.g., soil, water, and sunlight) literally for millennia. Archeological records have identified human organized agricultural practices involving the development and production of what has been referred to as the eight primary "Neolithic Founder Crops" (emmer wheat, einkorn wheat, barley, flax, lentils, bitter vetch, chick peas, and grains) as early as the Mesopotamia era (9500 BC) (Hillman, Hedges, Moore, Colledge, & Pettitt, 2001; "History of Agriculture," 2018). Shortly after the Neolithic Revolution, more advanced agricultural and sustainable practices (e.g., gravitational irrigation systems, crop rotation, fertilizers and soil protection systems such as fallowing) were developed and used throughout Europe and Asia.

Fruit trees such as the common apple (*Malus pumila*) were discovered by Alexander the Great (328 BC) in Central Asia, Kazakhstan and introduced to North America as late as the seventeenth century (no native apple trees exist in North America with the exception of the common crab apple (*malus*). The common citrus trees (*Citrus maxima* and *Citrus medica*) have an unknown historical origin; however, the first records of citrus trees date back 4000 years to three primary locations, including Kashmir, Northern India, New Guinea and Australia ("Citrus," 2018). Several other contributing factors to the universal appeal of green space environments, gardening programs, and urban fruit tree orchards include their numerous physical and psychological benefits (Newton, 2007), psychosocial resources (i.e., social capital), and community safety and empowerment (Home, Hunziker, & Bauer, 2012). The community gardens may range from a few small square feet located in an urban apartment complex to a vegetable garden that expands several acres in a rural area. Community gardens are practical in that they can be implemented in a variety of locations, such as schools, parks, community neighborhoods, and even abandoned (i.e., blighted) parcels of land.

Community gardens can transform "food deserts" (i.e., communities that have limited access to healthy and nutritious foods) into highly productive parcels that produce healthier foods to community residents that can also provide residents with a greater sense of autonomy and control over their own lives (Guerlain & Campbell, 2016). Community gardens also provide numerous ecological and environmental benefits to the community through the education of sustainable practices, such as reduced carbon footprints (i.e., decreased dependence on fossil fuels). Community gardens can also help to establish social capital to residents because they provide a great opportunity for individuals to communicate, interact, and socialize with each other in the process of developing their garden and sharing resources (Alaimo, Reischl, & Allen, 2010).

While the majority of community gardens primarily grow healthy and edible forms of food, other types of gardens include neighborhood gardens, residential gardens, institutional gardens, and demonstration gardens (Downing, 2017). The most common forms of community gardens are those gardens that provide access for members of a community to work collaboratively with the end result of the production of healthier foods that can be distributed to community members. This process is particularly salient among lower income residents who otherwise would not be able to purchase healthy foods for their families. Neighborhoods that provide residents with opportunities to not only participate in community gardening projects but also more generally residential beautification programs (i.e., flower garden plots in recreational parks) and urban forestry programs demonstrated significantly higher reported levels of social capital and reduced neighborhood violence (Alaimo et al., 2010).

In addition to increased levels of social capital and neighborhood security, community gardens more recently have been shown to provide significant psychophysiological benefits to participants, including improved cognitive benefits (i.e.,

Attention Restoration Theory) (Kuo, 2001; Okvat & Zautra, 2011), focus and restore attention spans (Kaplan & Kaplan, 1989), and improved subjective well-being among older adults living in environments with limited interaction with the public (i.e., senior retirement homes) (Carman, 2011). Many communities in the United States have recently experienced significant increases in the numbers of immigrant families and consequently it is important to understand the mechanisms that promote the ideals that promote multiculturalism (Shan & Walter, 2015). Community gardens historically have served as ideal locations in promoting multicultural pedagogy and ideology by providing opportunities of cultural exchange and information gathering in the natural environment. At the end of the growing season, community gardens can also promote multiculturalism, cultural awareness and ultimately peaceful interactions through the practices of harvesting and sharing foods that are native to each culture, a process that Nowicka and Vertovec (2013) refer to as "communities of conviviality." Community gardens have been identified as instrumental in generally providing a greater sense of self-identity and connectedness among immigrant families who rely on gardening programs to produce foods that are native to their country of origin (Carney et al., 2012; Hartwig & Mason, 2016).

Establishing Peace and Community Resilience Through Community Gardening Programs

While there have been numerous community and health-related benefits cited from the development community gardens, perhaps one of the more recent benefits of green and sustainable programs (i.e., community gardens and fruit tree orchards) is that they provide the essential mechanisms that help to establish a more peaceful, interactive and resilient community. A key element that has been noted in helping to reduce violence, conflict, and ethnic hate crimes within ethnically diverse communities is based on what Ellis and Abdi (2017) refer to as *social connection*. A social connection helps groups of individuals from different socioeconomic and ethnic backgrounds find a common link and foundation with each other that facilitates support, communication, and understanding. Community gardens are unique in helping individuals to establish a social connection in that they help to first build social capital and create "emancipatory social relationships" that provide the necessary autonomy to groups of individuals to reshape and govern a small component of the community in which they live (Guerlain & Campbell, 2016). Additionally, when community members have developed a stronger sense of ethnic identification and social connection within their communities through the existence of superordinate goals, they are significantly more likely to exhibit community resilience in response to specific ethnic crimes and extremism (Schanzer, Kurzman, & Moosa, 2010).

Community gardening programs are unique in the process of establishing peace and understanding in that they provide an "organic environment" that helps to establish what Ellis and Abdi (2017) refer to as both "social bonding" (i.e., establishing a sense of identity with those individuals who we share similarities with) and "social bridging" (i.e., establishing a sense of identity with those people who we may not initially share similarities with). Community gardens can also provide individuals with more frequent opportunities of positive intergroup contact (e.g., communication) with diverse immigrant groups (i.e., shared ethnic foods through a potluck event) and consequently result in reduced intergroup threat (Schmid, Hewstone, Küpper, Zick, & Tausch, 2014).

Putting Theory into Action: How Environmental Stewardship and Green Space Programs Promote Peace, Resilience, and Community Connectedness

The last several pages of this chapter have provided a summary of the existing literature that examines the unique role that natural and green space environments have on the psychophysiological health of community residents. We have also examined the important relationship between nature and the structure of superordinate goals in helping people to heal in the aftermath violence, ethnic conflict, and natural and human-related disasters. Communities that incorporate more green space environments including urban forestry programs (i.e., fruit trees) have been associated with increased individual reports of well-being and connectedness to their own community with a significant reduction of aggressive or hostile feelings to one another (Kuo and colleagues, 1998). Additionally, specific forms of violence and aggression (i.e., ethnic hate crimes) and ethnocentric ideology have been shown to be significantly reduced when communities provide residents with opportunities to form authentic partnerships, engage and interact with each other which results in stronger social connections (Ellis & Abdi, 2017).

In this final portion of the chapter, we will identify how green space activities (i.e., community gardening) and urban forestry programs may facilitate the healing process among communities that have been directly impacted by violence, conflict, and catastrophic events. We will review how two communities have responded from catastrophic disaster-related events in the continued growth of resilience (The 9/11 attacks and the Sandy Hook School shooting) and evaluate the progress of each with the implementation of green stewardship and collaborative urban forestry programs (Living Memorials Project and Victory Garden). Finally, we hope to illustrate how natural and green space activity programs and civic ecology practices are vital in promoting interdependent and authentic relationships among diverse community members that contribute to community resilience, interethnic harmony, and peace.

The Tragedy of 9/11 and the Living Trees Memorial Project

Let the heavens rejoice, let the earth be glad; let the sea resound, and all that is in it. Let the fields be jubilant, and everything in them; let all the trees of the forest sing for joy (Psalm 96, pp. 11–12)

September 11, 2001 (commonly referred to as "9/11") marks the day of the worst terrorist attacks in global history and the second deadliest foreign attack in the United States since Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941 (September 11 Attacks, 2018). Over 2996 individuals perished with an excess of 6000 reported injuries, and this death toll includes the victims in each of the planes that crashed and the surrounding areas of the Pentagon. Four major airliners were hijacked that day and used to create mass death and destruction. American Airlines Flight 11 and United Airlines Flight 175 were hijacked to ultimately target and destroy the north and south towers of the World Trade Center. The third plane (American Airlines Flight 77) eventually crashed into the Pentagon in Washington, D.C. and the fourth plane (United Airlines Flight 93) was diverted into a rural town (Stonycreek Township in Pennsylvania) where it crashed in an open field. It has been speculated that the tragedies of 9/11 would have even been far greater were in not for the heroic efforts of some of the passengers on that plane.

In the aftermath of the 9/11 attacks, the number of hate crimes and reports of harassment directed towards Muslim Americans, Somalis, and persons from South Asian descent increased significantly. Within 24 h of the 9/11 attacks, several homicides were reported (the vast majority of the victims were of Muslim descent or those persons appeared to be "Third-World-Looking") and over 145 hate crimes were reported just weeks after the 9/11 attacks (Perry, 2014). Similarly, the number of Arab and Muslim Americans suffering from anxiety, depression, and PTSD symptoms post-9/11 has increased significantly. Recent research has identified over 62% of Arab and Muslim Americans as suffering from clinical depressive symptoms (Abu-Ras & Suarez, 2009), and over 87% of Arab American women reported various instances of discrimination from living in military occupied environments (Hassouneh & Kulwicki, 2007).

Despite the incredibly traumatic and horrific events of 9/11, community rebuilding efforts developed almost immediately in the wake and aftermath of the destruction. Throughout the world, vigils were held to honor the memories of the victims and New York City Mayor Rudy Giuliani remarked that: "We will rebuild … we are going to come out of this stronger than before, politically stronger, economically stronger … and the skyline will be made whole again" (*Architecture Week*, 2018). In order to facilitate the rebuilding, healing and reconstruction process of the devastated city of New York, the U.S. Forest Service initiated the "Living Memorials Project." The Living Memorials Project was designed to honor the memories of the 2996 victims of 9/11 through the development of 687 tree planting sites throughout the United States (Tidball, Krasny, Svendsen, Campbell, & Helphand, 2010).

The Living Memorials Project consisted of planting different trees ranging from small dwarf "bonsai" trees to a variety of different flowering and fruit trees.

The Living Memorials Project continued from 2001 to 2006 and the variety of trees were planted in public (street corridors, sidewalks, high schools, and libraries) areas as well as private (i.e., homes and cemeteries) areas. The Living Memorials Project is an excellent example of how groups of individuals may work collaboratively in the rebuilding of their communities that have been devastated by natural disasters, destruction, and human-related tragedy. Additionally, the Living Memorials Project provides an illustration of how the unique ecological and natural benefits of green space environments and urban forestry programs can provide a rehabilitative and therapeutic impact to recovering individuals and communities from disaster (Tidball et al., 2010).

In post-experimental interviews with participants in the Living Memorials Project program, a significant number (25%) indicated that they had compelling need and wanted to engage in some form of a green stewardship program that facilitated community growth and development. Additionally, several of the participants in the Living Memorials Project program who were directly impacted by the devastation of 9/11 indicated that the tree planting project was especially meaningful to them as the trees served as their only memorial and resting place for the loss of their family members in the attack. Additionally, one participant from the "Green Guerillas" program in the Living Memorials Project commented (Svendsen & Campbell, 2005):

"In a time when everyone is feeling less safe and less secure and less certain, just the idea that you can create community around trees and the environment and acknowledge those feelings with your neighbors this sort of provides the opportunity to deal with that"(p. 13).

One particular event during the 9/11 rebuilding effort is worth noting. Shortly after the attacks the rescue crews of New York discovered a tree at the bottom of the torn debris. This particular pear tree (*Pyrus calleryana*) was badly damaged, with a burned trunk and torn limbs. The rescue crews wanted to save this particular tree as a symbolic memory of the resilience and life spirit of the survivors and also to help honor the memories of the victims of 9/11. After several years of careful recovery at the Arthur Ross Nursery in the Bronx, the tree was returned to the 9/11 National Memorial in 2010 and subsequently has been referred to as the "9/11 Survivor Tree" (Elliott, 2015). Several of the individuals in the Living Memorials Tree Planting project indicated that by participating in the tree planting project they were able to help rebuild and develop communities throughout the United States and not just "Ground Zero." One participant from the Sunflower Project NYC wrote: "*We felt something should be in place … not just at 'Ground Zero' but everywhere. There is a power and healing that comes with digging in the dirt, planting new life and nurturing its growth. It also grows community (p. 6)*" (Svendsen & Campbell, 2005*).*

The 9/11 "Survivor Tree" (*Pyrus calleryana*)

The "Victory Gardens" of Newtown, CT

On December 14, 2012 20-year-old Adam Lanza entered the Sandy Hook Elementary School and fatally shot 20 children and several school staff members. He had previously shot his mother (Nancy Lanza) and when authorities arrived at the campus of the school Adam Lanza took his own life. School shootings have come under increased scrutiny recently in an effort to try to identify what (if any) the tell-tale symptoms (i.e., "red flag" warning signs) may be identified as a means to prevent them from occurring in the future. On May 10, 2013 the appointed members of the Newtown community and school board voted to demolish the existing Sandy Hook Elementary School at a cost of nearly 1.4 million dollars. A new school at a new location with significantly increased safety precautions was quickly designed and construction was completed in 2016 (Godin, 2016). The only remnant from the original Sandy Hook Elementary School was the flag pole that now sits in front of the new school. The razing of the school was the first step of many in which the residents of Newtown, CT began the healing process and recuperate from the deadliest mass shooting at that time by a lone gunman at any primary or secondary school on US soil.

A review of the social interaction and behavioral tendencies of Adam Lanza and other perpetrators of similar mass shooting crimes (e.g., Eric Harris and Dylan Klebold of the 1999 Columbine High School massacre) indicate a preoccupation with keeping personal journals (i.e., manifestos of destruction), violent media and video games (*Doom, Wolfenstein, and Quake*) which reportedly were comorbid with

other psychiatric disorders such as depression, obsessive compulsive tendencies, and anxiety (Office of the Child Advocate, 2014). More importantly for purposes of this chapter, although the individuals involved were considered "gifted" they still lacked the social skills to establish meaningful relationships and community connectedness with their peers.

Newtown, CT "Victory Garden" and Fruit Tree Orchard: Inaugural Planting October (2013)

After the December 14, 2012 Sandy Hook shooting, the community residents of Newtown, CT organized to create a memorial to honor the memories of the victims. On Saturday, October 5, 2013, several community residents, school administrators, and students from Metropolitan State University helped establish a community garden and fruit tree orchard with the assistance of the Newtown Dept. of Parks and Recreation. Participants were provided with tools (shovels, irrigation systems for each tree, and mulch) to help 30 different fruit bearing trees. Participants were organized into groups of 3–4 individuals and were provided with instructions in planting, watering, and mulching. At the end of the 3-h tree planting activity, participants were interviewed regarding their experiences in the development of the Victory Garden. A thematic analysis of the responses of the participants was conducted and over 87% indicated a "positive experience" in the creation of the Victory Garden and the majority of participants (85.7%) reported that they "wanted to make a difference in the lives of the community residents of Newtown, CT" (Hoffman, 2015). One of the participants also indicated that because of her work in the creation and development of the Newtown Victory Garden she felt that "we changed the lives of the community and looking back the fruit trees will grow and make the community stronger" (p. 6). Urban forestry and community gardening programs present a

unique opportunity for community residents who have been impacted by tragedy to help rebuild not only their community but also to help their own healing process. One of the Newtown, CT residents commented after the tree planting project that "The people here in Newtown, CT will now be able to watch the trees grow and they will know that the people of Minnesota really care about them … the trees will serve as a remind them of the special bond that we have now established between the states" (p. 6).

Concluding Notes: A Peaceful Society Can Exist

In his classic research addressing the disturbing increases in aggression and global violence, Ervin Staub (2013) identifies several key variables that can significantly help to reduce gratuitous violence, ethnic conflict, and hate crimes. The first mechanism is in changing how we perceive ourselves (i.e., the "self") in relationship to others. Interactive and interdependent community service activities that provide opportunities for community members to work collectively in the promotion and development of community gardens and fruit tree orchards can help increase more positive attitudes towards individuals previously considered "different" or "foreign" from us. The value of superordinate goals is critical in that they help us work more collectively in the gradual progress of achieving important goals such as increases in the accessibility of healthy and nutritious foods, environmental sustainability, tolerance, and community resilience. "We all need to eat" is a common phrase heard throughout collectivistic cultures that reminds us of our common physical and psychological bonds that we share as humans. Caring about both humans and the natural environment and understanding the evolution of this interdependent relationship is essential to the development of a more peaceful society.

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Public Enlightenment and Climate Change Impact: Need for Civil Society Intervention

Olaifa Temitope Abimbola

Introduction

Beyond academic presentations, climatological analyses, workshops, seminars and lectures on climate change and its widely speculated impacts on humans, animal and the environment in general, the realities are significant, negative impact on humans and nature in general!

This chapter does not pretend to be purely scientific. Rather it presents graphic humanitarian presentation of the sorrow, the agony, and the excruciation impacted upon a set of humans, plants and animals by perennial surge of flooding and erosion that wash their essence and threaten their existence. Consequently, this piece should evoke an awakening in state actors on formulating relevant policies to address the negative impact of climate change and concurrently spur non-state actors into raising peoples' awareness and training them in disaster preparedness, prevention and mitigation.

Humans have always been recognised as the architect of their own fortune or misfortune. The sporadic spate of disaster break-outs creates the impression that nature seems to be in revolt against humans, while on the other hand humans seem determined, through their actions to annihilate themselves. The emission of fossil fuel engendered by the seventeenth century incursion into industrial development has finally depleted the ozone layer to uncontainable limit and the earth is now exposed to direct rays of the sun. Apart from this major causal factor recently mentioned, the attitude of human beings especially the kind that inhabit the World South has exacerbated the situation. It is no news to say that the World South is inhabited by the world poor communities—Africa, Asia, Mongolians and other communities that are economically disempowered to handle their massive environmental problems.

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In the World South communities, especially Africa, climate change impact manifests in the form of deforestation, erosion, flooding, rainstorm, air pollution, water pollution, tsunamis and submergence of coastal areas. The devastating result of the impact in the form of mass displacement of persons, epidemic, population explosion, dwindling economic activities, poverty, famine, refugee regimes, etc. are easily discernible throughout the vast terrain of Africa. The carbon dioxide emission index keeps rising and people continue to drown, lose their farmlands; animals continue to become extinct when exposed to unnatural habitations; plants erode massively causing unabsorbed carbon dioxide to hang in the atmosphere.

Climate change impact is a world-wide affliction and the world is not folding its hands watching. There have been world class fora organised to debate and brainstorm over the issue. Nations have been developing and experimenting on ideas for mitigating if not arresting the spate of the impact. But, the average African person folds his or her hands watching and waiting helplessly for the rains that would herald another round of their agony. They are unsure of their future. They are insecure. They know they have to do something about their situation but know not what to do. They do not know the genesis of their predicament; therefore, to them, 'the gods are angry and would not be appeased'. In stark ignorance they awaits the final day of their doom, when, like their fathers, sisters, friends, their children and neighbours will succumb to the whims of the 'gods'. The impact of the international seminars, submits and conventions continue to elude them. All these are hinged upon their low-level awareness of the global climate change experience and how it bears heavily on their existence. There is, therefore, a great need for public enlightenment in African communities through formal and informal education.

Education

Education is the process of learning to develop the human mind physically, socially, intellectually, morally and spiritually. It is an all-encompassing whole as it develops humans in all areas of functioning that lead to their proper social integration.

Education helps to develop the innate potentials of an individual to the extent that his hidden talents and natural abilities are exposed and sharpened to the good of the individual and his society at large. Read (1943) maintains that the purpose of education can only be to develop, at the same time, as the uniqueness, the social consciousness or reciprocity of the individual.

There is a realisation of the distinctiveness of every individual. This distinctiveness or what is commonly referred to as 'uniqueness' is borne out of the genetic configurations of the individual. It may manifest in one's gait, smile- and pattern of thought, inventions and expressions. That 'thing' which is unique to him/her can be utilised for the development of that society (Read, 1943). It is the function of education to discover and develop this unique factor in the individual.

His/her distinctiveness is therefore realised in the 'organic wholeness' of his community. Only then is an individual's uniqueness of any value i.e. to the extent of integration. Farrant corroborated this by saying that education is the process of learning to live as a useful and acceptable member of the community to which one belongs (Farrant, 1973).

Apart from discovering individual's potentials and developing them for common good, education should also strike an awareness of 'good and evil' (Onyesiara & Asiuku, 1982). It should lay down precincts against which ideals are determined. This salient essence of education should therefore extend to raising humans' capacity to live in harmonious relationship with their inner beings and their environment.

Public Enlightenment

This can be seen as an effort by a group of individuals to educate a wide population on specific issues or projects within the community through means other than the regular classroom system. Public Enlightenment in the form of Advocacy, Training, and Workshop can be seen as non-formal media of imparting useful knowledge and skills to people who require such in a given moment. It falls within the Fafunwa and Aisiku's (1982) classification of informal way of acquiring knowledge and skills which goes on before one begins to attend school as well as after one completes school. It is considered as the oldest form of education known to humans and it continues today side by side formal education provided in schools, colleges and universities. It is an adaptive form of knowledge which touches many areas of experience and learning depending upon the type of society in which one finds him or herself.

Making a case for informal education, Longrand (1975) says that whatever the speed and scale of achievement of traditional structures might be—schools, universities and institutions can no longer meet the strain. The work of education will have to be pursued well beyond the school-learning age to ensure the spread of knowledge and the types of training that individuals and society will increasingly require. To him, such action can indeed only be envisaged through large-scale recourse, beyond the traditional functions of education to all the vast modern media for spreading knowledge and providing training. Ukeje and Aisiku (1982) corroborate this idea when they observe that what seems needed more in Nigeria today is a development-oriented non-formal education such as special training for farmers, craftsmen, artisans and industrial workers and in-service training for teachers and civil servants.

Given that peace education is seldom found as integral part of the school curriculum, the only other avenue for conveying instructions to this effect is through non-formal channels. Communities are brought together in informal fora for horizontal, interactive learning experiences that could be interpreted to meet their immediate needs. It is therefore germane to this paper to look at the issue of environmental peace education.

Environmental Peace Education

Environmental peace education can be defined as those units of instruction designed to inform and raise the awareness of a people about their environment with a view to stirring up a healthy agitation for the preservation of their environment. It aims at forging a harmonious relationship between humans and their natural environment in a reciprocal manner. If humans maintain the environment and preserve its natural state, the environment compensates them by caring for health and providing their basic needs like good water, plants, soil, yield in harvest, and clean air for breath, temperate weather conditions and above all, a peaceful existence on earth.

But as long as humans persevere in polluting the environment with greenhouse gases which ooze out of innumerable industries, spilling oil on farmlands and water source, erecting buildings along waterways, cutting down trees without planting their replacements, hauling wastes into drainages and committing all sorts of other aberrations against the earth, humans should expect a revolt against their actions. The environment will continue to fight for its own survival to the detriment of human's peace (Oladipo, 2006).

To be able to restore the waning symbiotic relationship between humans and their environment, it is pertinent that humans be adequately informed about his mission into systematic self-annihilation. They need to be able to adduce constructive reasons for their adverse environmental experiences which manifest in the form of flooding, erosion, rainstorm, deforestation, etc. Humans need to be familiar with contemporary environmental concepts such as climate change, climate change impact, global warming and a host of others to be able to have a good grasp of their situation.

Apart from the above, humans need also to know the various ways they have contributed to their present predicament and how they can mitigate the negative impact of climate change on their environment. They need to know the consequences of their action when they dump their waste in the gutter, fell a tree for firewood, ignite the engine of power generator, switch on all his electrical gadgets and of course, turn on the ignition of their vehicles. They finally need to know that the survival of the earth lies in their hands; that their singular effort is able to mitigate impending disaster if not reverse it totally. Humans need to know that they can no longer sit on the fence when the subject of discourse is the preservation of the environment.

These imperatives are apt as essential elements of community psychology which explores ecological understandings of people within their environment and focuses on community building as a mode of intervention (Moritsugu, Vera, Wong, & Duffy, 2013). This implies a robust cooperation among citizens to effect a desired change within their communities through effective mobilisation.

Thus, environmental peace education becomes pertinent and indispensable to creating social awareness in climate change impact and the acquisition of skills with which to prevent, mitigate and respond to disasters.

Fundamental Rationale for Environment Peace Education

The basic rationales for environmental peace education are hereby summed up as follows:

(a) Peace is fundamental to human existence on earth. Humans cannot perform to their optimal capacity in an environment of conflict. Therefore they need a peaceful, harmonious relationship between them, other human beings and their environment.

(b) Humans depend on their environment for livelihood. The ecosystem is the harbinger of food, water and the air that humans depend on for their existence. Any damage to the ecosystem is bound to impact negatively human livelihood.

(c) A threatened environment is a risk to human life. Emission of dangerous gases is inimical to human biological essence. This is why a good number of people suffer various kinds and levels of terminal ailments. Water pollution is in itself a threat to human's health and life.

(d) The environment is a heritage that need to be preserved and culturally handed over to posterity. It happens to be an overarching and most enduring inheritance that humans can bequeath to future generations. If well preserved it is bound to outlive generations of humans.

(e) Some environmental elements are irreplaceable; therefore they need to be preserved against extinction. The legendary bird, 'Dodo' for example, is extinct; So many other wildlife elements stand to suffer same fate if wildlife hunting is left unbridled.

Community Psychology

Community Psychology seeks primarily to improve the quality of life of collectivities within communities. Jason et al. (2016) maintain that 'Community Psychology was founded as a discipline that is intended to combine a scientific orientation with collaborative social action in order to empower members of some community of interest and to help them improve their lives'. Community psychology explores the environment including the culture, belief system, coping capacities for disaster prevention and management in order to collectively design effective ways of managing their own lives within their natural settings. Kelly (1966) developed an ecological framework on community psychology which identified four main interrelated elements that determine the way people exist in communities:

(a) Adaptation: He describes a reciprocal relationship in which man adapts to the constraints, restrictions, and quality of his environment and the environment in return adapts to humans' adaptive activities.

(b) Succession: Kelly believes every community has its history which transmutes in the form of culture, attitudes, norms and belief system peculiar to it. These

set of systemic elements are often transferable to oncoming generations and they largely determine the current way of life in those communities. It is incumbent therefore, on Community Psychologists to study diligently a given environment to be able to determine the accurately the prevalent and peculiar behaviours of community members.

(c) Recycling: It is important to identify the available resources in each community which could enhance intervention in the area. These could be in the form of physical resources like the strength of individuals or groups living in the community, available social amenities or governing structure on ground, which can be built upon to the success of given intervention.

(d) Interdependence: This describes a strong systemic arrangement of cooperation among stakeholders in the community. The success of one directly impacts on the other. This form of cooperation makes it incumbent on all societal organs to work together knowing that all have stakes in the success of the intervention.

Kelly's prescriptions above resonate with Jason et al.'s observation that, 'this orientation results in some important differences between the "hard" sciences and Community Psychology, in that it takes account of the fact that humans are cognitive, agentic units, and cannot be acted upon as though they were inert objects. This implies that some level of collaboration will always be required to institute social change'.

To experiment on the environmental education and community psychology principles, Stephanie Peacebuilding and Development Foundation (SPADEV), an NGO based in Abeokuta Nigeria, with an initial collaboration with the West Africa Network for Peacebuilding (WANEP) embarked on an exploratory project on the Odokala Gully Erosion and the Owa River Bank Flooding in the Odogbolu and Ijebu Ode local government areas of Ogun State Nigeria. The project took off in August 2007 and is still ongoing albeit with less involvement of the NGO.

The objectives of the project were to delineate the affected communities in the two local government areas, identify the kind of climate change impact experienced by the communities, investigate the coping capacity of the people and design ways of increasing their capacity for self-protection and disaster management. Below is the report on the methodology which includes description of the activities and the impact of the project on the people of the forty-seven (47) villages that make up the Owa River Bank Communities Association.

Historical Background of the Communities and the Local Government Council Under Assessment

The Owa River Bank Flooded Areas

The Owa River Bank areas consist of communities such as Owa Kurudu, Owa Gbangba, Imoru, Ijagun, Ololo, Medusope, TASUED, Okelamuren and Ogbo (with 47 Villages). It must be noted, however, that these communities spread within

and between Odogbolu local government area and Ijebu Ode local government areas of Ogun State.

The communities were once linked together by the Ijagun road, which used to serve as link between Odogbolu and Ijebu Ode local government areas; this road was used as a veritable means of contact and for commercial, social and economic purposes for both natives and settlers (students inclusive). Activities include farming, sale of farm product and finished consumable foodstuffs between and among people of the two local government areas. This made the traffic on the road to be busy and alive for most of the time. The Tai Solarin University of Education, Ijebu Ode (TASUED) is located at Ijagun on the other side of the Benin-Sagamu expressway. Hence, there has always been a large student population in and around these areas with about one thousand (1000) often currently residing in Igbabeto village alone.

These areas have among themselves three (3) wards in Ijebu Ode and two (2) wards in Odogbolu local government area. Each ward is represented by one (1) councillor, therefore five (5) councillors represent all the wards that spread across the affected areas. Ijebu Ode has 17 wards, while Odogbolu has 11 wards in all. The two local government areas are located in Ogun State, South-West Nigeria and Ogun-West Senatorial district.

Geographical Impression of the Area

Ijebu Ode and Odogbolu local government areas are located in the tropical rainforest belt of Nigeria. Rain and dry seasons are the normal seasons. The climate is characterised by two annual rainy seasons. The principal rainy season extends from March–June, while the secondary one occurs around September–October. The dry season (Harmattan inclusive) is not without rainfall but is low and scanty. The annual mean rainfall is about 1523 mm to 2031 mm with an average temperature of 30 °C throughout the year. Rivers in the area show considerable meanders and these include: Owa, Yemule, Ona and Yemoji. The soil type in the area falls into the hydromorphic and organic soils which are usually associated with the coastal and rival flood plans. The soil and climatic conditions combine to account for the luxurious evergreen tropical forests that dominate the local government areas. The forest consists mainly of evergreen hardwoods and palm trees.

The vulnerable groups in the areas include all the classes of group of people, i.e. children, youth, students, adults and the aged. The people in the area are predominantly Ijebus who are engaged in farming and petty trading. There is a heavy youth presence in the area because of the presence of a university in the community. Commercial driving is also a thriving business in the area.

The two local government areas are located within the Ogun East Senatorial District (Plate 1).

Plate 1 The SPADEV/WANEP team at the Odogbolu Local Government Secretariat

History and the Humanitarian Situation of the Hazard

According to the existing document developed by the Ogun State Ministry of Environment on the Odokala Gully, the Odokala was a natural stream which had its source at Itooro in the centre of the town but later dried off following deforestation of the surrounding for physical development. The development of the gully dates back to many years as evidenced by the firth of trees which have grown in its course close to and into Owa River. Initially, the Odokala gully erosion extended from Owa River into the heart of Ijebu Ode with its head at Apebi/Folagbade Street junction. The total length was about 3 km.

The gully runs along Folagbade Street, the busiest and commercial nerve centre of Ijebu Ode and constitutes a threat to both motorists and pedestrians as its banks continue to be eroded by storm water run-offs. The soil erosion constantly reduced the width of the road till it became a very narrow path and this precarious situation instigated this study and design of Apebi-Olisa Street a distance of 320 m to be carried out to check the soil loss and make the road safe both human and vehicular traffics. This was done by the Ogun State Government. For this section, a covered, reinforced concrete drainage channel of 2.5 m by 2.5 m section was constructed in 1986. However, the gully regained its activity about 1990 following the rapid urbanisation of the Ijebu Ode Metropolis. The total outstanding length of the gully is now approximately 2.5 km. The rural section of the gully which is about 980 m has recently become very active and has now developed into a fresh gully seriously ravaging the surrounding environment close to the gully head (Plate 2).

Plate 2 The Odokala Gully Erosion; 2.75 km long

The gully has swallowed houses and recently a four-storey building, washed away some graves and more other buildings on the two sides of the gully head are either partially lost to it or waiting to be swallowed up. The fresh gully head is now about 120 m from Ondo road—an inter-state highway. The gully has an average width of about 65 m and depth of about 50 m at the gully head (Plate 3).

The effort of the Federal Government to construct a diversion channel for the Odokala resulted into the partial blockade of the Owa River waterways which culminated into the Owa River Bank flooding.

The Owa River Bank Floods

Owa River is a busy river that transcends Ijebu Ode. At the Ijagun area its course serves as the boundary between Odogbolu and Ijebu Ode local government areas at the flooded point of Ijagun road/Igbabeto community. Its source is Idomila and serves as tributary to another river at Ejirin. This is about 21 km in length. The northern and southern parts towards the Owa River have a moderate rolling slope. The ground elevation towards the Owa river from the town descends from about 85 m to about 30 m above sea level.

The vulnerable group in the areas includes all age-group of people, i.e. the children, youth, students, adults and the aged. The people in the area are predominantly Ijebus who are engaged in farming and petty trading. There is a heavy youth presence in

Plate 3 This building lost a large portion of it to the Odokala gully erosion

the area because of the presence of a university in the community. Commercial driving is also a thriving business in the area.

The Owa River Bank flooding has not been able to attract either Government's or the non-governmental organisation's attentions before now. However, the communities' self-help organisations have been carrying out projects that could ameliorate the effect of the disaster. For example, they were able to break part of the blockade which is now slowly easing the flooding (Plate 4).

Nevertheless, a whole lot of construction and reconstruction still need to be done to make the communities bounce back to healthy existence.

Methodology

Qualitative methodology was employed for the development of this assessment and all its instruments were carefully deployed and described below:

Focal Group Discussion

The Project Director met with the Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Environment, Ogun State and they had an elaborate discussion on the environmental risks prevalent in Ogun State. At this meeting, it was revealed that the greatest environmental

Plate 4 The Community Development Chairman and the SPADEV team inspecting channelization effort of the community youth

risk in the state is that of the Odokala Gully which had remained almost intractable. A meeting was thereafter arranged between the SPADEV/WANEP group, the Director, Flood and Erosion Control, Engineer Adesanya, both of whom showed a great enthusiasm in the SPADEV assessment project. The team was enlightened on the extent of the damage the Odokala Gully Erosion had done both in the Ijebu Ode metropolis and the adjoining villages settled along the course of River Owa. The decision to carry out the assessment of Odokala Gully Erosion was therefore taken.

Observation/Transect Walk

This involved the physical observation of the affected areas, i.e. the Odokala Gully Erosion and Owa River bank flooded areas. SPADEV visited and held meetings at Igbabeto village on the 26th of September 2006. In attendance were Tope Olaifa and Doyin Idowu, representing SPADEV, Engr. Tunde Oduwole, Engr. Adesanya, Directors at the Ogun State Ministry of Environment, Engr. Onasose, Chief Aina, Chairman Odogbolu local government area, Chief Ogunbanjo Supervisor for Works, Leader of Council, Hon. Jimi Oloja Councillor representing the affected flooded areas in Odogbolu Local Government Council, Mr. Oduwole and Mr. Sunday Orekoya, Mr. O. Ogunnowo and Mrs. A. Y. Gbenro Sanitary Relief Officers attached to the Local Government Alh. Omotayo and Price Adesanya, Chairman and

Plate 5 Transect walk by officials of SPADEV and WANEP (NIGERIA)

Treasurer of Owa River Bank Development Associations (ORBDAs), Prince Ademola Balogun, Aladesanmi Ajayi and Gbadebo Ayodeji, members of ORBDAs. Also, Alh. B.O.A. Olatokunbo, the Oloritun of Sinepo Quarters of Ijagun and Pa Bamidele Adelumola the Baale (Head) of Igbabeto village, Deacon Oladipupo P.R.O. and Mr. Emmanuel Adekoya Secretary of the Owa River Bank Development Associations (Plate 5).

The Owa River Bank Development Associations (ORBDAs) is composed of Owa-Iworu, Igbabeto, Ijagun, Ogbo, Ololo, TASUED and Medusope River Bank Development Associations and other village heads. This group walked round the affected areas which stretch over a space of 3 km. This happened on the 26th of September 2006.

In-Depth Interviews

Interviews were conducted and various stakeholders (all present in the meeting) and residents in the affected areas were interviewed at various points and time between 26th September and 2nd November, 2006.

Key Personalities for the In-Depth Interviews

(a) Alh. B. O. A. Olatokunbo, the Oloritun of Sinepo Quarters of Ijagun
(b) Community leader of Igbabeto Village, Pa Bamidele Adelumola and Youth Association's representatives of Igbabeto
(c) Owa River Bank Development Associations which comprise of representatives and members of communities such as: Owa Kurudu, Owa Gbangba, Imoru,

Ijagun, Oloto, Medusope, TASUED, Okelamuren and Ogbo (with 47 villages) Officials of this association include the following:

–	Hon. Alh. Omotayo	–	Chairman
–	Prince Adesanya	–	Treasurer
–	Deacon Oladipupo	–	Public Relations Officer
–	Mr. Adekoya	–	Secretary
–	Gbadebo Ayodeji	–	P. A. to Chairman
–	Prince Ademola Balogun	–	Member
–	Prince Aladesanmi Ajayi	–	Member

(d) Local Government Council's Executives of Odogbolu local government area represented by the Chairman, Chief Aina, Hon. Chief Ogunbanjo, Supervisor for Works, Leader of Council, Hon. Jimi Oloja, (Councillor representing the affected areas at Local Government Council), Mr. Oduwole and Mr. Sunday Orekoya

(e) Mr. O. Ogunnowo and Mrs. Gbenro (Relief Officers attached to Odogbolu local government area)

(f) Chief Olusegun Justino Ogunbanjo, Secretary of Olufunso/Satina road Landlord Association

Content Analyses

Many existing materials on the disasters prone areas were consulted. These are basically documents containing the design earlier done on the Odokala Gully Erosion by the Ogun State Government in 2003, Federal Ministry of Environment's documents like the National Erosion and Flood Control Action Plan and Policy and Technical Guidelines on Soil Erosion Flood and Coastal Zones Management Handbooks.

Participatory Rural Appraisal

The whole process was collaborative with the representatives of community Development Associations of Owa Kurudu, Owa Gbangba, Imoru, Ibagbeto, Ijagun, Ogbo, Ololo, Okelamuren and Medusope, and other village heads, youths and women were involved throughout the programme.

Scenario Building

At the conclusion of data gathering and analysis of the environmental degradation of and twin disasters of flooding and erosion experienced in the area, it was discovered that a contingency plan would be needed to map out activities geared towards

prevention, mitigation and transformation of future environmental disasters. To this end a scenario building exercise involving SPADEV/WANEP, key personalities and major stakeholders was convened. Realising the magnitude of intervention required and unlikely ability of government to commit to plunging headlong into such a project at the time, it was decided that a three-case scenario be built to address the challenge. The outcome is hereby presented below:

Worst-Case Scenario

The worst-case scenario would be to leave the communities to their faith and allow them carry on with their struggle unaided.

It should be noted however, that the coping capacity of these communities is limited owing to their limited economic capacities. Therefore, this scenario would see the Odokala claiming more buildings and structures and eventually the Ondo road bridge which is just about 20 m away from the erosion's reach. The Ondo Bridge is the only major road which links the Ijebu villages on the Sagamu-Benin expressway with the main city of Ijebu Ode which further links Ibadan (the largest town in West Africa), a growing commercial hub which further serves as a link to the northern part of Nigeria.

The Owa River Bank floods would continue widening and destroying more buildings and claiming more land and making living more difficult for the indigenes. This therefore implies that if there is no external intervention, the disaster will continue to recycle thereby resulting into loss of lives and property including land on which their economic life hangs precariously. This would inadvertently affect the socio-political activities of the local communities, the two local governments, Ogun State and Nigeria in general.

Best-Case Scenario

The best-case scenario is WANEP (NIGERIA) or any other international organisation intervenes. The Odokala Gully Erosion would be arrested while the river itself is re-channelled. The Owa River course is widened and deepened to allow a free, unhampered flow of water. Economic activities would be actively restored in the communities. They start farming all over again and with their link road re-constructed, and a bridge built across the river, they are able to transport their goods across to the other communities in their neighbourhood and far beyond. House rent is drastically reduced because students are able to flow into Ijebu Ode city for accommodation.

Also, the environmental security of these areas shall open them up to other people who will come to explore other opportunities for the economic good of the communities.

Realistic-Case Scenario

The realistic-case scenario would be for the Federal Government of Nigeria or any development organisation to intervene by helping in reclaiming the land for agricultural purposes. A bridge is constructed across the river to allow for a free flow of water and the Owa River course is widened and properly channelled, so that it could conveniently accommodate other tributary flows like the Odokala which was channelled into it.

Strategic Action Plan

A strategic action plan was designed for the purpose of extrapolating the scenarios created above into developmental action. They are the set interventional activities towards the achievement of environmental peace in the Ijebu Ode/Odogbolu local government areas where devastating environmental disasters had occurred. The activities were designed to incorporate the effort of all stakeholders particularly the federal government. It was designed as a roadmap for the reconstruction of the flooded and eroded areas.

Short Term (1–2 Years)

Within this period, the intervening agencies could engage in the following:

- Geographical surveillance of the affected areas.
- Interaction with the stakeholders in the rehabilitation project.
- Organise capacity-building workshops/seminars or village-square meeting for all stakeholders in the communities in order to enhance collaborative work.
- Produce a Design Report of the Odokala Gully Erosion control and Owa River Bank Areas flood control.
- Begin the dredging of the Owa River from the Ibagbeto end of the flooded areas to ease the flood away through Ejirin into the lagoon.
- Construction of a culvert/bridge over the river to link Ibagbeto area of Ijagun Road with the main city of Ijebu Ode.
- Capacity-building workshops for the indigenes on environmental preservation and economic rejuvenation through farming.
- Empowerment for women and farmers through a micro credit scheme to bring the people back into the economic mainstream of the community and Nigeria at large.

Medium Term (3–4 Years)

A diversion drainage was proposed for this period. This was to prevent further soil loss at the existing gully head. The drainage would convey the storm water from Ondo road in Ijebu Ode to Owa River's course in the Ibagbeto which would have been widened and deepened in the short-term strategic plan.

Long Term (6–10 Years)

This included the following:

– Measures for proper maintenance, sustenance and review of the projects in the areas.
– Exploitation and catering for new areas of opportunities created by the project.
– Construction of a dual bridge on the Ondo road and Ijagun road in order to cater for the growing population occasioned by the rehabilitation project.

Action and Impact

This chapter will not be complete without mentioning the effect of the public awareness programmes organised for the people by Stephanie Peacebuilding and Development Foundation (SPADEV). The organisation was able to implement the first stage of the Strategic Plan (Short-Term Plan) excluding the capital projects, as those fell beyond its financial and technical capacity. Effective deployment of peacebuilding tools like Advocacy, Capacity-Building Workshops and Trainings and general public enlightenment strategies was able to strike the necessary awareness and empowerment for positive action (Plate 6).

In the course of the interaction with the people of these communities, their leaders were spurred into looking for ways they could help themselves. The hitherto layback communities seized the advantage of the sensitisation programmes and instituted some community projects which mitigated the impact of the climate on their farm products. A self-help project embarked upon by the youths was the demolition of the concrete barrier which barricaded the flow of water around the Jagunmolu section of the river in 2006. As a result, the waterway was partially opened and the flooding experience was minimised (Plate 7).

One other major achievement was that the awareness created among the people strengthened their capacity to engage government constructively over their plight. The Community Development Association Chairman, Mr. Tola Oladipupo and some of his officers aided by SPADEV began to mount pressure on the Federal

Plate 6 An awareness raising programme at Ibagbeto village

Plate 7 The narrow waterway created by the demolition of a concrete barrier by the youths

Plate 8 Channelization of the Odokala Gully: An Intervention of the Federal Government of Nigeria

Government by writing letters and seeking audience with the President, Late Umaru Yar'Adua and the Minister of Environment, Mr. John Odeh who eventually approved and awarded the contract for the wedging of the river (Plate 8).

The project is still ongoing and it is believed that it will ameliorate the negative impact of climate change on the inhabitants of the 47 villages along Owa River banks.

Conclusion

The impact of environmental peace education on the indigenes of susceptible communities to climate change impact is immeasurable. Once the necessary awareness is created and the capacity of the people is raised in relevant areas, their coping capacity is invariably enhanced. People begin to look inwards to find means of preventing and mitigating disasters and reducing their impact on their social-economic activities.

This chapter has not underestimated the importance of inter-governmental summits on climate change but rather emphasised the importance of carrying the crusade to the grassroots and involving people in the process of saving the earth by saving their own lives.

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Part V
Peace Education and Research

Restorative Justice in Schools: Theory, Implementation, and Realistic Expectations

Mikhail Lyubansky and Dominic Barter

> *"The moral arc of the universe bends at the elbow of justice."*
>
> —*Martin Luther King*

Martin Luther King's words evoke a powerful image but also leave much to the imagination. What should justice look like? What form should it take? How should it be administered, and by whom?

The answers to these questions depend in no small part on (a) how much you trust authority to act in the public interest and without bias, (b) where you stand in regard to the possibility of redemption, (c) whether you would rather err on protecting the innocent (at the cost of not punishing some of the guilty) or convicting the guilty (at the cost of punishing some who are innocent), and (d) your core beliefs about the role of punishment in shaping individual behavior and social norms.

If this sounds political, it is. In countries influenced by European approaches to justice, distinct political perspectives have traditionally either doubted or trusted hierarchical authority, focused on protecting the rights of the accused or of those harmed, and supported or campaigned against stronger forms of punishment. However, despite these distinctions across the spectrum from a "tough on crime" ideology focused on individual responsibility to one focused on changing the social conditions associated with criminal choices, policy has similarly relied on state-imposed punishment as the primary response to crime. Indeed, "getting justice" in these countries is so synonymous with punishing the person who broke the law/rule that many are hard pressed to even imagine justice having any other form.

Within this sphere of European colonial influence, punishment was traditionally intended to cause physical suffering and tended to take a corporal form (e.g., flogging, caning, whipping). Even capital punishment was typically intended to

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elicit suffering before death.[1] While the punitive system's claims to legitimacy have rested largely on its supposed unbiased, universal application, its actual distribution has consistently followed the distribution of power within these societies and in relation to their colonial domination. Thus, in these societies, punishment has simultaneously served the secondary function of socially controlling marginalized populations and prohibiting acts perceived to be subversive of this control. As social sensibilities and the colonial logic started to shift, more explicit imposition of physical suffering began to be replaced by means primarily exclusionary in nature. In this way, the practice of temporarily or permanently excluding a person from society, primarily through incarceration, has increased in many societies.

Such punitive practices are pervasive. Professional sports leagues typically enforce their rules with fines and suspensions. Many workplaces rely on a system of written warnings, probationary periods, and ultimately work terminations. Colleges and universities, faith communities, and political/activist groups all have their own codes and exclusionaary sanctions. Even family life equates justice with punishment. Indeed, the home is the most punitive place many of us know or remember, with various forms of corporal discipline still normative in many regions and communities. Though no longer endorsed by developmental psychologists and pediatricians, more than 80% of Americans continue to believe that "spanking is sometimes appropriate" (Corso, 2013). The highest rates are found among born-again Christians, African-Americans, Southerners, and Republicans, but spanking is endorsed by the majority of every major US demographic category (Enten, 2014). Moreover, even in so-called progressive and evidence-based circles that tend to reject corporal discipline, punishment itself is so widely accepted and practiced with children that parents who reject punishment (and "consequences") altogether are often ridiculed for their "permissiveness" and "neglect" (Kohn, 2006).

Conventional School Justice Systems

With the exception of a handful of alternative schools, both public and private schools in these societies have similarly defaulted to punishment as the primary response to conflicts and rule violations, typically constructing discipline systems and policies that closely resemble those of the punitive criminal justice system. Historically, schools relied on corporal punishment as the primary discipline strategy well into the second half of the twentieth century. Its use has declined over the past 50 years (e.g., US rates were 400% lower in 2014 compared to 1978, Gershoff, Purtell, & Holas, 2015), but corporal punishment continues to be practiced in 69 countries (Gershoff, 2017), including in the United States, where it remains legal in public schools in 19 states (and in private schools in every state except New Jersey

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[1] Interested readers can find a description of such punishments at https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_methods_of_capital_punishment#Ancient_methods

and Iowa) and commonly used in many of those states, especially in the South (Farrell, 2015).[2] Schools maintain these practices in direct contradiction to empirical evidence that links school corporal punishment to a variety of negative outcomes, including increased aggression, disruptive behavior, lower academic achievement, increased drop-out rate, and a variety of internalizing symptoms such as school phobia, low self-esteem, anxiety, somatic complaints, depression, and suicide (Poole et al., 1991).

As public support for corporal punishment waned, school systems, like their criminal justice counterparts, began to turn toward exclusionary discipline. Accordingly, detentions and suspensions (and when deemed necessary, expulsions) began to replace corporal punishment and new structural systems sprung up to implement the new policies. As part of this discipline infrastructure, certain spaces in the school became designated as in-school suspension rooms and schools worked to develop an efficient process via which teachers and other school staff could remove a student from class or other school space. Following such removal, a new full-time professional role (usually occupied by deans or vice-principals) was developed to process the discipline violation by determining responsibility for wrongdoing and meting out the appropriate punishment.

Looked at from the perspective of control, in many ways this system worked well. Its use was so widespread that students and teachers could count on a familiar system even when they switched schools. It aligned with the logic present in many homes and exemplified in the functioning of the criminal justice system, and was thus mutually reinforcing of consistent standards across young people's interactions with adults and of the relationship between education and society as a whole. It swiftly (albeit temporarily) removed from class behavior deemed to be disruptive to instruction, which generally resulted in teachers depending on this methodology to feel supported by the administration. Having discipline professionals focus on accountability and behavior also allowed teachers and discipline specialists to both do the kind of work they wanted to do and removed teacher bias from the discipline process. Over time, this system of exclusionary discipline not only became familiar to students, teachers, and parents alike but generally got endorsed by all three as the correct response.

Paralleling the increase in adult incarceration rates, school suspension rates also saw sharp increases in the mid-1990s, when "tough on crime" laws led to the Gun-Free Schools Act of 1994. This act required each state receiving federal funds to have a state law requiring students bringing a firearm to school or being in possession of a firearm in school to be suspended for at least 1 year (Legal Information Institute, n.d.). This and other "zero tolerance" school policies sought to increase safety and create learning environments conducive to learning. To those ends, exclu-

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[2] According to the U.S. Department of Education, nearly 167,000 students received physical punishment in the 2011–2012 school year, with Mississippi and Texas accounting for 35% of the reported cases. According to the report, Alabama, Arkansas, and Georgia accounted for an additional 35% (Anderson, 2015). Students can be physically punished from kindergarten to the end of high school, meaning that even legal adults (over age 18) are sometimes spanked or paddled by school officials (Farrell, 2015).

sionary discipline was widely endorsed by US educators as an effective and more progressive alternative to corporal punishment. It did not turn out that way.

Despite widespread support by experts in both criminal justice and education, exclusionary discipline did not actually produce the desired outcomes in either context. A review of the criminal justice outcomes is outside the scope of this chapter, but the school data are unambiguous. While it was posited that suspensions would increase safety and academic achievement, a major study concluded that, compared to demographically matched low-suspending schools, "higher suspending schools reap no gains in achievement, but ... have higher dropout rates and increase the risk that … students will become embroiled in the juvenile justice system" (Losen & Martinez, 2013, p. 20). For those students who are suspended, the risk of negative outcomes is particularly high. Being suspended once in 9th grade doubles the drop-out rate from 16 to 32% and a single suspension triples the chance of juvenile justice involvement within a year. Additionally, high suspension rates likely diminish school and community safety by increasing student disengagement, diminishing trust between students and adults, and removing students from adult supervision for extended periods (Losen & Martinez, 2013). The findings are so compelling that the American Academy of Pediatrics (2013) concluded that suspensions do not make schools safer and called for pediatricians to urge schools to end them except as a last resort.

Importantly, there is also a racial aspect to school exclusionary discipline. The rise is suspension rates in US middle schools and high schools has been almost exclusively for black, Latino, and American Indian students. Black students, in particular, have experienced the highest increase, moving from 11.7% (in 1972–1973) to 24.3% (in 2009–2010), compared to just a 1.1% increase for white students, a race-group difference that is more than 11 times higher (Losen & Martinez, 2013). As a result, black student suspension rates are currently almost 300% higher than those of white students. The change in the number of Latino suspensions is also notable, not only because the suspension rates for this group have also almost doubled (12% compared to 6.1% in the 1970s) but also because Latino and white suspension rates were almost indistinguishable in the 1970s (Losen & Martinez, 2013).

The racial disparities in suspension rates become even more pronounced when race and gender intersect. An analysis of national elementary schools (ES), middle schools (MS), and high schools (HS) shows that the suspension rates for black boys in MS and HS are at 30%, a gap of over 20% relative to their white peers. The suspension rate for black girls is at a more modest 17% (MS) and 19% (HS) but these rates are not only much higher than those of their white peers (3% MS, 5% HS) but also higher than those of male students in any other racial/ethnic group (Losen & Martinez, 2013).

These racially disparate discipline outcomes are sufficiently troubling that they have become an increasing focus of both school reformers and racial justice activists. During Barack Obama's administration, Secretary of Education, Arne Duncan, made eliminating them a primary concern and state legislatures and school districts responded with policy changes designed to reverse the trend (e.g., AB420, passed in California in 2014, which prohibits public schools from expelling or suspending

students in third grade or below for "willful defiance"). Unfortunately, though there have been documented decreases in suspension rates in recent years, the racial disproportionality has not changed, including in California where black student suspension rates remain about 300% higher relative to their white or Hispanic peers (Loveless, 2017). Furthermore, the federal directives did nothing to address the underlying issues for the students' behaviors and there are concerns that the directives are themselves potentially discriminatory (Heriot & Somin, 2017).

The Restorative Alternative

Restorative justice is a roughly 40-year-old international movement organized around a coherent philosophy and ethical theory and consisting of a variety of different practices from many places across the world, many of which claim roots in indigenous traditions. New Zealand codified restorative justice as a first response to juvenile crime in 1989, with Australia following in 1991 (Maxwell & Hayes, 2006). By 2005, an estimated 100 countries formally utilized some form of restorative justice (Van Ness, 2005). Today that number is undoubtedly higher, with the Council of Europe, European Union, and the United Nations publicly endorsing restorative practices (Richards, 2011).

More specifically, restorative justice is defined as "a process whereby all the parties with a stake in a particular offence come together to resolve collectively how to deal with the aftermath of the offence and its implications for the future" (Tony Marshall, in Braithwaite, 2000, p. 115). Whereas punitive justice essentially seeks to achieve justice by determining which law/rule was broken and imposing (just and proportional) suffering on the person who broke it, restorative justice focuses on identifying the harm to both persons and community and, to the degree possible, repairing that harm through making amends (Zehr, 2015). Thus, the parties involved and impacted by what happened gather for the purpose of mutual understanding and, eventually, voluntary agreements designed to repair harm and address unmet needs.

Notably, while those who caused the harm are supported in making amends, it is not unusual for other community members to also be moved to contribute to the unmet needs of both the individuals and the larger community. Thus, while punitive justice is typically handed out by those with authority status (judges in the courtroom, teachers and principals in the schools, parents or guardians in the home), restorative justice aims to be an inclusive, dialogue-driven, and community-owned process. Importantly, the emphasis on community is broader than just as a response to harm. It is also "a proactive strategy to create a culture of connectivity where all members of the school community feel valued and thrive" (Oakland Unified School District, n.d., p. 2).

At the same time, the modern restorative justice movement has no single origin, no unifying theory, and no dominant approach. In addition to indigenous influences, the movement has been shaped by radical criminologists, including Nils Christie, John Braithwaite, and Howard Zehr; a variety of thinkers in education, psychology,

and other disciplines; and a handful of practitioners who developed their own unique methods through trial and error in the field. As a result, a variety of very different practices are labeled as "restorative" and, for the present, there is neither credentialization nor licensure for those doing restorative justice work. The corresponding diversity of approaches allows flexibility and innovation but also creates confusion about what it means to be restorative and challenges in terms of researchers' ability to systematically examine which practices produce the most favorable outcomes in different contexts.

In the United States, the Lansing School District in Michigan (2005), the Minneapolis Public Schools in Minnesota (2008), and the Oakland Unified School District in California (2005) were among the early adopters (Byer, 2016), instituting district-wide mandates to implement restorative practices but often without clear guidelines regarding what such implementation should look like. Other school districts (in a variety of different states) are similarly vague. In Illinois, Senate Bill 100 mandates that schools first exhaust all "appropriate and available behavioral interventions" (the list includes restorative practices, as well as mindfulness and social and emotional learning) prior to expelling or suspending students for more than 3 days (Illinois General Assembly, 2015, p. 7). In addition, there is no widely accepted restorative implementation roadmap, only a set of guiding principles and a still small but growing group of restorative justice pioneers with sufficient experience to provide schools with initial training and system-building support.

Restorative Principles

Restorative principles are widely discussed in the restorative justice movement by both scholars and practitioners. A comprehensive treatment of these principles is beyond the scope of this chapter. However, the first author (Mikhail) here elaborates on a few that he considers essential based on the second author's (Dominic's) work in Brazil and around the world.

Principle 1: Engaging Conflict Is Productive

Most of us learned how to respond to conflict early in life from watching our parents and navigating our own conflicts with parents, teachers, siblings, and classmates. Many of us learned that one either wins or loses and that winning feels a little better. Some of us were hit by our parents for hitting someone else, because, of course, "hitting is wrong." Some of us learned to give in to the demands of those with more power and to stay out of their way. Some of us learned how to hurt others—sometimes with fists, sometimes with words—before they could do the same to us. Some of us learned to lie, because the truth might upset someone with power. Some of us came to understand that conflict is unpredictable, that it can result in a parent

leaving the family or in some form of violence. In short, many of us learned that conflict is messy and potentially dangerous.

From a restorative perspective, we got it all wrong. It is not conflict that is dangerous but how we have learned to interpret and respond to it. When we fail to hear and understand the unmet needs (e.g., justice, respect) behind the conflict, we create conditions for those who are unheard to turn up the volume, initially literally but, in some cases, eventually with violence (Barter, 2012). This is particularly important for members of marginalized groups whose histories and current experiences are often characterized by erasure, invalidation, and oppression. As Martin Luther King (1968) observed, "a riot is the language of the unheard." Through such a lens, a conflict is an opportunity to understand what is not working for people and figure out together what might be done about it. In such a context, conflict engagement does not get in the way of safety; it increases it.

Principle 2: Conflicts Belong to the Community

More than 40 years ago, Nils Christie (1977) pointed out that when Western nations created the modern justice system, they decided to give away people's conflicts to professionals specializing in law and law violations. There were good reasons for this. There were more and more laws and sorting them out was becoming more and more complicated. Professionals could do it better and, it was thought, with less bias. But there was a (perhaps unintended) downside. Those whose job it became to sort out conflicts (i.e., police, attorneys, judges) were typically not themselves impacted by those conflicts and had relatively little connection to either the communities in which the conflicts took place or to the people who lived in those communities. Restorative justice seeks to return the conflicts to the individuals who are involved and the communities that are impacted. Its emphasis is not on which laws were broken but on understanding and repairing the harm (see principle 4) so that individuals can relate to each other better and so that the community can remain (or become) healthy.

Principle 3: Effective Conflict Engagement Requires Collaboration and Power Sharing

The restorative movement often calls for inclusion and collaboration. In the context of a school system's hierarchy, this might manifest as a demand that those with structural power voluntarily share some of that power with those who lack it. Such shifts can inspire relational changes beyond the confines of the school's response to conflict and bring additional benefits. Thus, when Mikhail's students bring to him either a concern or a request, rather than making the decision unilaterally, he now looks for opportunities to include them in the decision-making. "What do you think

would be fair?" he asks. Almost all of the time, he is content with their response. When he is not, he articulates his concerns and invites them to join him in thinking through how those concerns might be addressed. Most of the time, the decisions made using this approach are not significantly different than those he would have made on his own. However, because they were meaningfully included in the decision-making, the students often view them with more enthusiasm. And the inclusion really is meaningful. We know this, because there are times when the decision winds up being something different than what Mikhail originally had in mind.

Importantly, power sharing does not mean handing power over to someone else and abdicating the responsibility that goes with decision-making. In many ways, the responsibility remains solely mine, as will become immediately clear if there is ever any kind of review or appeal. This is entirely appropriate given that I am the one with the requisite training and credentials and am the one employed to teach the course. With power sharing, those with more power are still involved and still responsible. They are just choosing collaboration over unilateral decision-making. In this same way, when someone's behavior causes harm, adults in the schools need not give up their power to make decisions that promote safety and learning. Rather, they bring their expertise to the community process, which also includes the voices of those with less power.

Principle 4: The Goals Are Mutual Understanding and Agreements About How to Go Forward

Like conventional justice, restorative justice is interested in what happened. It also concerns itself with the motivations of the actors in making their choices and on the impact of those choices on themselves and others. Ideally, it examines the systemic conditions that may have contributed to those choices. Because it is, at root, a community process, it is not a so-called impartial authority who must understand the facts but rather those who are directly involved and impacted who must understand each other. From such understanding and only from such understanding, it is possible to make agreements about how to move forward. Justice is then operationalized not as punishment but as restorative actions designed to make amends by repairing harm and creating conditions for future well-being. Importantly, the harm is examined broadly. Those who harm others are themselves harmed by their actions. As such, it is not unusual for agreements to not only address the unmet needs of those who were directly harmed but also of those who did the harm and of the community in which the harm occurred.

Importantly, it is not the responsibility of the harmed party to be nice or to forgive. To the contrary, they have no responsibility, no obligation at all, not even to participate in such a process. Their participation is welcome, of course, and it may provide them with closure and even healing. But it is the rest of the community that bears responsibility, and a restorative process can proceed even when those who

were harmed decide not to participate, because others may also feel impacted and others can still work out ways to address unmet needs and make at least some things right. Similarly, the restorative process can proceed without the party that caused the harm, albeit with a slightly different focus (e.g., on what others may have done to create conditions for the harm to occur; on how individuals were impacted) and with community members taking on the responsibility for making amends and addressing unmet needs.

Implementation Challenges

As part of our work, we have each accompanied several schools in their transition from punitive to restorative justice. In this last section, Mikhail describes a few of the challenges associated with this transition in the U.S. context and shares a few thoughts about how to make the transition process just a bit easier for schools about to embark on it.

Getting Buy-In

Restorative practices can be implemented from the ground up, as well as from the top down. There is no reason that students cannot just start to respond restoratively to at least some of their own conflicts. A few teachers or staff might even be eager to support such efforts, both with encouragement and by allocating class time, classroom space, or both. Some teachers might find ways to include restorative justice in their curriculum. In some schools restorative practices were nurtured in just this way (see Wadhwa, 2015).

   At the same time, if a school is going to not only implement some restorative practices but also move away from punitive discipline, there must eventually be some buy-in from the top, ideally at both the building and district leadership levels. At these leadership levels, the positions are often at least somewhat politicized and such transitions typically carry at least some political risk. Even in a school or district struggling with violence, the present leadership is unlikely to be held accountable for a system it inherited. In contrast, new policies and organizational structures, especially those that depart drastically from previous practices, are likely to bring public scrutiny and calls for personal accountability if the outcomes do not show rapid improvement. For these reasons, as well as because changing large systems is often expensive and time consuming, those with structural power are often understandably wary. Getting their support often requires either a crisis or public pressure to change the status quo, combined with some personal exposure to a restorative justice process and compelling restorative justice outcome data for demographically comparable schools or districts. The latter are increasingly available, but it sometimes takes years of building trust before there is sufficient openness to either look at the data or sit in a circle.

The endorsement from the leadership at the top is crucial but not sufficient. While some teachers and staff resonate with restorative principles and turn into early adopters, others find the principles (and associated strategies) disorienting and contrary to their expectations of top-down discipline. For those who have internalized the association of punishment with justice, a restorative system is not only unfamiliar but absent of what they see as necessary standards and accountability in regard to right behavior. Depending on their personalities and interaction styles, some may express their opposition and disdain openly while others remain quiet but resolve to continue in the same top-down way as before. A handful may feel particularly threatened and attempt to actively sabotage the restorative agenda.

Even those being punished seem to have a certain comfort in the punitive process: It is familiar, has a predictable procedure and timeframe, and allows (if one wishes) not only a complete lack of responsibility-taking but a victimization narrative about unjust treatment by the system. In contrast, the restorative approach not only seems to lack these benefits but, from their point of view, also lacks the well-defined boundaries that we all require to feel safe. What can I really say in a circle and not get punished? How will my peers feel and how will they react if I speak the truth? What kinds of agreements can we really make here? And why should I trust these circle-keepers? When given the option, it is not unusual for students to say they prefer to get suspended. When not given the option (of a suspension), it is not rare for them to ask for it anyway. Many parents have similar mistrust of the new system and similar preferences for a punitive response.

There are no short-cuts to getting either adults or students to endorse restorative approaches. Even the notion that some people require persuasion is often not useful, as students tend to not trust adults who think they know better what is good for them and, frankly, neither do other adults. The only effective way forward I've seen is through opportunities for skeptics to have first-hand experiences with restorative practices and via authentic relationships that allow restorative justice champions to both listen to the values and concerns of others and talk about their own (restorative) values while consistently behaving in ways that are congruent with those values, even when (especially when) others do not. This includes how we respond when we experience or see others experience harm. It also includes how we set up the new system.

Unlike a conventional discipline policy which is worked out by a handful of administrators and then announced to both students and staff, the restorative system needs to be built collaboratively, with active (not tokenized) involvement from not only the early supporters of restorative approaches but also its vocal critics, who often have important perspectives and sometimes considerable structural or informal power. In that way, their perspectives can inform the decision-making, potentially resulting in a system that meets the needs of all involved. Similarly, students, especially those who are likely to have first-hand experience with the school justice system, should also be included. If they have a voice in creating the system, they may feel at least some ownership and at least some trust that the system will care for them in the ways that matter to them.

When such inclusion is rejected or otherwise not possible, either open sabotage or passive resistance (depending on power and personality differences) is likely.

Depending on the power dynamics of the particular institution, such resistance might prove successful and the restorative system is labeled a failure. In other cases, the restorative system prevails, leaving those with irreconcilable philosophical differences to either continue to resist in relative isolation or leave for another institution that better fits their value system.

Building an Infrastructure

Every school we have ever encountered—even tiny alternative schools—had an existing infrastructure for dealing with conflicts and rule violations. In larger schools, this infrastructure is much more developed and typically includes full-time personnel whose job description includes sorting out what happened and determining what should happen next. The infrastructure also includes dedicated spaces (e.g., the dean's office, the detention room) where justice is done, as well as a well-known procedure for activating this justice system when there is a conflict or rule violation. In smaller schools, this job might fall to the principal or some other designated person who also has other responsibilities. Additionally, the space likely serves other functions as well. An efficient procedure is necessary regardless of school size.

In the early 2000s, Dominic and colleagues in Brazil cointed the term "restorative system" to describe the specific aspects of infastructure required for practices that share power to be effective and sustainable. Rather than authorities tasked with determining wrongdoing and administering punishment, there need to be individuals with sufficient support and experience to facilitate circles, conferences, or other developed or chosen process. These restorative processes require a space, ideally furnished and decorated in ways that support its intended purpose. And here, too, there must be an efficient and reliable procedure for students and school adults to learn about how the new system works and how to activate it when they need it. While all this may seem obvious, few students and school personnel have any experience with creating such an infrastructure from scratch. That is, individuals may have been moved in and out of various roles, spaces may have been redesignated and repurposed, and referral policies may have been tweaked, but rarely has an infrastructure been entirely designed and distinguished from the default system to serve a different purpose. Yet, this is exactly what is required in a transition to doing justice restoratively. It requires collaboration both within and across traditional school power hierarchies (e.g., with students), time, an openness to trying new things, and a willingness to be honest about the specifics of what is not working without giving up on the restorative philosophy and its guiding principles. Dominic's work in South Korea, Senegal, and other countries has shown that each cultural context presents its own challenges and timelines. In the United States, it typically takes several years and, because it is relationship-driven, trying to rush only tends to slow everything down.

Addressing Power

Power dynamics exist in every system, and it is important that both those who are setting up the restorative system and those using it have an awareness of how such dynamics operate and, when necessary, the sensitivity and willingness to minimize their impact. In this section, the role of power dynamics are examined in three different time periods: during system building, during the preparation phase, and during the actual restorative process.

During system building School administrators may have valid and reasonable concerns about the use of resources in responding to conflict and may want to implement guidelines and restrictions regarding when a restorative process can be used. While resource allocation is essential to consider, it is useful to do so mindful of existing power dynamics. How such decisions are made and who is included in the decision-making progress can sometimes determine whether the new restorative system is seen as something meaningfully different or as yet another strategy for controlling the behavior of those who are already largely excluded from the school community. While ideally all conflicts could receive such a response, a clear policy about which kinds of conflicts will receive a formal restorative process might be necessary due to limited resources. In such cases, the practice of gatekeeping, whereby some person is given the authority to greenlight individual cases, is discouraged, as it closely resembles an authoritarian, top-down process. In the same way, a restorative system in which deans and other adults in roles of authority do all the facilitation is likely to feel less inclusive and less restorative than a system in which circle facilitators represent the entire school community, including students and teachers.

During the preparation phase Because restorative systems arise from local knowledge, they tend to produce unique agreements and practices in every cultural context, which in turn results in a variety of facilitation approaches. Thus, we have different experiences of what works best, related to where and with whom we have worked. In every context, awarenss of and engagement with power dynamics has shown itself essential in not only designing the system and practice but also in the facilitation. Below are some recommendations from Mikhail's experience in U.S. schools.

1. **Do not assume you understand the power dynamics**. As we find out what happened and who the players are, we will often develop ideas about who has more power and who has less. This is probably unavoidable, but it is important to treat these ideas as hypotheses rather than facts. Structural power is important and should not be underestimated, but there are many kinds of informal power, including force of personality, social influence, and history of oppression, that may be obvious to participants yet invisible to facilitators. Rather than assuming who might need support in order to feel safe enough to show up and speak their

truth, check in with everyone regarding this issue during the preparatory part of the process.

2. **Promote realistic expectations**. As much as we might like to, we will not be able to make up for 400 years of oppression in setting up a restorative process. We are also not going to be able to change the reality of structural power determined by the jobs and other roles participants occupy outside of the circle. To create conditions for restorative outcomes, it is useful to flatten out the power hierarchy in the circle space, but we do not want to lose sight of the fact that, when the circle is over, the hierarchy will still be a reality. Thus, as facilitators, we do not want to promise or even narrate a sense of safety that is not within our control but rather understand that, for some participants, discerning what to say and how to say it is important for survival.

3. **Bring up relevant concerns pertaining to group status**. One of the insidious ways that power operates is by rendering itself invisible and, therefore, not up for discussion, much less intervention. Thus, men in authority rarely talk about gender and sexism and white people in authority rarely talk about whiteness and racism. Gender and race are not always the most relevant dynamics of a conflict, but by checking in about these and other dynamics related to our identity, we signal to participants that we are aware of these influences and are open to bringing them to the restorative process.

4. **Collaborate with participants to determine who needs to be invited**. There are a variety of considerations that determine who is invited. Most of these have to do with individuals' roles in the conflict, but the inclusion of specific others may change the power dynamics enough that showing up and participating becomes viable for some people. Sometimes, this is a friend or other trusted person. Sometimes, it is someone in a formal support role, like a sexual assault advocate. Other times, it is someone with enough status to change the balance of structural power in the room, like the school principal, when the conflict is between a student and a teacher. Facilitators are advised to raise and investigate these issues, but it is important that these decisions be made collaboratively, not imposed by the facilitator who usually has a much poorer understanding of the nuances of relational power than those who navigate those relationships on a daily basis.

5. **Collaborate with participants to create enough safety for participation**. Conflict can be very painful and in many places restorative responses to conflict are still unfamiliar to most people. As such, anxiety, discomfort, and ambivalence about participation are not unusual. We do not need to get rid of this distress (we probably would not be able to if we tried), but if the distress is so high that the person is unwilling to participate in an authentic manner, it is useful to unpack their concerns, collaboratively explore potential strategies for addressing those concerns, and ultimately support the individual in discerning whether participation is in their best interest. To this end, it is sometimes useful to obtain written "reverse Miranda rights" statements from those with structural power. Unlike Miranda rights, which warn those accused of a crime that "everything that they say can and will be used against them in a court of law," so-called

"reverse Miranda rights" are a written promise (by prosecutors, police chiefs, school principals, etc.) that the things said and done in the circle will NOT be used against the participants in any kind of disciplinary or punitive action following the restorative process (Belden, 2012). There may be legal restrictions (e.g., Title IX violations) to these promises and these should be made explicit in the statement. There may also be circumstances when such statements are unnecessary or even counterproductive. At times, however, (as in the case-study below) they can create enough trust and perceived safety for individuals to show up and be honest about their contributions to the harm.

Case-Study: The Broken Windshield

As it often does, it started with the best intentions. A group of high school students approached their school administrators about doing a Black Lives Matter protest. The administrators were supportive and guidelines were negotiated with the student leaders, including that the protesting students would remain in the building. But as the event unfolded, some subset of the students didn't comply and spilled out into the street, which hadn't been shut down. The car that happened to be traveling down the street was forced to stop as the (mostly black) students blocked its path. By the time the driver, a white woman from a neighboring town thought about backing up, that option disappeared as the next wave of students filled the street behind the vehicle. The driver grew anxious; she had to get out of there. It occurred to her that if she gently took her foot off the brake, the car would inch forward and the students would get out of the way. Instead, some of the students became offended by what they perceived as a disregard for their safety and started to pound on the car's windshield, which eventually cracked. Eventually, the police arrived to clear the scene but the damage had been done. Predictably, the community response split across racial and political lines with the left angry at the driver's disregard for students' safety and the right outraged by student disregard for property. Following a lengthy police investigation, the state's attorney called for a restorative process in lieu of pressing charges. Though few of those involved had even heard of restorative justice and despite a lack of any preexisting agreement that such situations would be handled restoratively, we agreed to try to set one up.

Because she initiated the process, our first preparation meeting was with the state's attorney who, of course, was eager to have the process take place. After that, we met with the driver and then with the young people who organized the event and others who were placed at the scene of the windshield being damaged. Both the driver and the students were reluctant to participate as both had concerns about the potential consequences of their participation. We anticipated some of the students' concerns and came to the preparatory meeting with reverse-Miranda statements from both the state's attorney and

the chief of police. Those were well-received but the students quickly told us they were insufficient. The student organizers were worried that their teachers (who supported the protest) would get in trouble and asked if similar reverse-Miranda statements could also be obtained from the school superintendent and the school board. We obtained such statements and prepared these new parties to participate as well, along with the principal, chief of police, and various leaders from the African-American community. Also in attendance were support people for both the driver and each of the students. Altogether, 16 individuals participated, from a total of about 30 who were invited and prepared. Several teachers, as well as the students who reportedly hit the windshield, declined to participate, unwilling to trust a process they did not have a voice in creating or choosing and with which they had no previous experience.

The dialogue itself took several hours. The student organizers talked about why the protest was important to them and expressed regret about the damage to the car (and for students spilling out into the street), while the African-American community leaders talked about the history of racism, both nationally and in the local community and emphasized the need for nonviolent training and organizing. When it was her turn to speak, the driver explained how panicked she felt as she watched the students surround her vehicle. The agreements addressed the variety of needs. The African-American leaders pledged to cover the damages to the car with a community fund-raiser, the school principal made plans to continue the dialogue with the many students who felt impacted but were not directly involved and therefore not present. Perhaps more importantly, the participants seemed content that their voices were heard, that their good intentions were seen, and that the unpleasant and highly contested incident could be put behind them. As promised, no punitive action was taken against any of the parties.

During the circle   Although most of the work related to power dynamics takes place during system design and in the preparation phase, there are also things facilitators can do during the actual process. In family group conferencing and in circles that use a dialogue process rather than a talking piece, it is important to be strategic (in relation to power dynamics) regarding whom to invite to speak first and when to invite each of the other participants. Here again, there are many considerations. Sometimes, it is meaningful for those who perceive themselves as having been harmed to speak first. Other times, there are reasons to begin with those who did the harm. But if we do not attend to various aspects of power, we may wind up unintentionally replicating social power hierarchies by having most of the men (or the dominant racial/ethnic group) speak first or more often or have the last word (Lyubansky & Shpungin, 2015).

Attempting to silence any kind of self-expression, even in the name of caring for those who have less power, is not recommended. This is likely to lead to resentment, frustration, and perceived bias and injustice. All of these are likely to make the process less restorative for all parties. Instead, look for opportunities to bring in the voices of

those with less power and, if necessary, amplify their voices by underscoring (repeating back) the essence of their expression.

Focus on including all points of view rather than giving all participants equal time. If the conflict is between two clearly defined groups and one group has more representation in the restorative process, every person having a voice may, ironically, feel unfair to the group with less representation. It is true, of course, that inclusion and having a voice are core principles of restorative practices. However, in restorative practices that do not have a predictable speaker order, it is sometimes better to ask "Does anyone have something new or different to add?" rather than just inviting the next person to speak.

During the agreements stage, look for subtle signs of either coercion (by those with more power) or acquiescence (by those with less power). Respond to these signs by slowing things down, expressing concern about the particular power dynamic in the room, and inviting feedback from those present. It is not necessary for everyone involved to feel joyful and excited about the agreements. We just do not want the restorative process to unintentionally replicate existing power dynamics by letting those with more power have disproportionate influence.

Realistic Expectations

When working with a new school on transitioning to restorative practices, it is important to set realistic expectations so that administrators can make informed choices regarding whether and when they want to start, what will be required by way of time and resources, and how long it will take before the restorative system is working smoothly and efficiently.

Expected Utilization Patterns

Restorative practices are not a conflict avoidance system. To the contrary, they are designed to engage conflict, understand the unmet needs of the different parties, and find mutually agreeable ways to move forward (Lyubansky & Barter, 2011). It is not unusual for conflict to seemingly increase when restorative practices are implemented, because, if they are implemented well, they demonstrate a systemic ability to engage conflicts that had previously been suppressed. If it seems to the adults in the building that students are using the restorative system in greater frequency than they anticipated, it is a sign of trust that the restorative system can meet their needs. If it seems to the adults that students are using the restorative system for what seem like small or trivial conflicts, it may be an indication that students are trying to establish such trust by experimenting with conflicts that are perceived to be more safe.

On the other hand, if it seems that both students and adults in the school are avoiding the restorative system, it may be because the concepts of restorative justice are still unfamiliar and the boundaries of the process (i.e., who can attend, what kind of language may be used, the consequences of speaking honestly) are not yet well understood. Such conditions create discomfort and avoidance, valuable feedback that more work in regard to building understanding and trust remains to be done.

Occasionally, some students and adults find the experience of being heard so pleasurable that they begin to seek it over and over. There is healing in such experiences and it is unwise to discourage them unless they place an unsustainable burden on the restorative system's facilitators. In either case, such demonstrated interest in the restorative system provides an opportunity to bring a new circle facilitator into the fold.

Altogether, it is natural for something new to inspire curiosity and interest, which sometimes results in what might seem to be an increase in conflict. It is more likely that the conflicts had always been there, suppressed by a punitive system. As students and school staff become familiar with the new justice system, it will become part of their normal routine, available when needed but otherwise in the background as academics and relationships take their proper position on center stage.

Expected Time and Energy Resources

There has long been a perception that restorative practices are time consuming and exhausting. The time concerns are generally raised first, usually directly: "Two hours for a circle? Where are we going to find the time?" They're not all 2 h, of course, but the concern is valid. Some conflict circles require that much time. A few require more. In a school day that is already bursting at the seams, such time is hard to come by for teachers and students alike. But here it is useful to consider the time costs of the punitive alternative. The same small handful of students typically skip school, get into fights, and disrupt classes. How much time do adults in a punitive system spend trying to control and respond to these behaviors, week after week, sometime stretching for years? Is a restorative process really more time consuming?

Concerns about energy expenditure, though often subtler, are also common, as in a recent New York Times Magazine cover story that took the position that restorative practices are "*an effective but exhausting alternative* (Dominus, 2016). Here, too, such arguments ignore the likely alternative. In schools that are still doing punitive discipline, teachers are also frequently exhausted, particularly in schools where violence and others acts of harm are frequent and unabating. When schools shift to restorative practices, many of the adults actually feel energized. For those whose natural instincts are to work relationally and collaboratively, the punitive system produces the need to constantly rationalize (to one's own conscience) actions incongruent with one's values, resulting in a substantial emotional toll. But it is not just those with " restorative personalities "who are vulnerable. Every person who has

observed that suspensions and other punitive discipline methods do not produce the desired results has to deal with the cognitive dissonance associated with regularly engaging in behaviors they know to be ineffective, if not outright counterproductive. A recent meta-analysis suggests that such emotional dissonance may contribute to the job stressors that lead to emotional exhaustion" (Kenworthy, Fay, Frame, & Petree, 2014).

Expected Outcomes

Administrators and teachers in urban public schools have long known that many of their students face considerable obstacles to academic success. Many students live in considerable poverty,[3] uncertain about whether there will be enough to eat on any given day. Some have experienced significant trauma, as in the case of physical or sexual abuse or losing family members and friends to violence. Quite a few are dealing with substantial mental health or substance abuse issues. Restorative practices will not and cannot solve all these problems. However, they can help students and adults navigate such obstacles more productively.

While studies regarding the effectiveness of school-based restorative programs are still relatively few, those that exist suggest such programs not only decrease suspensions but also the number of fights and other violent acts (Lewis, 2009), the amount of substance abuse (Karp & Breslin, 2001), and the number of police visits to the school (Gillinson, Horne, & Baeck, 2010). Importantly, restorative practices in schools have also been shown to improve relationships and increase perceptions of safety in those who had experienced harm (Cameron & Thorsborne, 2001). It is important to keep evaluating different outcomes, but the early returns are exactly the sorts of outcomes community psychologists focus on (Jason & Glenwick, 2016) and peace activists hope to achieve (Sims, Nelson, & Puopolo, 2014).

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[3] In the United States, for example, 21% of all children (about 15 million total) live in families with income below the federal poverty threshold (National Center for Children in Poverty, 2018).

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Peace Education in Psychology

Matthew Bereza

If we are able to teach students to create music, we can teach them to build and maintain peaceful lives. It will require systemic shifts of functioning, but as Bronfenbrenner (1979) hypothesized in his Ecological Systems Theory, if our environments change, so do we. One such permutation will be the manner in which we teach nonviolence. Peace education has long been studied in relation to and in the context of wars being fought. In this traditional model, it would seem as though war creates peace instead of peace preventing conflict. Peace education programs must come first, and when based on sound psychological theories, they increase positive human behaviors and lasting changes (Joseph & Duss, 2009). This chapter highlights how forward-thinking communities are shifting their educational focus to understanding peace as an essential ingredient of sustainable life on our planet. The initiatives outlined in this chapter not only teach peace, but effectively model nonviolence to students and the communities in which they live.

It is the view of this work that humans have progressed far enough to eliminate outdated community and classroom practices regarding conflict and peace studies. We have experienced humanity's most violent century, and in response, this work illuminates effective peace education models. Many of the examples in this chapter demonstrate how impactful peace programming can be when implemented in our classrooms, neighborhoods, and governments. To achieve this, peace must become part of a proactive global education movement, not a response.

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Theoretical Orientation

To encompass peace education within psychology, this chapter investigates how Bronfenbrenner's (1979) Ecological Systems Theory (EST) and foundations of community psychology, notably Rappaport's ideas on empowerment (1987); Kelly's focus on systems and culture (2010); and Martin-Baró's Liberation Psychology, (1994) offer theoretical guideposts.

To begin, EST posits that children's development is influenced by interactions with five ecological contexts:

1. The microsystem (our individual dyadic interactions)
2. The mesosystem (the degree of connectedness among individuals' various microsystems)
3. The exosystem (systems the student does not interact in directly but that influence his/her development indirectly)
4. The macrosystem (cultural and societal contexts)
5. The chronosystem (transitions and shifts across time)

To effect lasting change, we must alter these systems towards peace to ensure that students are constantly reinforced by nonviolent structures (Swick & Williams, 2006). In this new paradigm, peace programming elevates to a primary subject of study in school and a manner of living in the community. Kelly (2010) supports this stance, stating we must become aware of underlying themes and systems that affect our interactions with each other and act to change them for the better.

Community psychology provides a theoretical framework to understand the complex systems that affect change. "Community psychology was founded as a discipline that is intended to combine a scientific orientation with collaborative social action in order to empower members of some community of interest and help them to improve their lives" (Jason et al., 2016, p. 7). In this chapter, community psychology offers a look at how varying ecologies affect students who are learning to create peaceful structures in their lives. Notably, community psychological principles of empowerment of people and mastery over affairs (Rappaport, 1987) demonstrate how communities are building enduring, and peaceful, systems. This philosophy of empowerment is a process, however, and communities must not wait for permission to begin. Liberation psychology promotes a stance free of institutional oppression such as colonialization, neoliberal mindsets, and northern domination (Martin-Baró, 1994).

To support these theories of systemic shifts, empowerment, and liberation, examples from around the world will highlight how communities are teaching peace and modeling it in situ. Many of these initiatives come from the global south as levels of conflict in these regions demand(ed) drastic changes to daily life. Through this international lens the doctrine of peace education takes on distinct meanings. For example, in the United States and Europe peace education is often viewed as an

idealistic course of university study that terminates when the student enters "reality" (Barash & Webel, 2018). Currently, most Western peace education programs begin in the university, arguably too late in human development. The case study of Project Peace, and others from around world, demonstrates that we should not delay the implementation of a peace curriculum.

Educational Psychology

In addition to Ecological Systems Theory and community psychology, peace education will be analyzed through educational psychological foundations. Educational psychology is a discipline focusing on the relationship between the teacher, student and each party's development (Sternberg & William, 2010). Educational psychology does not focus on a client's issues, but studies students who are enthusiastic problem solvers. Peace education is built upon a pedagogy of questioning, continuous challenging, action, and discernment of outcomes (Harris, 2013). The inclusion of peace psychology in the field of educational psychology leads to the use of psychological practices and theories to introduce, reinforce, and reward students' use of nonviolence. If the goals of education are to develop learners and foster scholarship, we must become microsystemic change agents in a student's life (O'Donnell, Reeve, & Smith, 2012). It is not enough to relegate peace to the classroom, we must appreciate our students' outside lives and those of their caregivers. This expansion of peace education into other ecologies may prove transformative.

A central theme of educational psychology requires that to create a classroom, psychological office, or peaceful world, we must have some type of expertise. A significant portion of the educational process depends upon the teacher's knowledge and practice in a given field. Education rests on the premise that teachers are highly knowledgeable in their field, demanding that we have more than a passing interest in our area of specialty. Content and pedagogical knowledge enables educators to monitor the curriculum, student motivation, and manage classrooms and behaviors leading to increased achievement (Sternberg & William, 2010). Educational psychologists assist in this process by consulting with teachers to develop critical thinking skills in students. In educational terms, critical thinking seeks to determine the accuracy, validity, and worth of hypotheses in any given situation (O'Donnell et al., 2012). As critical thinkers, we teach students to view ideas and dogma from dissimilar angles and to question the validity of hypotheses. Critical thinking is essential if we are to shift from our current conflict-based world view to one of restoration and cooperation. Teaching becomes a trusted and safe place to explore and transmit ideas of peace and nonviolence to future generations.

Historical and Modern Peace Education Practices

War is unfortunately common in our shared histories, with nearly every human on the planet knowing (either remotely or personally) some type of conflict. For some, war occurs in our microsystem, and manifests in the proximal, ending in contests of survival. To others, conflict and war affect meso- and macrosystems such as home and society. At this distance, strife equals scarcity and sacrifice, but not necessarily personal danger. Macrosystemic strife typically carries negative artifacts, such as bloated defense budgets and highly evolved military-industrial complexes. Regardless of the stage we are entering or exiting, Ecological Systems Theory indicates that we learn and develop by experiencing each ecology and moving these lessons forward (Swick & Williams, 2006). Educators, and psychologists, now strive to highlight lessons of peace, and model peaceful behaviors in all ecologies to counter the influences of war by reinforcing a lifestyle of nonviolence. The examples in this chapter exemplify these ideologies and attempt to empower people through peace education. The focus is to demonstrate peace education from a variety of geographic, political, and cultural viewpoints from formalized/educational programming in the modern era.

Formal Peace Education Movements in the Twentieth Century

Perhaps no global event changed the focus of peace education more than World War One. Humanity had never before witnessed such carnage, and for the first time this information was being transmitted (if crudely) to an ever-widening audience. World War One became the first spectator war, and as a result had a profound effect on educators and students. Anti-war sentiments grew quickly, and by the onset of WWI in 1914 the American School Peace League had 45 chapters in the United States (Andrews, 1914; Stomfay-Stitz, 1993). The goal of the Peace League was to introduce teachers to the ideas and foundations of peace as well as the conditions needed to foster nonviolence in students. Another contemporary force of peace education, Jane Addams, was awarded the Nobel Prize for Peace in 1931 for encouraging a philosophy of "peace and bread" in American schools. As a biologist, Addams felt war was contrary to human development and the evolutionary process (Agnew, 2017). Other limited attempts of peace education such as John Dewey's advocating for internationalism in public school curriculum did leave impressions on the public, but did not prevent further global conflict (Bajaj, 2008).

Internationally, modern-era school-based peace initiatives flourished, for a time. Maria Montessori, an Italian educator, met the call for peace education during the Second World War. Regardless of her regrettable dalliances with would-be fascist governments of Italy before World War II, Montessori began her peace educational

system with noble goals. Believing that children know best, Montessori advocated a peace option in schools and felt that children would naturally select this course of study (Baligadoo, 2014). She, in many ways, did accomplish some of these goals by uniting education, art, and music as a counter to traditional subjects of study. All are hallmarks of the Montessori educational philosophy, yet the schools did not reach the anticipated levels of systemic change in education.

The twentieth century also saw the groundwork for the very first formalized university program of peace studies. In 1948, Gladdys Muir, a professor at Manchester College of Indiana, was the first professor in the United States to offer a "science of peace" curriculum. This course of study was inspired by scientists such as Albert Einstein who called on academics to discuss the threat atomic technology posed to civilization and find alternatives to aggression (Salomon & Cairns, 2010).

Internationally, World War II and a faltering colonial system was inspiring peace programming. In India, the immense legacy of Mahatma Gandhi's work on nonviolence led to the establishment of programs such as The Centre for Gandhian Studies and Peace Research at the University of Delhi in 1961, and the Department of Defense and Strategic Studies at the University of Poona in 1964 (Prasad, 1998). While the latter has an ominous-sounding title, the focus of the program was the disarmament of India.

In other post-colonial societies, peace education was gaining support in defiance of war, as exemplified by Paulo Freire's efforts in Brazil. Freire was one of that country's preeminent advocates and philosophers on education and development, and called for "problem-posing education" (Freire, 1970). In this manner, students and teachers would enjoy a democratic relationship dedicated to the co-creation of solutions, again with limited scope and success.

Importantly, peace found a publishing home in the Peace Research Institute of Oslo (PRIO). Founded in 1959, the organization introduced the influential *Journal of Peace Research* and *Bulletin of Peace Proposals* (Urdal, Ostby, & Gleditsch, 2014). Closely tied to the Nobel initiative funded by the government of Norway, these journals remain guideposts of formal peace education and peacemaking initiatives.

Peace Education in Practice

The remainder of this section will review practical programs instead of theoretical peace initiatives, coming from three perspectives (Salomon & Nevo, 2002): Peace education in unmanageable or ungovernable areas; peace education in areas of interethnic discord; and peace education in locations that experience significant periods of tranquility. Where possible, peace education movements from one or more of these categories will be explored to highlight the influence of programming in our communities.

Peace Education in South Africa

Perhaps no other location demonstrates the power of peace education and liberation theories than South Africa. The South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) is an informative example of how a nation, devastated by oppressive governance and interethnic discord, can develop a measure of peace through education.

As South Africa transitioned from apartheid to democracy in the 1980s and 1990s, aspects of South African society demanded immediate attention (Enslin, 2000). A primary concern was what would the punishment and remediation be for decades of minority rule over a marginalized majority. Surely the horrors of World War II and its subsequent tribunals of Nazi war criminals remained in the global psyche. Would the world again accept a publicized trial and risk what Nuremberg experienced, from suicides to executions? Realizing, as liberation psychology suggests, that "structural reality is not a fact of nature, but of history" (Martin-Baró, 1994, p. 214), the commission sought to break free of repressive colonial ideologies and practices.

The answer came about in the Truth and Reconciliation Council, which in nature was not an educational institution. The primary responsibility of the TRC was to elucidate the events that occurred in apartheid-era South Africa and offer the population findings and recommendations for remediation. The proceedings of the TRC are outside the scope of this chapter; instead the TRC's influence on society serves as a model for peace education.

The TRC, after gathering its findings, concluded that in order to heal their society, South Africa would need to institute a formal education curriculum focusing on the culture of peace and human rights. The TRC recognized that the only way to effect lasting post-apartheid change would be for sound teacher–learner and learner–learner relationships to develop. Accepting that the most elegant definition of teaching would be striving for beneficial goals set by the teacher and student (O'Donnell et al., 2012), schools began to change South African views of conflict. These deep connections, across ethnicities, classes, and political affiliations, enabled individualized and educationally based peace to flourish.

Regardless of the intentions and exhaustive work on the part of South African citizens of all backgrounds, the nation continues to struggle with violence among its population. Nearly 75% of the South African population reports some sort of traumatic experience in their lifetime along with associated anxiety about these occurrences (Eagle, 2015). Despite these difficulties, the TRC's initiative to change a society via an educational peace curriculum remains salient as an example for others.

Kenya

Due to famine, war, and violence in neighboring Somalia, South Sudan, Ethiopia, and the Democratic Republic of Congo, Kenya has become a modern repository of refugees. Presently, Kenya is the temporary protectorate of over four hundred

thousand African refugees (Burns, 2010). This complicates peace education in a county still struggling with democratic elections and associated violence between factions.

Regardless, Kenya is home to a unique initiative known as the Peace Education Program (PEP), which is administered through the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (Lauritzen, 2016). The focus of PEP is skills acquisition to mediate differences between extreme variations of cultures within student populations. The skills acquired are evaluated each year and reinforced with new data and techniques, dialogue, and behaviors. PEP strives to include many of Bronfenbrenner's ecologies, from the personal to the community, and emphasis is placed on women and local groups as decision-makers. PEP also asks participants to take responsibility for their own situations and solutions, embracing aspects of empowerment (Rappaport, 1987). To achieve this, PEP relies on tested pedagogy for legitimacy and efficacy by requiring schools and teachers to undergo evaluations and continuing education. The expectation of teachers and learners to participate in continuing education is its strength. This program-wide evaluation process has led to a deepening of interethnic peace while refining future operations.

Outside of the camps, Kenya invested resources in a nation-wide PEP in response to the electoral violence of 2007–2008. During that time, over 1200 people were killed in fighting related to federal elections (Lauritzen, 2016). The national program attempted to teach the foundations of conflict resolution and skills needed to mediate violence via tolerance and exploring the experiences of others. Like the Montessori method, the PEP of Kenya employed artistic activities that students of all backgrounds seem to enjoy, such as music, art, and drama. Special attention was also given to anti-bullying initiatives.

The Kenyan PEP program has been evaluated as a national-level initiative to teach peace and (hopefully) change society. There have been positive and negative outcomes, and Kenya's Ministry of Education, Science, and Technology (2014) issued a report of suggestions. They found that teachers must have continued exposure to content and pedagogy, including opportunities to be peacemakers. For example, teachers in camps may have excellent content knowledge, but poor social skills with new cultures. The Ministry also suggested moving activities from traditional lectures to action-oriented projects, thereby allowing classrooms to demonstrate practical transformations in their communities.

The Ministry also required universities to play a greater role in education, continuing the push to instruct not only content, but interpersonal skills. Few public universities exist in Kenya and there is a shortage of qualified terminal-degreed scientist-practitioners (Chelule, 2014). This critique could be assumed for many areas of the global South states where educational resources are scarce.

The Ministry concluded that to build a successful peace education program, nations must address root causes of conflict and the systems that sustain provocation. This last point may also be a constant in the global south where *development*, *progress, and investment* in the North are seen as exploitation and domination in the South.

India

As the second most populous country on the planet with well over one billion inhabitants and hundreds of languages, religions, and tribes, India has seen its share of conflict. Surviving nearly 100 years of colonial rule by the British and a mandated partition of Pakistan, the nation has become one of the few countries to subscribe to a national movement of nonviolence.

The heart of modern Indian peace education is Mahatma Gandhi's view that education should build morality and self-reliance (Bajaj & Hantzopoulos, 2016). The Indian National Council of Educational Research and Training (NCERT) is the body responsible for setting a national curriculum and developing skills of peace and nonviolence within the country. Today, NCERT directs its department of psychology to amplify peace through in-services and continuing education opportunities for teachers (Pant & Gulati, 2010). Interestingly, NCERT situates peace education initiatives within the organization's department of psychology to best use data and practices that have been studied in-country. In a distinctively Indian flavor, NCERT has called for educational reform that demonstrates "self-centered apathy" and "willful blindness" to the distasteful actions of others. These philosophies resonate with decolonialization and liberation, as India continues to free itself from British-rule artifacts. This continual focus on unjust colonial structures must be revealed for people to realize their own power and esteem (Martin-Baró, 1994). A comparison could be aspects of humanism, specifically the philosophy put forth by Carl Rogers known to as *unconditional positive regard* (Amadi, 2013).

Indian national peace initiatives include a classroom curriculum that challenges norms such as limiting the time given to girls while speaking and monitoring bullying and chauvinism. NCERT has attempted to move this instruction away from religious and dogmatic training by initiating peace clubs instead of churches. These peace clubs can be found across India, with their sole purpose to temper violence in the country and foster understanding between teachers and students.

Northern Ireland

Another area that recently emerged from conflict using peace education is Northern Ireland. For nearly 30 years, Ireland and the United Kingdom fought for rule over the Irish island containing the Republic of Ireland and British-administered Northern Ireland. This time was known as the Troubles and led to over 3600 deaths and 50,000 people injured. Lasting between the 1968 march for civil rights in Londonderry and the Good Friday Agreement of 1998 (Smyth & Fay, 2000), the Troubles drastically influenced the relationship between Ireland and Britain. This, in addition to the outrage over the British-imposed famine during the nineteenth century, led Ireland and Britain through a bloody half-century (Goodspeed, 2016).

Regardless of its past, in 1990 Northern Ireland focused its attention on peace education as a way to influence future generations. In that year the Community Relations Council (CRC) was formed to promote positive civic relations and an

understanding of cultural diversity. This initiative took lessons from an earlier peace attempt, Education for Mutual Understanding (EMU). The CRC devoted time and resources to the reconciliation of events, as it believed one must understand and claim responsibility before a healing process can take place. The program enjoyed wide support by the Northern Irish government and encouraged a state of contact between religions and cultures. However, the CRC movement has been criticized for not examining the foundations of the original conflict (McVeigh, 2002).

At the university level, Magee College at the University of Ulster, Northern Ireland, developed a program named the Quaker Peace Education Project. Formed in 1988, this tract of study focused on prejudice reduction methods. Ulster University students were asked to enter primary schools and help both students and teachers employ and expand the tenets of EMU (Tyrell, 1995). Initially these programs were met negatively, especially in the counties of Belfast and Derry where a great deal of fighting occurred. Today, however, the peace accords have held and the Republic of Ireland (largely) remains at peace with her neighbor, Great Britain.

Qur'anic Schools

Based on traditions leading back to the eleventh century, Qur'anic schools (QS) offer an alternative to secular Islamic religious education by teaching not only factual data but morality and harmonious coexistence in the Muslim world. The QS model makes no attempt to separate Islam from education, promoting that the two cannot be distinct. Instead, Islamic peace via education is the goal of QS programming. Essentially, the schools situate themselves in the idea of justice, equality, mercy, forgiveness, and solidarity as prescribed by the Islamic way of life. In QS, all students are required to live by and spread these attributes in their daily affairs (Abu-Nimer & Nasser, 2017).

In the case of Niger, QS began with 150 teachers. The teachers worked in conjunction with the Salam Institute for Peace and Justice, an organization that creates materials on peace-building in Islamic settings. The focus of the program was to develop a learner-centered pedagogy including critical examination of the course of study (an area long excluded from secular Islamic education), and practical skills of implementing these lessons in the classroom. Equipped with the training, QS teachers were more likely to support a diverse view of both language and religion in their classrooms (Abu-Nimer & Nasser, 2017). The educators called for a dedicated period of review and evaluation to strengthen the program—an essential of any cogent educational system.

Mexico

The city of Saltillo, Mexico, is home to more than 750,000 residents and has experienced a significant increase in violence over the last decade. Most of the crime is due to drug trafficking and the infiltration of cartels. However, at Colegio Ingles a

group of teachers and administrators implemented a program first developed by Teachers Without Borders (TWB) known as the Peace Education Program. The peace education program focuses on professional development in education and advocates for teachers to become leaders of peace in their communities (Candel & Cubbon, 2013). TWB is based on Jares's Theory of Coexistence, which focuses on human nature, relations, and citizenship (Jares, 2006). At home and in school, TWB instructs students to demonstrate social justice, dignity, and human rights by emphasizing teacher-modeled behaviors (Abrego-Franco, 2010). Based on three units, TWB moves beyond theory by defining the historical and philosophical antecedents of peace education, exploring peace through multicultural education and human rights, and teaching applications of these ideas via classroom-based guided activities.

The curriculum also challenges globalization and neoliberal messages and marketing to get at the "deep roots of our common global, social and human problems" (Gregory, 2001, p. 482). For example, teachers confront foreign constructs of instant gratification by initiating discussions and dialogue on solidarity, responsibility, truth, and respect of plurality. The school community is also charged with exposing the inherent institutional violence of a meritocracy, unequal resource allocation, and learned deference to dominate cultures (Jares, 1995). The initiative enjoys limited success, with teachers responding that TWB is most effective in three areas: building a culture of peace in the school, conflict resolution, and education for peace (Candel & Cubbon, 2013).

Jamaica

A colony of the Spanish and later British Empire until independence in 1962, Jamaica is no stranger to the struggle over resources and self-determination. As the empires vacated, the island experienced decades of corruption and turbulent self-rule. By 2009, Jamaica's murder rate had climbed to one of the highest in the world at 62 per 100,000 inhabitants (Pottinger, 2012). Indeed, if there was a location that required peace education, it was Jamaica.

Jamaica's organized response to violence in their society occurred in 1993 with the advent of Peace and Love in Schools (PALS), an island-wide initiative (Harris, 2013). In addition to teaching conflict resolution to schoolchildren, PALS attempted to "Jamaicanize" textbooks coming from the United States. Often, the US texts disregarded Jamaican points of view while including history and civic lessons from North America. To combat this, PALS included indigenous workbooks on the island's long struggle with self-determination. The attempt to Jamaicanize schools was a failure: Teachers reported feeling taxed to teach yet another subject during a short day and had no input in the delivery model. Ultimately, many of the workbooks were left unused (Harris, 2013). In response, SUPERPALS was launched to include the voice of the community, teachers, and administrators in curriculum development and the evaluation of classes. Today, SUPERPALS works through the Ministry of Education and is monitored by the University of the West Indies. The

University reports positive effects such as the elevation of Jamaican points of views (that of peace and love) even though the island continues to struggle with violence and staggering levels of poverty.

Local Case Study of Peace Education

Project Peace, a program through the Sisters of Saint Francis in Tiffin, Ohio, created a peace education program in a small city and reflects many of the lessons learned from formal and practical peace programs. Project Peace's influence and assistance has led to a peace and social justice course being offered at a local university, as well as a group of community activists working to designate Tiffin as a nonviolent city. The project has touched many local ecologies from the micro- to the macrosystemic, in attempts to create and maintain peace. Also, Project Peace lives what community psychology has proposed, that to prevent (conflict) is better than treating the outcomes of aggressions and to live and work directly with those who have been oppressed (Gokani & Walsh, 2017). This example demonstrates that the creation of peace curriculum is possible with limited resources and input.

The Sisters of St. Francis

The St. Francis convent occupies nearly 400 acres of pastoral farmland and city property in Tiffin, Ohio. Presently there are fewer than 100 nuns who lead lives, as prescribed by Franciscan doctrines, focusing on the environment, peacemaking, prayer, and the poor. At the convent, the sisters operate an earth literacy center, providing opportunities for schoolchildren to engage with the environment on a personal level. In addition, they own and manage a retreat center and elder care facility for the community. One of the members, Sister Paulette, became interested in developing a peace program in Tiffin after returning from 3 years as a Christian Peacemaker in Hebron, Palestine. After serving in the West Bank, Sr. Paulette felt that violence "was not right for humanity," and that no solution would come from it. She was discouraged with local peace initiatives, particularly in the schools. After her return from Hebron, and with the blessing of her community, Sister Paulette began work on Project Peace.

Project Peace

The mission of Project Peace is to "envision a world without war." Started in 2011, Project Peace seeks the elimination of war-making through teaching peace and non-violence skills to children in the community. The philosophical foundations of Project Peace rest in the idea that peace naturally occurs within the personal and

must be developed and brought out into the community. This new focus then changes our society and governments for the better. Project Peace occupies a small office and library at the convent and operates in two local school districts, public and parochial. During the school year Sr. Paulette conducts weekly classroom visits to teach peace and nonviolence skills from the disciplines she learned in Hebron. Primarily, positive esteem, relaxation and reflection, understanding of others, and respect are the focus. One activity Sr. Paulette requires is the "dignity walk" where students are encouraged to "stand straight and show dignity in your movements." Sr. Paulette is dedicated to modeling each of these lessons, and often will incorporate yoga to amplify the sense and importance of place and time. The children are also given more formal instruction in peace initiatives, such as a recent investigation into the White Helmets of Syria. Today, Sr. Paulette's students are showing solidarity for those in war and conflict by making their own white helmets to use "when anyone is in need."

Project Peace also operates a Peace Camp for students during the summer months. The convent reports that the camps have been gaining enrollment every year, with 21 participants this season. During camp, schoolchildren spend 1 week visiting the convent's organic fields and eating local foods. In camp, the lessons are structured around peace and the environment, giving Sr. Paulette more time to model compassion in her words, thoughts, and actions. In these ways, the students achieve a bit of a celebration of spirit, peace, and community (Kelly, 2002).

Project Peace has been inspiring to many in the Tiffin community, including two universities. Sr. Paulette keeps an active writing schedule, sending letters to the editor of the local newspaper concerning global and regional issues, always focusing on nonviolent responses. Recently she solicited assistance from community members to join the Advisory Board of Project Peace, and to date the committee includes college professors, activists, government officials, social service representatives, and the clergy. Some of the professors went on to create a peace and social justice course at their university that has become a permanent part of the curriculum. In this way, Project Peace has accomplished (albeit limitedly) what the peace program of Kenya called for: Support not only from the student and family, but higher education to train future practitioners of peace. Project Peace has also recently begun an initiative to designate Tiffin a nonviolent city as prescribed by the Pace E Bene organization (paceebene.org, 2017). All of these initiatives occurred because one or a few people cared and put energy into the creation of a peace program focusing on children and community. "I may never see peace in my lifetime, but I am planting the seeds," relates Sr. Paulette.

The Project Peace curriculum has experienced both success in the community and similar shortcomings in comparison to other programs around the world. The convent reports that time is an issue, as is formal training. It is difficult to complete trainings with teachers as they have other constraints, and there is little money budgeted for Project Peace's activities. Regardless, the host schools note an increase in positive behaviors in the students who take part in peace studies and camp. Importantly, they assess that self-esteem and acceptance of others are on the increase in school.

Conclusion

Reardon and Snauwaert (2015), visionaries in the peace education movement, asked: Do we simply teach peace or teach *for* peace? Others may inquire, do we transmit knowledge or do we take peace literacy and incorporate it into measurable thoughts, feelings, and behaviors? Reardon, and many peace educators, concurs that we must not indoctrinate students but work to exemplify nonviolence in our professions, communities, and classrooms.

The goal of this chapter was to situate peace education in psychological theory and practice. In addition, illustrations of peace education from around the world were highlighted to accentuate the magnitude of these endeavors. Many of the scenarios presented suggest a central theme: Teachers and politicians cannot mandate peace, nor can children be coerced to be peaceful, these behaviors must be modeled. In nearly every example, including that of Project Peace, a cultural shift towards peace was needed to effect change. In these transformations, communities and schools around the world require not only teachers and students to invest in peace education, but families and communities. The case study serves as an excellent example of this all-encompassing stance. Project Peace is achieving what theory suggested: If we change systems, from the personal to the societal, we can teach and maintain a level of peace. In a limited way, the children of Tiffin saw peace in micro- to macro spheres. The additional programs reviewed support these findings and reveal that nonviolent education deserves to be formalized early in a student's development.

Peace education is growing and gaining favor throughout the world. However, there are several areas of immediate need. First, communities must continue to develop initiatives that include women and marginalized populations. Many of the examples included women, but not at the highest levels of decision-making. Also, few peace education programs officially utilized those who had once been victims of war and conflict. This practice could be transformative in lending first-hand accounts of the profundity of peace education. Second, peace programs need to increase their exposure in higher education and include universities and scientist-practitioners to evaluate initiatives. Often, peace programs would call for the evaluation of curriculum, but not carry through on this crucial aspect. In some cases, it is impossible to determine if projects were doing what they set out to accomplish. Third, change from conflict to peace preparedness requires holistic funding, not just textbooks and one-day trainings. Often the programs would coach teachers in seminars but not allocate resources to provide the cohort with continuing education and support. It would seem that the answer is what Jonathan Kozol suggested: throw money at education (1991).

As our world continues to grow in relation to peace, conflict, and cultural shifts, so must psychology and education. The traditional centers of power must recognize that others (perhaps those highlighted in this chapter) may have solutions worth further examination and implementation. At the very least, the fields of education and psychology deserve to diversify, if only to further our attempts at peace on Earth.

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Entrenching and Strengthening Peace Education in the Nigerian School Curriculum for Peacebuilding and Sustainability in Nigeria

Danladi Abok Atu

> *"The greatest weapon for achieving peace in Africa is Education"*
>
> —*Nelson Mandela*

In this chapter I discuss the basic concepts embodied in peace education, school curriculum, peacebuilding, and peace sustainability. I start with an orientation to the concept of peace education. I then proceed further with a discussion on the major conflict challenges of the Nigerian nation within its geo-historical context. I emphasize the psychological implications of the conflicts as the basis for peace education programming in Nigerian school systems, both formally and informally. At the moment, there is no deliberate and pragmatic formal peace education programme as an area of study in our schools; this is also the case in the African countries of Rwanda and Kenya, despite the conflict challenges in there. The Nigerian educational policy does designate education as an instrument per excellence for addressing the challenges of peace development. Later in the chapter, I also examine key psychological and philosophical principles in articulating transformative peace education pedagogy, with the aim of inculcating desirable peace norms in the younger ones as an important strategy for building a culture of peace. This will include curricular, co-curricular, and extracurricular content and methodologies.

Peace Education

The concept of peace education varies according to different scholars and societies. According to Harris (2004), peace education relates to a series of teaching encounters that promote the desire for peace and nonviolent alternatives for managing conflicts.

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This conceptualization connotes that peace education is formally taught, and includes inculcating skills for mitigating injustice and inequality in society. According to Mushakoji (1974), peace education is education that promotes international understanding of peace. The emphasis here is on promoting peaceful coexistence among nations to help make the world a better place. This is against the background of the ugly experiences of the World Wars I and II and the Cold War era. Kothari (2003) agrees with Mushakoji's position, but added that peace education should promote human dignity across the globe regardless of creed, colour, or race.

For me, peace education relates to teaching and learning to acquire the values, knowledge, attitudes, and skills for peaceful living in society. This learning can be formal by way of a definite structured curriculum, or informal through unstructured programmes. Therefore, I contend that the hallmark of peace education is the building of a culture of peace and human dignity. This, of course, requires behavioural change and actions to instill peace in a society and its members.

School Curriculum

There are two distinctive perspectives about school curriculum. According to Alaeze (1987), a school curriculum may refer to the structured courses a school offers. In a wider perspective, it can imply a variety of activities designed to foster learning and knowledge. The wider perspective includes teaching academic subjects, sports, debate, cleaning, etc. For proper classifications, I view structured courses and subject offerings as parts of the school curriculum, consider related learning activities outside the classroom such as debate, open school days, etc. as co-curricular programmes that supplement and complement curricular learning. Other activities such as sports, social clubs, and associations are classified as extracurricular activities.

All three categories of a school curriculum are relevant for peace education in the task of psychology of peace promotion.

Peacebuilding

Peacebuilding is the process of ending crises in our communities and marshalling out programmes of re-incorporation of all members of a community into a united and unified society. This position is also held by Eshun (2016), who views community peacebuilding as a process of curtailing crises environments to reduce conflicts drastically and to move beyond that with programmes of reconstruction, reconciliation, and reintegration. This process, therefore, involves the following:

(a) Curtailing crises or conflicts with the view to reducing them to the barest and most manageable level.

(b) Focusing on incorporating all members of the community through pragmatic programmes of reconciliation, reintegration, and re-orientation.
(c) Developing appropriate programmes of infrastructure, social rehabilitation, and capacity building. This will also include rehabilitation of schools, churches or mosques, clinics, etc.
(d) Developing and putting in place mechanisms of peace sustainability by the community for peaceful coexistence.

As suggested in the foregoing, I contend that community peacebuilding is a participatory process where people do not only experience peace mentally, but also jointly enunciate and initiate social, economic, religious, political, and civic programmes to address inequality, abuses of power, human rights abuses, youth restiveness, ethnicity and religious bigotry, among others. In sum, every conceivable approach, from civil society, through religious leaders, youth, and community stakeholders, for promoting social justice, peaceful coexistence, understanding, building relationships, etc., can be classified as community peacebuilding. Critical to this process in Nigeria is interreligious dialogue as a veritable platform, with the Nigerian Youths playing vital roles.

Peace Sustainability

The concept of peace sustainability relates to explicit and deliberate policy initiatives that would support or not lead to the breakdown of peace. In doing this, measures and actions should be put in place to safeguard peace as a precious asset to the survival of society. In keeping with the spirit of peace sustainability, the United Nations dedicated the International Day of Peace in 2013 to Peace Education as a way of demonstrating and refocusing our minds and thinking about the prominence of peace as a world asset.

Peacebuilding and peace sustainability are all components and concerns of peace education. That is why peace education pedagogy in Nigeria must focus not only on building the culture of peace in schools, but also on sustaining and preserving it through critical thinking, and inclusive, rationale decision-making.

Geo-historical Context of Nigerian Conflicts

The human race has continued to grapple with the enviable phenomena of conflicts and violence across societies. In fact, extant literatures point to this trend that conflict is an integral and endemic aspect of human life. Karl Marx (1818–1832) and Federic Engels (1820–1895) both argued that the history of all hitherto existing societies is actually the history of class struggles, which could be evolutionary or revolutionary. This lends some historical credence to the fact of the existence of

conflicts and sometimes violent conflicts in our and other's societies. Nevertheless, peace psychologists equally hold that there can be positive conflicts in societies, which have been adjudged to promote peace and order, such as the struggle for social and economic development. The perspectives presented in this chapter view the violent conflicts, which peace education seeks to address in Nigeria and Africa at large, from the social and psychological imperative.

Nigeria is a country that was under the colonial yoke of Britain. Its struggle for independence and sovereignty was a peaceful one that paid up on October 1, 1960. However, upon achieving independence, Nigeria went through a series of violent socio-political upheavals and conflicts, which culminated in a 30-month civil war between 1967 and 1970. This war ended in a "no victor" "no vanquished" order, which ignited psychological confidence in peaceful coexistence among the people, particularly those of the South East and other parts of the country. This was to be followed by peacebuilding processes of the "3 R's" namely Reconciliation, Rehabilitation, and Reintegration. This was, of course, a post-conflict peacebuilding initiative.

It is to be pointed out that violent conflict in Nigeria is, to a large extent, the conflict scenario present throughout much of Africa (Adebanw & Obadare, 2010) because of the six geopolitical zones of Nigeria demonstrating some peculiar conflict regimes, which transcend to other contiguous African countries.

North East Geopolitical Zone

The violent conflict scenario in the North East is manifested by activities of Islamic fundamentalists known as the *Boko-Haram*. This insurgency has drastically affected the socio-economic activities of the region, including threats to human existence. The result is that we now experience an atmosphere of fear, despair, and material lack both for the displaced and non-displaced populations. This insurgency has not spared the surrounding countries of Chad, Cameroon, and Niger.

North Central Geopolitical Zone

The North Central States of Plateau, Nassarawa, Benue, Kogi, Niger, Kwara, and the Federal Capital Territory (FCT) constitute this zone. The IPCR (2016) reported that as a result of land scarcity, violent conflicts between herders and farmers have remained dominant across the zone. There are high incidence rates of rural banditry and cattle rustling in this zone, particularly in States like Benue, Nassarawa, and Plateau. In addition, protracted traditional battles degenerating into the indigene-settler dichotomy have always resulted in violent conflicts.

Within the plurality of the social structure in this zone, Mangvat (1984) pointed out that the area is an unranked society whereby there is no dominant ethnic group,

but religion plays vital role in its group classifications. This is indeed akin to unranked societies in South Sudan, the Central African Republic, and the Democratic Republic of Congo. These kinds of unranked societies are prevalent in some African countries, such as in North Central Nigeria, where no group has absolute superiority in power, economy, or social status; there is the absence of group dominance within the context of its structural arrangement.

North West Geopolitical Zone

This zone is made up of Kaduna, Kebbi, Sokoto, Kano, Zamfara, Katsina, and Jigawa States. It is often regarded as the zone of the caliphate. This is because Sokoto, which is the seat of the caliphate headed by the *Sultant,* is in the zone. As a predominantly Islamic area, it has witnessed the occurrences of some violent conflicts such as the Kano urban crisis of 1953 and the *Matasine* violence in 1980s. The violent clashes between Fulani Nomads against Hausa and other peasant farmers in the sahelian states of Katsina, Sokoto, Kano, Jigawa, etc. were largely a result of the desertification encroaching the northern fringes of Nigeria. Similar desertification conflicts are manifesting in Mali, Niger, and other areas. Also, in the Kaduna State, conflict seems to border on communalism with religious undertones.

South West Geopolitical Zone

This zone is largely made up the Yorubas as the dominant ethnic nationality in virtually all the States of Lagos, Ogun, Odo, Osun, Ekiti, and Ondo. Most of the violent conflicts recorded in this zone relate to historical antecedents of the intra-communal clashes of the precolonial era. The conflicts in Shagamu, and other parts of Ogun State in 1999–2000, Ife and Modakeke areas of Osun State in 2000–2001, all point to this class of intra-ethnic conflicts. One feature of the crises in the South West is the absence of any religion connotations, unlike the nature of conflict in the North generally. The geo-historical characteristics of this zone are rooted in the Benin Republic of West Africa.

South East Geopolitical Zone

This zone is largely dominated by the Igbo ethnic nationality. The States in the zone include those of Abia, Anambra, Enugu, Ebonyi, and Imo. Apart from the local conflicts of the Aguleri and Umuleri areas of the Anambra State, the major sweeping conflicts in the zone are that of secessionist violent agitations for the Republic

of Biafra. This agitation is led by a group known as the Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB), who have advanced the following reasons for the agitation:

(a) The restoration of the Sovereign State of Biafra is their God given freedom, which their fore parents initiated.
(b) Biafra restoration is seen as the end to the destruction in the South East region inflicted on it during the Nigerian civil war.
(c) The fighting for Biafra is to end what they called unprovoked killings of their citizens in every well-intentioned religious crises and burning of places of worship.
(d) They want to avoid harassment and attacks from the military and other security agencies dominated by the North.
(e) They want to improve the quality of their educational and social services.
(f) They want to end the marginalization of the people of the region.
(g) They want to give a future to their children and generations yet unborn.

South-South Geopolitical Zone

The South-South geopolitical area is made up of minority ethnic groups similar to those of the North Central zone. The states in this area are Rivers, Cross River, Delta, Akwa-Ibom, and the Edo States. It is those areas that produce the oil wealth of the Nation. It is not surprising, therefore, that the major crises relate to tensions between foreign oil corporations and a number of emergent pressure groups who feel the region has been exploited. Such pressure groups include the Ijaw Youths, the Avengers, and the Ogoni Youths. They constitute what is often referred to as the "Niger-Delta" militants. The bottom line of all these agitations, which sometimes affect oil production in the country, is predicated on the need to push for governmental attention on their environment as well the marginalization in the allocation of resources for the development of the area.

Implications to Peace Psychology and Emergent Curricular Issues for Peace Education in the Nigerian School Curricula for Peacebuilding and Sustainability in Nigeria

Peace psychology relates to the mental processes and behaviours that lead to the prevention of violent conflicts in societies. The psychological perspective of peace seeks to raise the dignity of all people regardless of gender, creed, class, or culture. This includes the purposes of making violence a less likely occurrence and helping to heal its negative effects. It is in this light that Christie (2011) posits that peace psychology relates to the promotion of nonviolent management of conflict and the pursuit of social justice and egalitarianism. Winter added that peace psychology

captures some intellectual and emotional currency in addressing both direct and structural violence in society (Christie, Wagner, & Winter, 2000). This perspective gained prominence against the realities of the post-Cold-War era, in which the prevention of nuclear war and violent hostilities between the contenders was no longer the major concern. Instead, the rising structural violence, manifested in embargos and deprivation of human needs, became a more dangerous weapon of destruction. It became an area of interest and concern for psychologists around the world. As shown in Table 1, this concern led to educational psychologists and other curriculum developers creating the popular two-by-two thematic areas to evolve the basic approaches to peace education content.

Using this tool, peace psychology becomes the fulcrum for the emergence of peace education as curricular, co-curricular, and non-curricular instruments of peace making and peacebuilding, through a mental processes and behavioural changes approach that would radically reduce both structural and direct violence in our societies.

From the geo-historical context of Nigerian conflict analysis, the following positions demonstrate some psychological implications for peace promotion through peace education programming in Nigeria:

(a) Violent conflicts as a product of religious extremism and fundamentalism as seen typically in the North East Geopolitical Zone.

A peace education programme must be geared towards the process of deradicalisation, rehabilitation, and positive attitudes about nation building. The skills of critical thinking, rationale inclusive decisions-making, and good leadership should be the fulcrum of the peace education curriculum.

(b) Violent conflicts as a product of scarce land resource resulting in herder–farmer clashes as well as the indigeneship-settler dichotomy (communal clashes).

A peace education programme would focus on environmental resource management, constitutional and civil education, as well as human dignity. The value of living together and common good should be the concern of the peace education programme.

(c) To address the psychological feelings of marginalization, deprivation, and injustice, the emergent peace education programme in schools should focus on egalitarianism, equity, justice, good leadership, and nonviolent approaches to resolving conflicts.

Table 1 Thematic areas and approaches for peace education

Concern	Direct	Structural
World violence Vs	Direct violence	Structural violence
World peace	Direct Peace (Peace making)	Structural peace Peacebuilding

Sources: MacNair (2003) and Atu (2018)

The Emergent Pedagogy Model for Strengthening and Entrenching Peace Education in the Nigerian School Curriculum for Peacebuilding and Sustainability in Nigeria

There are various approaches to peace education across the continent of Africa. In Sierra Leone, peace education is regarded as a tool in post-war reconstruction and for community building. Sierra Leone implemented the UN Peacebuilding Model through education. Five education programmes were the vehicles for transmitting peace values at both curricular and co-curricular lense.

In Rwanda, the peace education programme has centred on the promotion of social cohesion, positive values such as pluralism, personal responsibility, and empathy, and critical action to help build a peaceful national society. Peace education therefore is a cross-cutting component of the school curriculum.

In Kenya, the peace education programme has a manual that encompasses internal peace, external peace, and global peace. There exists a peace education curriculum for primary and secondary schools that is called from the world peace programme. In many countries of Africa, including Nigeria, the school system and curricula are centralized under the oversight of the Ministry of Education.

In Nigeria, the violent conflict scenarios raised in this chapter call for a deliberate and pragmatic approach to revolutionize its education in order to address the conflict concerns. This argument is largely supported by prominent Nigerian educationists and psychologists such as Olowo (2016), Ogunyemi (2006), and Aguba (2010). They all are in agreement with Atu (2014), that social reforms can best be achieved through the school system, churches and mosques, the mass media, and community groups. Therefore, the place of the school becomes pertinent because education is regarded as the instrument "*per excellence*" in achieving national objectives. These national objectives include the building of the following:

(a) a just and egalitarian society,
(b) a united, strong and self-reliant nation,
(c) a great and dynamic economy,
(d) a land of bright and full of opportunities for all citizens.

Education therefore should be directed and oriented towards the inculcation of values of respect for the worth and dignity of citizens, faith in men and women's ability to make rational decisions, moral and spiritual values in interpersonal and human relations, as well as the promotion of the emotional, physical, and psychological health of all children.

Currently, the fragmented peace education programmes are embodied in separate school subjects such as social studies and civil education; religion in our primary and secondary schools cannot adequately drive the pedagogy for the achievement of these lofty objectives, particularly in the face of these conflict challenges facing the Nation.
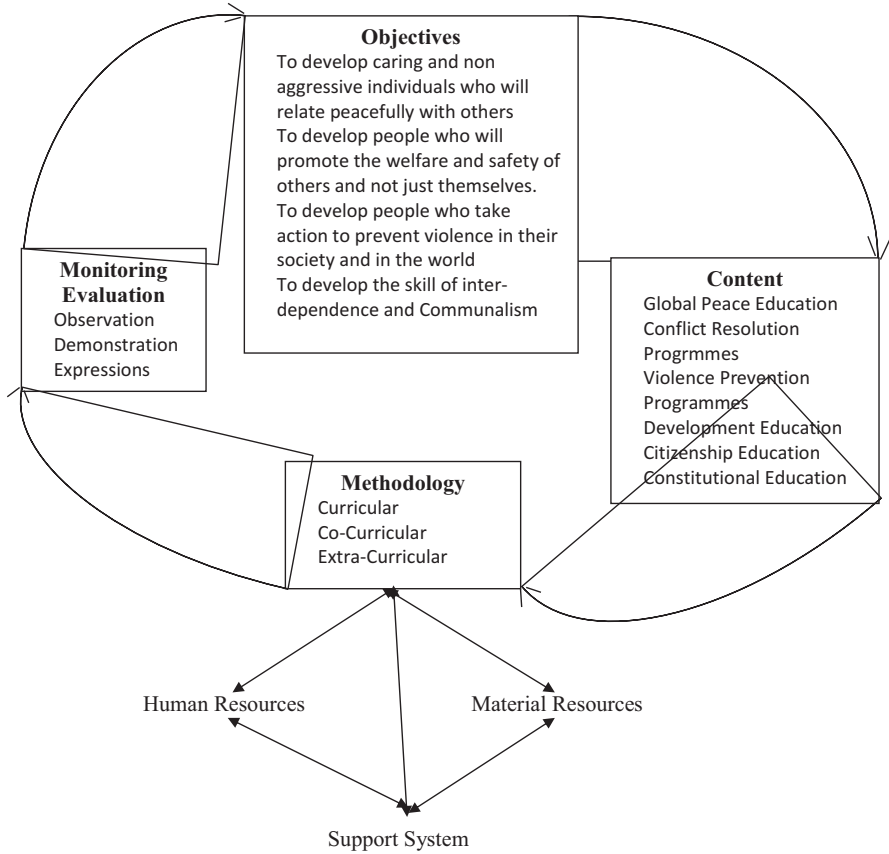
Fig. 1 Depiction of a pragmatic approach for comprehensive peace education. Source: Atu (2018)

The articulated model below in Fig. 1 therefore depicts a pragmatic approach towards a comprehensive peace education in our primary, secondary, and tertiary schools.

Recommendations

The loose presentation of peace education through other school subjects like social studies and civil education is ineffective in inculcating desirable peace values and skills capable of addressing the myriad of peacebuilding challenges in Nigeria. It should therefore be made to stand on its own within the school programmes from primary to tertiary schools as mandatory course offerings and prerequisite programmes before graduation.

A robust support system from the community through invested CSOs, private organizations, the mass media, and other agencies of socialization is needed to radically inculcate in our youths the values of human dignity, interdependence, constitutionalism, and moral standards in social relationships. Youth exchange programmes, peace clubs, and citizenship trainings need to be pursued both within curricular and extracurricular programmes.

There should be an establishment of interreligious clubs and volunteer paramilitary organizations that cut across all religious organizations and sects. This is with the view to provide leadership training and interreligious values. It is a departure from the existing practice where individual religious organizations and denominations only have their parochial volunteer paramilitary organizations such as Boys Brigade, Royal Ambassadors, Catholic Cadets, and the *JIBWIS* Cadets (*Kungiyan Agaji*).

The Nigerian Youths should be actively involved in community peacebuilding in their various localities both at homes and campuses. The new hybrid model for community peacebuilding developed by this author presents an inclusive way of involving Nigerian Youths in peacebuilding and interreligious dialogue. This document was pilot-tested in Jos in 2014 and is currently used for peacebuilding among Morwa and Ninzam Communities of Kaduna State by the nongovernmental organization APUDI.

Conclusions

It is true that promoting and sustaining peace will require targeted efforts and approaches. The peace education programme in Nigeria would therefore provide a number of innovative curricular approaches for addressing some basic conflict challenges in the country. Violent conflicts have almost become encultured in the social behaviour of our people. The peace education approach, if well implemented as demonstrated in the model, will in no distant future go a long way in deculturing the culture of violence and improving the behavioural patterns of our youths and the citizens in general. In this way, the work is quite compatible with the values and traditions of the field of Community Psychology (Jason et al., 2004).

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Using Qualitative Research Methods for Advancement of Peace

Check for updates

Kristen Gleason and L. Kate Corlew

This chapter outlines innovative qualitative research methods that can be used for the study and advancement of peace. Of particular interest are methods that may be currently underutilized in fields like peace psychology and community psychology that value research related to peace and social justice. Therefore, rather than attempting a comprehensive list of research methods, we will explore the frontier areas of methodological developments in peace research with a focus on methods that show promise for aligning the *process* of peace research with the *goal* of bringing about a more peaceful world. We will focus specifically on research designs that (1) explore the sociocultural features of peace and violence; (2) explore the multi-level complexity of interlocking systems of peace and violence; and (3) acknowledge the complex dynamics of power in society and in research itself. However, before we discuss these innovative methods for the advancement of peace, we will outline how we use the ideas of peace and violence in a research context.

A Framework for Understanding Peace and Violence

In 1969, Galtung presented a now classic analysis of peace and violence, distinguishing between the concepts of *direct violence* and *structural violence*. This distinction has been influential in shaping research related to peace. A useful and well-used framework for further elaborating the direct/structural distinction is Christie, Wagner, and Winter's (2001) 2 × 2 matrix, which crosses the ideas of peace

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and violence with the ideas of direct and structural. This results in four overlapping and interrelated categories: direct violence, structural violence, direct peace (peacemaking or negative peace), and structural peace (peacebuilding or positive peace).

Opotow (2001) defined direct violence as "immediate, concrete, physical violence committed by and on particular, identifiable people" (p. 102). Direct violence describes tangible and visible acts. It is the image that is most commonly brought to mind when thinking about word "violence." Galtung (1969) used the word "direct" to draw attention to the fact that the perpetrators are specific and identifiable actors. Noor and Christie (2015) have also used the label "episodic violence" to refer to identifiable moments of visible violence as opposed to the more chronic and subtle nature of structural violence. In this conceptualization, episodic violence includes "direct, acute insults to the psychological or physical well-being of individuals or groups" that erupts "periodically as events or episodes" (Christie et al., 2001, p. 8).

While direct violence is characterized by identifiable actors, structural violence is embedded in the very structures of society, making its consequences much more "delayed and diffuse" (Christie et al., 2001). It is often impossible to identify specific, individual actors responsible for structural violence. Structural violence is the violence wrought by economic, political, and social structures that are unjust, resulting in constrained agency (Farmer, 2004) and an inability of individuals and families to reach their full potential (Galtung, 1969). It occurs as the result of "structures and institutions [that] produce oppression, exploitation, and dominance" (Christie et al., 2001, p. 9). The consequences of structural violence are slow, and because they are the result of structural and systemic inequality, the perpetrators and beneficiaries are often numerous and scattered throughout a society. Structural violence "is gradual, imperceptible, and normalized as the way things are done; it determines whose voice is systematically heard or ignored, who gets particular resources, and who goes without" (Opotow, 2001, p. 102). While structural violence kills slowly and subtly, it is no less deadly than direct violence.

As direct violence tends to be the most readily available conceptualization of the term "violence," peace is often first understood as the absence of direct violence, and most simplistically, as the absence of war. However, the image of peace as a non-war state quickly breaks down when one considers that a brutal tyrant or empire could enact a sort of limited "peace" by controlling the means of direct violence and by preventing dissent. Few would argue that such a scenario represents a truly peaceful state of affairs. The distinction between direct and structural is therefore also useful when thinking about peace. Christie et al.'s (2001) 2 × 2 framework distinguishes between direct peace, which they call peacemaking, and structural peace, which they call peacebuilding. Barash (2017b) uses the terms negative and positive peace to refer to peace as the absence of direct violence (negative peace) versus peace as the presence of socially just systems and structures (positive peace). Peacemaking is "designed to reduce the frequency and intensity of direct violence" (Christie et al., 2001, p. 10). A good deal of research within peace psychology has been devoted to peacemaking efforts, with a strong focus on conflict resolution strategies (Blumberg, 2006).

Peacemaking is necessary but insufficient for bringing about peace. Peacebuilding is the structural side of peace efforts, promoting economic, social, and political equity. Peacebuilding addresses the underlying material deprivation that curtails life, the social marginalization that constrains life trajectories, and the political imbalances that facilitate oppression. Lasting peace requires attention to structural violence, "the deeper and more permanent roots of the problem" (Christie et al., 2001, p. 11). While they are certainly related, the distinction between peacemaking and peacebuilding is a useful conceptual tool. Peacemaking can at times support the interests of the powerful and maintain the status quo; peacebuilding seeks to disrupt social systems, creating "strain" so as to bring about change (Montiel, 2001). While peacemaking tends to focus on resolving conflicts, peacebuilding may initially require bringing conflict to light, unsettling those who directly and indirectly benefit from unjust structures.

The 2×2 framework highlights the often-overlooked phenomenon of structural violence and the need for peacebuilding efforts; however, the actual distinctions between the types of peace and violence are often blurred. It is not always easy to discern where structural violence ends and direct violence begins (Christie et al., 2001). For example, Scheper-Hughes and Bourgois (2004) have highlighted "everyday violence," the smaller-scale, intimate, interpersonal violence (e.g., domestic violence, child neglect, gang violence) that occurs routinely in communities that suffer under the crushing and inhumane weight of structural violence. When oppression and marginalization are seen as a slow and chronic violence upon lives, everyday violence can be conceptualized as structural violence begetting direct violence. Likewise, direct violence can beget structural violence, as in cases when poverty and deprivation follow war and conflict. Peacemaking efforts can also inadvertently lead to structural violence, while peacebuilding can create enough strain on a system that those in power respond with direct violent repression. Christie et al. (2001), therefore, conceptualized direct and structural violence as circular, an "interlocking system of violence" (p. 10).

In a later articulation of the 2×2 framework, Noor and Christie (2015) added the additional distinction between aspects of peace and violence that are objective and aspects that are subjective. Objective aspects of peace and violence include "actions by individuals or groups that are overt, directly observable and measurable" (Noor & Christie, 2015, p. 50). The subjective aspects are more difficult to observe and measure as they have to do with the internal thoughts and feelings of individuals and groups. At the individual level, subjective aspects can include internal reactions to peace/violence as well as internal states that can facilitate peace or violence. At the community, group, or nation level, subjectivities can include ideologies, historical memory, symbols, and other shared meaning systems (Boulding, 2017; Noor & Christie, 2015). Indeed, Scheper-Hughes and Bourgois (2004) stressed that:

> Violence can never be understood solely in terms of its physicality—force, assault, or the infliction of pain—alone. Violence also includes assaults on the personhood, dignity, sense of worth or value of the victim. The social and cultural dimensions of violence are what gives violence its power and meaning (p. 1).

In the discussion that follows we make use of these distinctions between peace/violence, direct/structural, subjective/objective for drawing attention to innovative qualitative approaches to research that could be productively applied to explore phenomena across the continuums of violence and peace, with full acknowledgement of the messy and interlocking nature of those concepts. Indeed, we believe that qualitative methods are often quite well suited for accommodating and exploring messy conceptual boundaries, especially in the exploration of the more subjective aspects of systems of peace and violence.

Research as a Process of Peace

Since its founding, peace psychology has situated itself as a field that is unabashedly for peace (Luke, 2013; Wessells, 1996). It was founded on the values of "preventing violence, promoting peace, creating social justice, and sustaining positive transformations" (Pilisuk, Anderson-Hinn, & Pellegrini, 2015, p. 140). Likewise, the allied field of community psychology was similarly founded on principles that promote peace and justice. Angelique and Culley (2007) define community psychology as "a field that engages in research and action to promote individual, relational, and societal well-being while working to reduce suffering and oppression" (p. 37). This definition and the historical arc of community psychology, which has been grounded in principles of social justice and activism (Angelique & Culley, 2007; Revenson & Seidman, 2002), indicate the importance in the field of understanding structural violence and pursuing peacebuilding activities. Despite these intentions, these fields have not entirely avoided the traps of eurocentrism and sexism that have plagued psychology at large (Noor & Christie, 2015). For example, in 1996, Wessells admitted that "both the national peace movement and psychology have a long history of male domination. This pattern also exists within peace psychology, where men have been much more visible than women and have held most of the leadership positions" (p. 288). Revenson and Seidman (2002) have noted similar issues in the field of community psychology.

In recent decades, several critiques have been leveled against the research practices employed by Western psychologists throughout most of the twentieth century (e.g., Bhawuk, 2008; McCubbin & Marsella, 2009). There has been growing recognition in a number of fields, including community psychology, cultural psychology, and peace psychology, that much research in the history of psychology not only suffers from eurocentric and gendered biases, but also has been used to actively support social and political structures that oppress marginalized groups. For example, McCubbin and Marsella (2009) have reviewed psychological research in the context of Hawaii, where historically psychologists used their methodological tools to "prove" the supposed inferiority of Native Hawaiians and other groups, thereby justifying their oppression and marginalization. In other words, the history of psychology is littered with instances of intentional and unintentional support for structural violence.

While the purposes of peace psychology and community psychology are often rooted in dismantling oppression and cultivating justice, the academic tools used by these psychologists largely continue to be the tools created by non-critical academic and research systems (Gibson, 2011). "One of the more challenging factors to consider is that of the structural narratives that exist not only in the research setting, but also within our research approach" (Pilisuk et al., 2017, p. 141). Peace research that is not conducted by and with peaceful means cannot hope to be fully transformative. Bretherton and Law (2015) encourage peace researchers to view "each stage of the research project… as part of a peacebuilding process" (p. 5). With the goal of aligning peace research methods to peace research purposes, three areas of growth in terms of methodological approaches are of particular importance: (1) research designs that better acknowledge the sociocultural features of peace and violence; (2) research designs that are able to explore the multi-level complexity of interlocking systems of peace and violence, especially the more subjective aspects of these phenomena; and (3) research designs that better acknowledge the dynamics of power in society and in the research itself.

Methodological Choices for Peaceful Research

It is not the intention of this chapter to argue that there is no place in peace research for quantitative methods or the more established qualitative methods such as observation, interviews, and ethnography. On the contrary, the methodological critique we are addressing here is the use of these or any methodologies in peace psychology where the methods themselves are "used within an epistemological framework that allows the core assumptions of the wider discipline [psychology] to go unchallenged" (Gibson, 2011, p. 243). In addressing this critique, peace researchers and community psychologists need not necessarily eschew mainstream research methods, but must deeply consider how every research decision regarding research questions, design, methods, analysis, and dissemination enables or undermines a status quo of academic or social structural violence.

> As Foucault (1980) asserted, those who are of privileged and powerful positioning often do not realize the oppressive nature and processes of their own beliefs and actions on the powerless. As a peace psychology researcher, it is important to be reflexive of our own privilege and power when thinking of a topic, selecting literature, engaging with research participants and collecting field data (Law & Bretherton, 2017, p. 91).

Qualitative research has the capacity to elicit a viewpoint beyond that of the researcher. Well-crafted interview questions can prompt participants to express their understanding of meaning and experiences in ways that extend beyond the scope of the researcher's own perspective or initial research questions (Rubin & Rubin, 2005). Specific approaches in qualitative research, such as grounded theory (Creswell & Poth, 2017) and the systems perspective (Noor & Christie, 2015), lend themselves to this participant-centric approach that can minimize the pre-existing

biases or assumed knowledge of the researcher. However, writ large, qualitative methods can be a powerful tool within most research approaches, offering the potential to unlock unexpected findings, test theories, and facilitate the practice of pursuing peace research by peaceful means.

Social research is often conceptually divided into basic and applied research (Patten & Newhart, 2018; Patton, 2002). Basic research seeks to create knowledge and understanding of social phenomena. Applied research seeks to create knowledge and understanding with the specific goal of utilizing that knowledge and understanding for the benefit of individuals and society, and/or to actively intervene in society using principles that were discovered in previous research. Of course, the categories and directions of complex social research will never be so neatly delineated, but it is useful when designing peace research for and with peaceful means to first consider if the research goal is knowledge, application, or some combination of the two. Peace research on direct and structural violence may largely fall within the realm of basic research, which can then inform applied research on peacemaking and peacebuilding.

The remainder of this chapter illustrates a few specific qualitative approaches that have been and can be used to advance peace research within the 2 × 2 framework: indigenous methodologies, participatory action research and community based participatory research, narrative research, photovoice, and critical discourse analysis. These powerful qualitative approaches have the capacity to depower the researcher and empower the participants and their voices, thus enabling peace research that is itself peaceful in process and outcome.

Indigenous Methodologies Research, or any attempt to understand and explain social systems, that does not include a deep understanding of the context and inter-subjectivities of indigenous or other oppressed populations can exacerbate structural violence (Walker, 2017). Eurocentric research, methods, and paradigms have a centuries-long history of being used as tools of oppression, colonization, and even genocide (Smith, 1999; Wilson, 2008). Regardless of the background or intensions of modern researchers as a group or as individuals, research itself must embark on an intentional process of peacemaking and peacebuilding to repair the harms of this structural violence and to promote well-being, social and environmental justice, and peace. Familiarity with the concept and cultural structures of ethnocentrism does not make one immune to employing it at any (or every) point in the research process (Mellor, 2017). All social science researchers, but especially peace researchers, must take purposeful steps to minimize the continuation of structural violence through their research. With this purpose held central within peace psychology, the extraordinary work in indigenous methodologies should be strongly considered in the advancement of peace research by peaceful means.

Mellor (2017) suggests taking an emic approach in peace research, which he defines as grounded in the "pre-eminence [of] local cultural paradigms of meaning, forms of knowledge, and forms of social practice" (p. 183). Indigenous ways of knowing tend to be rooted in relational, spiritual, and reciprocal connectivity. Not only does context matter; context is fundamental in order to truly understand

relational knowing. Among many indigenous peoples, the reciprocal relationships between people, community, place, environment, context, and knowledge, are fundamental components to reality, life, well-being, understanding, and sustainability (Wilson, 2008). Research that disengages these relationships in search of objective truth can be and has been used to mask or inadvertently perpetuate structural violence. Qualitative research methods, analysis, and reporting can integrate and honor these relationships, particularly when employed in fields like peace psychology.

Research that is conducted on people rather than with people has often been framed by a deficit model that at best can illuminate or seek to ameliorate social ills but cannot be truly transformative (Mohatt et al., 2004; Wilson, 2008). The power in the traditional Western research process is held mostly by the researcher; community members' voices and perspectives are isolated, aggregated, and therefore disengaged from the context of their greatest meaning and the location of their greatest utility. Indigenous peoples have long experienced this Western act of detaching people and culture from their knowledge. Moreover, this knowledge is taken from its context and transported into academic settings where it may be misused and misunderstood, as the relationships between people and culture and knowledge have been undermined. Smith (1999) referred to this as "stealing knowledge" (p. 176). For research to truly be steeped in peace, every step from developing the research question to dissemination of knowledge, from conception to impact, must work in collaboration with the focal community and act to promote the well-being and empowerment of the community. The place, role, and relationship of the researcher with the community and with the research process must be acknowledged, considered, and honored. The Maine-Wabanaki Reconciliation Engagement Advocacy Change Healing (REACH) is an organization that notably established the Maine Wabanaki-State Child Welfare Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC). In advising non-Native activists who seek to support Native peoples, Maine-Wabanaki REACH has recommended that activists "act from a place where you are not the center" (personal communication, 2015; http://www.mainewabanakireach.org/).

Wilson (2008) provides the following guiding questions for researchers working within the relational paradigm of indigenous research, which we propose will serve peace psychologists from many backgrounds, particularly when working cross-culturally.

- How do my methods help to build respectful relationships between the topic that I am studying and myself as researcher (on multiple levels)?
- How do my methods help to build respectful relationships between myself and the other research participants?
- How can I relate respectfully to the other participants involved in this research so that together we can form a stronger relationship with the idea that we will share?
- What is my role as researcher in this relationship, and what are my responsibilities?
- Am I being responsible in fulfilling my role and obligations to the other participants, to the topic and to all of my relations?

- What am I contributing or giving back to the relationship? Is the sharing, growth and learning that is taking place reciprocal? (p. 77)

Participatory Action Research Because of the slow, pervasive insistence of political, social, and economic structures to deny or actively take resources from victims of structural violence, peace researchers are often drawn to applied research interventions that take an active and transformative role in participants' lives and communities. Methods such as Community Based Participatory Research (CBPR) and Participatory Action Research (PAR) may be appropriate tools to both understand the systems of violence and their impacts, and support the oppressed in dismantling them.

PAR is an outgrowth of action research, in which the research process and activities take place in complex and uncontrolled, non-laboratory, real-world settings. Typically, action research applies evidence-based rigor to the naturally iterative process of existent projects and activities with the specific goal of some definable benefit (e.g., improved outcomes, extended reach, greater efficiency). Each iteration incorporates the typical research process of reviewing current knowledge, designing an evidence-based action strategy, implementing, evaluating, and repeating as needed (McNiff, 2017). With PAR, the researcher takes on the role of participant within this process. There is no call for disconnection or objectivity; rather, the researcher is called to be reflexive and involved, often as a collaborator with or follower of the other members of the research setting. PAR can, for example, facilitate a process of rebuilding or healing a community after civic conflict or interpersonal violence through the research of community action, and can furthermore empower community members in their recovery and their efficacy in rebuilding by creating a collaborative process in which participants direct the focus and outcomes of the research (Lykes & Crosby, 2017).

The crux of CBPR is that every step of the research process is rooted in the community. Community members are leaders, collaborators, and/or informers when developing the research topic and questions, the design, recruiting of participants, implementation, analysis, and reporting. In true community based research methods, the community members are not only held as the experts of the community; the community members become the researchers themselves. Participatory research methods such as community needs assessments and community asset mapping (Lazarus, Taliep, & Naidoo, 2017), or participatory digital mapping (Law & Ramos, 2017) place the research focus, direction, and outcomes in the hands of the community themselves, thus empowering the community and depowering the researcher. PAR and CBPR require an extensive and intensive research period. They cannot happen quickly because the success of the research hinges on the action, direction, and involvement of the community, which can only happen well when there exists a trusting, open relationship between the researcher and the community (Allen, Mohatt, Markstrom, Byers, & Novins, 2012).

Narrative Methods Storytelling can be research. People often make sense of their experiences through the stories that they tell, particularly those stories that fit their

individual experiences into the surrounding social milieu, what Quinn (2005) calls "the internalized side of culture." For example, narrative research can provide insight into the cognitions of ordinary people who become actors or bystanders in atrocities:

> Examination of the cognition that results in violence includes studying how people are thinking in the lead-up to war or similar massive violence; how they allow themselves to inflict the violence which they would normally regard as immoral; and investigation of the kinds of beliefs that justify and underpin violence in people's minds (MacNair, 2017, p. 23).

Narrative analysis tends to revolve around emergent themes, with a keen eye toward understanding the sociocultural contexts in which these themes emerge (Riessman, 1993). The researcher must seek to understand not only what is being said, but also how and why it is being said (Gee, 2005). Researchers who are cognizant of the ways in which people communicate will be able to learn more about the content and context of the interviews, and more about unfamiliar cultures (Briggs, 1986). Storytelling can furthermore be used as community interventions. For example, Truth and Reconciliation Commissions have sought to use storytelling (truth-telling) as the foundation of activity to dismantle structural forms of violence, as well as to support communities in co-constructing shared meanings, understanding, and goals for healing and peace (Lau, Suffla, & Kgatitswe, 2017).

Richardson and St. Pierre (2003) proposed that in addition to being a method for reporting or "telling" of research, writing can itself be a method of analysis through creative analytic practice ethnography (CAP ethnography). CAP ethnography can provide the researcher with new and diverse levels of understanding by deeply analyzing the construct of research narratives and the use of language itself by research participants. While much of the social sciences, including qualitative methods, are steeped in Western traditions of expertly reported objective reality, new narrative approaches to research writing such as CAP ethnography can be adapted into multiple ways of knowing from poetry to fiction to drama and more. Situated within a postmodernist research paradigm, "CAP ethnography displays the *writing process* and the *writing product* as deeply intertwined; both are privileged. The product cannot be separated from the producer or the mode of production or the method of knowing" (Richardson & St. Pierre, 2003, p. 511). CAP ethnography and other deviations from Western scientific traditional standards of writing may therefore extend the capacity of qualitative research to explore the multifaceted nature of context-dependent experiences of truth, which becomes increasingly important when addressing structural violence and peacebuilding.

Creative life writing (Gordon, 2017) can be used as a form of narrative research that it is particularly meaningful among populations whose reality has little connection to the predominant cultural narratives of common lived experiences. Creative life writing is fictionalized, such that the participant authors who are writing about sensitive autobiographical topics need not worry about accurate factual details, but rather can focus on capturing the emotional and psychological experiences of the stories they have to tell. Participants create "characters" who navigate the participants' own stories, which allows them to both step back from and to deeply explore

the roles, social constructs, and expectations that directed their actions and experiences. Through this exploration, participants can enable their protagonists to live differently or gain insight from their lives, thus empowering the participants to take ownership of their stories and their realities.

Narrative stories, whether or not they are fictionalized, can facilitate participants' exploration of the deeper significance and meanings of their experiences with direct and structural violence (Breheny & Stephens, 2017). Even when narratives do not explicitly focus on identity, analysis of the situational and cultural constructs, such as morality, that develop in the stories can reveal "both the immediate identity of the storyteller and a broader social imperative to be a certain sort of person" (Breheny & Stephens, 2017, p. 280). Narrative research, and other forms of creative expressions in research, can reveal not only the literal tale to be told, but also the positioning of the story within broader social constructs. This can be particularly important when community members are working to detangle their personal lived experiences from unjust social constructs that may have benefited or oppressed them.

Photovoice   Foster-Fishman, Nowell, Deacon, Nievar, and McCann (2005) argued that any research seeking to empower a community or promote social justice must do so not only with the outcomes or products of the research, but with the methodological and analytic tools as well. Photovoice is a method "by which people can identify, represent, and enhance their community" (Wang & Burris, 1997, p. 369) by asking participants to go into their lives and communities and take photographs that depict various facets of the research topic. The participants gather to explain and discuss their photographs and therefore the "lens" through which they view the topic. Photovoice depowers the researcher while empowering the research participants to "frame" the research focus, literally with photographic images that the participants choose to take and to share, and figuratively by constructing the narrative of themes, context, and meaning.

> Photovoice has three main goals: (1) to enable people to record and reflect their community's strengths and concerns, (2) to promote critical dialogue and knowledge about important community issues through large and small group discussion of photographs, and (3) to reach policymakers (Wang & Burris, 1997, p. 370).

Photovoice empowers and enables community members to explore the entwined complexities of culture, identity, and place in ways that can reveal elements of structural violence as well as community assets that can be leveraged for peacebuilding (Malherbe, Suffla, Seedat, & Bawa, 2017). Photovoice can be employed for each of the four categories of peace research, with outcomes generating not only a greater knowledge of the topic for the field, but also a great capacity for verisimilitude, or a deep understanding of shared meaning, among the audience. Photovoice can be used to reveal structural violence in ways that promote deep understanding of the root issues among victims, perpetrators, and bystanders alike (Nowell, Berkowitz, Deacon, & Foster-Fishman, 2006). Photovoice can similarly be used as a tool for empowerment, education, and advocacy in peacebuilding activities aimed at dismantling structural violence and promoting well-being in communities.

Participants of photovoice research projects have reported increased self-efficacy as well as a greater understanding of the intricate social realities of their communities (Seedat, Suffla, & Bawa, 2017). In evaluating the impact on participants of the research methods themselves, Foster-Fishman et al. (2005) found that photovoice increased participants' self-confidence in communication, which in turn extended into a sense of efficacy in their lives. Participants also noted that the deep reflection and safe space for communicating disagreements in focus groups led to an increase in their own critical understanding of community structures and an empowered sense of themselves as potential change agents within their communities.

Critical Discourse Analysis In his introductory text on peace studies, Barash, (2017) has discussed some of the seemingly insurmountable challenges of bringing about a truly peaceful world. He reflected on the ever expanding military budgets of power nations, including the United States, and concluded that:Any attempt to approach peace, if it is to be meaningful, must also approach this problem of redrawing the 'conceptual cartography' through which most people structure their view of the world and their place in it (Barash, 2017a, p. 4).

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is one tool for systematically analyzing the ways that people use language to shape social reality. It is a powerful method for plotting some of the "conceptual cartography" that can subtly shape our understanding of the world and can be a useful tool for suggesting changes of course. It is, therefore, particularly applicable for better understanding Noor and Christie's (2015) "subjective dimension" of peace and violence. Critical discourse analysis rather than representing a single approach is more accurately described as a school or set of methods that share a focus on (1) the active nature of language in constructing social worlds; (2) a critical perspective on inequalities in communities and society; and (3) issues of power (Wodak & Meyer, 2009).

The stance of discourse analysis, in general, is that language is not just descriptive of an objective reality, but rather, it plays a vital and active role in helping to create meaning and in structuring social phenomena. Thus, rather than focusing on language alone, discourse analysis also examines the active "work" done by language in shaping social realities (Wood & Kroger, 2000). However, both Fairclough (2003) and Parker (1992) are careful to note that this approach does not necessitate a completely constructivist view of the world. In other words, while discourse analysis does stress the importance of words in creating some kinds of realities (for instance, what constitutes peace and violence), it does not necessarily claim that words create *all* reality. Parker (1992) calls this "a critical realist position" which he defines as "a materialist view sensitive to the powers of discourse" (p. 25). This critical realist position works well within Christie et al.'s (2001) 2 × 2 framework, where it is flexible enough to acknowledge the concrete, objective aspects of direct violence, while at the same time focusing attention on the subtle ways that shared discourses can both shape our understanding of these concrete acts of violence and work to create and maintain structural violence. For example, in writing about discourses on human trafficking, Gleason, Baker, and Maynard (2017) acknowledged

the concrete acts of violence inscribed in the label "human trafficking," while also arguing that human trafficking "is a concept created through discourse":

> In this view, there are concrete, material aspects of a social issue (e.g., the people and behaviors involved). These physical aspects are open to scientific enquiry. However, in characterizing social actors (e.g., as victims, traffickers) and physical acts (e.g., as abuse or trafficking) one crosses into the realm of discourse and begins engaging in the process of meaning making (p. 294).

CDA is also characterized by a focus on *critical* analysis of discourse. Researchers interested in critical methods in the tradition of the Frankfurt School seek to move beyond describing phenomena and adopt a stance of attempting to change or challenge existing injustices in society (Wodak & Meyer, 2009). This focus moves scholars from a disimpassioned "objective" stance to a one that Bourdieu (2000) calls "scholarship with commitment." This too fits well with methods that seek to pursue peace as a subjectively positive state.

A third major aspect of the CDA school of analysis is its focus on power. CDA researchers see unjust discourses as maintaining and maintained by certain power interests. According to this view, "power is legitimized or de-legitimized in discourses. Texts are often sites of social struggle in that they manifest traces of differing ideological fights for dominance and hegemony" (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009, p. 89). Wood and Kroger (2000) underscore the usefulness of the CDA for analyzing "discourse in relation to social problems; to social structural variables such as race, gender, and class; and above all to power" (p. 21). Its emphasis on analyzing how power dynamics are played out in discourse, often in unexamined ways, is particularly useful in understanding the underpinnings of structural violence and in working to articulate discursive approaches that facilitate the power-challenging goals of peacebuilding. Indeed, Gibson (2011) has recently argued for the greater use of critical discursive perspectives in the field of peace psychology. He provided an example of his own work, which examined policy debates broadcast on British TV in the run-up to the Iraq War, concluding that both advocates and opponents of the war mobilized discourses about peace to justify their positions. It is indeed useful to examine how the "...modern military machinery of the West has positioned itself as an agent of peace" (Gibson, 2011, p. 247), thus using discourses on peace to maintain and expand power. In systematically examining discourses that support and maintain systems of peace or violence, CDA can make apparent the often-unexamined ways that our habitual use of certain discourses can shape our social understandings of these phenomena. In doing so, it can also point us toward shaping discourses that are more aligned with goals of peace and justice.

Conclusion

Real and complete peace that includes the remaking of structures around principles of justice may be a long time coming (Barash, 2017a). Therefore, it is critical that while we work to understand peace and violence with the intention of bringing about peace, we do so with methods that support peace. That is, the methods of peace psychology and community psychology should strive always to be peaceful, acknowledging that research methods are not merely a means toward an end, but another step in work that likely will never have an end. Using peaceful methods sounds like a simple task, but given the eurocentric and oppressive history of Western psychological research, the execution of peaceful research methods in reality takes great thoughtfulness, reflection, and care. The selection of qualitative methods offered here is by no means an exhaustive list. We would like to see this chapter as another exchange in an ongoing discussion of employing methods that can be used to support the goal of doing research that is truly peaceful, in content as well as process.

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Mixed Methods Research in Peace Promotion

Judith Schoonenboom and R. Burke Johnson

Definition of Mixed Methods Research

This chapter examines mixed methods and multimethod research in peace promotion and peace research. We use the following definition of mixed methods research (MMR):

> Mixed methods research inquiry is an approach to investigating the world that allows, at a minimum, thoughtful mixing-or-combining of methods, methodologies, and paradigms. MMR ideally uses different data sources and design elements in such a way as to bring different perspectives to bear in the inquiry, all for the purpose of better understanding, often against a background of making decisions to change an undesirable situation for the better. Decisions about how methods, methodologies, and paradigms are combined and how analyses are conducted are grounded in the needs and emerging complexity of each project.

As clarified in this definition, MMR is much more than combining qualitative and quantitative ("mixed") methods of data collection. MMR has a specific immediate goal of bringing different perspectives to bear in the inquiry, a scientific purpose of better understanding, and often a practical purpose of improving a situation. Our definition suggests how MMR can and should be conducted: logic of inquiry and design decisions can be made before the start, but also during the course, of a research study, and methods, paradigms, and methodologies cannot be combined at will, but are combined thoughtfully into a mixed logic of inquiry in the service of obtaining useful and justified answers to one's research questions.

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Peace Promotion, Peace Research, and Mixed Methods Research: Natural Allies

MMR is a natural ally of peace research and peace promotion and community psychology (e.g., Campbell, Shaw, & Gregory, 2017; Jason & Aase, 2016). Various arguments support this claim. One group of arguments refers to peace research as such and its position in the research community. First, mixed methods studies in peace research exist; mixed methods has actually been called a "trend" in peace research (Cooper & Finley, 2014, p. 6). Thaler (2017) provided an overview of mixed methods studies in the field of political and social violence and conflict, including some excellent real-life examples. That said, finding published mixed methods peace studies is not easy, because, as in other fields, mixed methods studies are often not designated as such by their authors (Onwuegbuzie & Tashakkori, 2015).

Second, MMR is considered useful by peace research scholars and methodologists. Various arguments have been put forward for the use of a wide array of different data sources within one study, such as the complexity of conflicts and conflict resolution (Cooper & Finley, 2014; Reimer, 2015), the difficulty to get at violence (Collins, 2008), and the need to provide evidence that is convincing and will be used by those who make positive decisions in situations of conflict (Druckman, 2005; Thaler, 2017). Importantly, MMR in peace research oftentimes uses a participatory or transformative approach with the immediate goal of improving the research participants' lives and producing peace in their local communities (Mertens, 2007).

Third, a methodology for mixed methods peace research has been described by mixed methods scholars. Onwuegbuzie and Tashakkori (2015) presented a general framework for conducting mixed methods peace research, the Critical Integrated Research and Evaluation (CIRE) framework. Onwuegbuzie and Tashakkori (2015) provide a detailed description of the various stages of their mixed methods approach to peace research. It can be read as a complement to this chapter.

A second group of arguments points at the fit between peace research and MMR and/or its foundations. A first prominent foundation of mixed methods that has been compared to the resolution of conflicts is pragmatism (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004; Johnson, de Waal, Stefurak, & Hildebrand, 2017; Johnson, Onwuegbuzie, de Waal, Stefurak, & Hildebrand, 2017; Morgan, 2007). The pragmatic maxim states that the current meaning or instrumental or provisional truth value of an expression is to be determined by the experiences or practical consequences of belief in or use of the expression in the world (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004;). For research, this means the worth of a study is related to the extent that it contributes to changing something in the world. Conflict resolution is one of those aims, and in fact, pragmatism has been described as a philosophy dedicated to "the resolution of the conflicts that divide us" (Sleeper, 1986, pp. 8–9). Because the contribution to changing something in the world is central, researchers in a pragmatist approach are allowed to use methods in combinations that will contribute to reaching this aim. This is especially important when stakes are high, such as in conflicts that escalate to violence (Thaler, 2017).

Going beyond his 2004 view of pragmatism as an underlying philosophy for MMR, Johnson later developed a philosophical process theory, called "dialectical pluralism," for producing peace and win-win solutions in the presence of differences (Johnson, 2017). This integrative meta-paradigm builds on and extends Greene's mixed methods "dialectical stance" (Greene, 2007; Greene & Hall, 2010) and Mitchell's (1982) dialectical pluralism. Dialectical pluralism is defined by Johnson (2017, p. 160) as follows:

> The fundamental ideas of [dialectical pluralism] as a metaparadigm for research are to (a) dialectically listen, carefully and thoughtfully, to different disciplines, paradigms, theories, and stakeholder/citizen perspectives; (b) combine important ideas from competing values and into a new workable whole for each research study/evaluation; (c) explicitly state and "pack" the approach with researchers' and stakeholders' epistemological and social/political values and construct standards to guide and judge the research (including the valued ends and the valued means for getting there); (d) conduct the research ethically; (e) facilitate dissemination and utilization of research findings (locally and more broadly); and (f) continually evaluate the outcomes of the research/utilization process (e.g., Is the research having the desired societal impact?). In short, [dialectical pluralism] means listening, understanding, learning, and acting.

Mitchell (1982) related his version of dialectical pluralism to conflict resolution, by stating that "the goal of dialectical pluralism is not liberal toleration of opposing views from a neutral ground but transformation, conversation, or, at least, the kind of communication which clarifies exactly what is at stake in any critical conflict" (Mitchell, 1982, p. 614). The same can be said of Johnson's (2017) approach.

A third relevant mixed methods approach is transformative MMR (Mertens, 2007, 2010), defined by Donna Mertens as "Mixed methods research, when undertaken from a transformative stance, is the use of qualitative and quantitative methods that allow for the collection of data about historical and contextual factors, with special emphasis on issues of power that can influence the achievement of social justice and avoidance of oppression" (Mertens in Johnson, Onwuegbuzie, & Turner, 2007, p. 120). Transformative MMR in community-clinical psychology, under the name of community-based participatory research, has been described by Jason and Aase (2016).

Social justice is an important issue in peace research as well. It is one element of "positive peace," building peaceful relations (Alger, 1999; Galtung, 1965). Transformative approaches have criticized traditional qualitative and quantitative research for performing research "on" people, with the aim of arriving at unbiased interpretations of findings, instead of performing research "with" people (Reimer, 2015; Reimer et al., 2015). Our definition of MMR emphatically includes transformative approaches.

In summary, three current approaches to MMR are especially related to peace and resolution of conflict. Resolution of conflict within dialectical pluralism is closely related to purposive interacting with differences. Johnson (2017) explains how dialectical pluralism can operate within an individual and especially as a group process. A key strategy is to construct a heterogeneous group that represents all key stakeholders (especially those with the least power) and then use group best practices developed from multiple literatures (e.g., diplomacy, negotiation, group counseling, collaborative leadership, small group research) to produce solutions that are largely agreed upon and justified by the group process and use of deliberative democracy.

Table 3 in Johnson (2017) lists 25 established group process strategies, perhaps the most important of which is each individual is considered equal to all other individuals in the group process. Tucker Johnson, Onwuegbuzie, and Icenogle (2020) explain many additional strategies for building consensus that listen to, understand, and include the positions of "minority" groups. Just a few of the approaches are collaborative logic modeling, distributed leadership, future search, open space, radical collegiality, world café, appreciative inquiry, polarity mapping, Delphi, and more.

Another approach to interacting with differences in peace research is *integrative complexity* (Streufert, 1970; Suedfeld & Tetlock, 2014), defined by Conway, Suedfeld, and Tetlock (2001, p. 67) as:

> *Integrative complexity* involves both (1) the degree to which people differentiate among aspects of or perspectives on a particular problem ("differentiation"), and (2) the degree to which people then relate those perspectives to each other within some coherent framework ("integration"). Differentiation is necessary but not sufficient for integration; one can differentiate without integrating, but not integrate without first differentiating.

The concept of integrative complexity is also seen in dialectical pluralism where the goal is to produce new syntheses or wholes based on important differences. Integrative complexity has been applied many times to political decisions that lead to war or peace, including Suedfeld and Tetlock (1977) on the build-up to World War II and the Cuban missile crisis, Suedfeld, Tetlock, and Ramirez (1977) on United Nations speeches on the Middle East problem from 1947 to 1976, and many others.

Mixed methods methodological literature with an emphasis on the process of differentiation includes Johnson and Schoonenboom (2016), Schoonenboom and Johnson (2017), and Tucker et al. (2020). In these publications, we have emphasized that mixed methods researchers should not only listen to different perspectives, but that they should actively design for diversity, they should actively create situations in which diversity and difference, and thus constructive conflict, are likely to arise. From this process, new syntheses, new knowledge, and new integrations are obtained.

One publication in which diversification and integration are treated as connected stages of MMR is Schoonenboom (2018b), who proposed, very similar to integrative complexity, an MMR process of diversification–integration–decision. The general process is depicted in Fig. 1:

MMR, thus, is an iterative process, with decision(s)/practice as its result. The decision(s) at the end of the MMR cycle is/are informed by one or more inferences, which are the result of an iterative process of diversification and integration. This iterative research process is in line with dialectical pluralism:

> Dialectically, [DP] uses back-and-forth disputation and examination and can include the dynamic logic of thesis, antithesis, and synthesis—synthesis/integration is a key requirement of successful equal-status [MMR]. Dialogically, [DP] involves continual and equal dialogue and discussion. Hermeneutically, [DP] involves the continual process of interpretation and building on past interpretations. (Johnson, 2017, p. 157)

In other words, the goal of MMR includes inferences that include or at least are based on these various and different views and elements. For causal interventions
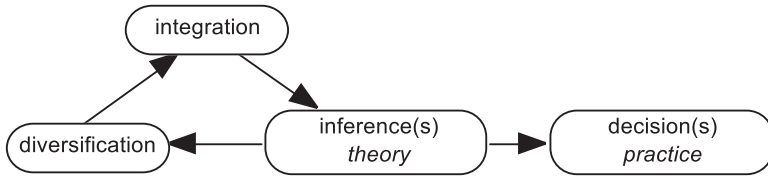
Fig. 1 Integrative complexity in mixed methods research

and applied research, the inference(s) should answer the question "What works for whom under what circumstances" (Pawson & Tilley, 1997; see also Johnson, Russo, & Schoonenboom, 2019). Diversification can occur at many levels, such as the levels of formulating research questions, data collection, data analysis, inference, and many more.

Decisions at the end need not always be part of the study proper. Many studies are performed with the aim of better understanding, which may or may not be used by others in decision-making. But, in peace research and much of MMR, a possible decision or change for the better is always at the back of the researcher's mind, like it is in transformative research. The relevance of decisions in peace research has been emphasized above by the need for peace research scholars to produce knowledge that can be used by policy makers (Thaler, 2017), and by presenting decisions as the result of less or more integrative complexity (Conway et al., 2001).

Even if decisions are not part of the study, working toward decisions is. Schoonenboom (2018a) made a distinction between the *immediate purpose* of research, which for fundamental research is often understanding, and its *remote purpose*, which in mixed methods and peace research is positive change. In transformative MMR (Mertens, 2007, 2010), the purpose is almost always on immediate change for participants and groups with less power in their communities and societies. Using the approach to MMR that we advocate here, researchers should design for diversity and inclusion, and subsequently integrate and apply findings in an iterative process. In dialectical pluralism, the goal is to produce win-win solutions where everyone agrees with the process and ultimately produces and sees improvement.

The Mixed Methods Research Process

Although useful to describe the integrative complexity of the MMR process in general, Fig. 1 is of little use in designing a MMR study. For that purpose, a heuristic is needed that includes research activities, such as data collection and data analysis. Within the mixed methods literature, several useful and iterative approaches to conducting MMR exist. An approach, that is especially good at producing local change, is mixed methods action research, with its iterative cycle that is an extension of the basic cycle of action research: plan–act–observe–reflect–plan, etc. (Ivankova & Wingo, 2018; Lewin, 1951). Figure 2 provides a heuristic showing the iterative character of the process of Fig. 1.
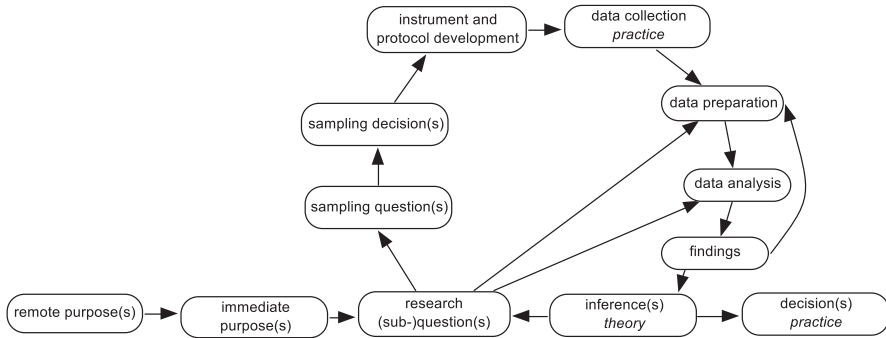
Fig. 2 The mixed methods iterative research process

In our approach, the research cycle starts with an overarching, but often vague, immediate research purpose and research question. From this overarching research question, sub-questions or intermediate research questions are identified and "answered" subsequently. The process is iterative in at least two ways. First, usually, more than one research sub-question is answered in one stage, leading to more research cycles, one for each question. Second, the inference that results from one cycle typically does not fully answer the research question and often alters it; the research question becomes more nuanced and diversified and additional questions are added.

Substantive and methodological processes implied in Fig. 1 are interwoven (Emmel, 2013). Substantive research questions address what a researcher wants to know, and methodological questions address how a researcher wants to arrive at the answer(s). Although one and the same research question can be answered using multiple logics of inquiry, the phenomenon described in the substantive research question has an influence on where (sampling) and how (data collection and data analysis) a researcher can "best" develop answers.

Characteristics of Good Mixed Methods Research

We now discuss various characteristics of good MMR, which we later apply to a study in peace research, Varshney (2001, 2003).

Diversification at Multiple Levels

In good MMR, diversification, the inclusion of differences, occurs at many levels and stages of the research. Diversification includes, but is not limited to

– Involving multiple researchers with different perspectives.
– Answering various related, but different and complementary, research questions.

- – Working with more than one paradigm, perspective, theory, and/or model.
- – Involvement of multiple stakeholders (e.g., organizations and citizens) throughout the research process (e.g., in the development of the research questions, instrument development, data collection and data analysis, and drawing inferences). In peace research, it is especially important to include participant representatives from the least powerful in society.
- – Involvement of multiple methods of data collection (e.g., tests, questionnaires, observations, interviews, archival documents).
- – Including multiple rounds of analysis, using various analytic techniques and/or analyzing data for different participant groups separately using subgroup analysis.

More Than One Purpose of Mixing

Good MMR involves more than one *purpose of mixing*, or reason for including additional data sources or analyses. Figure 3 shows a list of several purposes of mixing.

In principle, a list of possible purposes of mixing is endless. Purposes of mixing are not always related to further diversification. The purposes "Conversion of qualitative themes into quantitative measures" and "Finding an explanation" do not necessarily lead to more diversity. Purposes of mixing, however, are almost always related to making inferences more robust or more nuanced: comparison can make inferences more robust if the results point in the same direction. If the results of comparing multiple researchers, participants, methods, theories/perspectives, do not point in the same direction, subsequent explanation can make an inference fuller and more nuanced.

Multiple and Emergent Research Questions and Research Design

In good MMR, researchers often have multiple, related research questions, which usually develop during the research process. Often, research starts with a general research question and several more specific research questions that are aimed at different aspects of the research phenomenon. During the study, research questions are often refined and new questions are added, especially questions aiming at explaining unexpected results. As more conflicting results and aspects related to these conflicting results are included, the initial research questions become more nuanced, including even more of these beforehand unknown aspects.

Using two different instances of the same research process category, and compare the outcomes:

- Complementary research questions—answer related, additional research questions
- Multiple participant groups—compare views of different participants
- Multiple researchers/investigators—let two or more researchers collect and or analyze the same data
- Multiple methods—use two or more methods of data collection and/or data analysis
- Multiple theoretical perspectives—analyze data using two or more theories or perspectives
- Multiple theoretical models—analyze the same data using related but different structural or grounded models.

The use of one research cycle to develop the methodology of the next research cycle:

- Questionnaire development—use e.g., cognitive interviews to develop a questionnaire
- Interview schedule development—use e.g., pilot interviews to develop an interview schedule
- Development of sampling—use e.g., questionnaire results to determine who to include when drawing a purposive sample
- Development of a research question—use e.g., focus groups to develop a researchquestion
- Conversion—use themes in interviews to develop quantitative measures (quantitizing).

Perform a research cycle as a follow-up of the findings of the previous research cycle:

- Explanation—perform a research cycle to explain a theme, an effect, a process, or the like, or the absence of an effect, process, etc. in the previous research cycle
- Replication—repeat aspects of one research cycle with a new sample from the same population, a different population, or in a subpopulation in the next research cycle
- Subgroup analysis—explore an effect found in the whole group in one research cycle in different subgroups in the next research cycle
- Generalization to the same population—generalize a theme, an effect, a process, or the like, found in one research cycle to a population in the next research cycle.

Fig. 3 Purposes of mixing; adapted from Schoonenboom, Johnson, and Froehlich (2017, p. 280)

Thoughtful Combination of Methods, Methodologies, and Paradigms for Each Study

As seen in our definition, in MMR, methods, methodologies, and paradigms are carefully and thoughtfully mixed or combined. Johnson and Turner (2003) showed that each major method of data collection (e.g., tests, questionnaires, interviews, observations, focus groups, constructed data, and existing data) has a qualitative, quantitative, and a mixed version. These methods are combined via *intramethod*

mixing (e.g., combine an open-ended questionnaire with a closed-ended question-naire producing a mixed questionnaire) and, perhaps more frequently, via *inter-method mixing* (e.g., combining a structured quantitative questionnaire with open-ended/in-depth interviews).

Paradigms also can be "mixed" or used in combination, to provide different lenses for examining and interpreting research "objects." Kuhn (1970) explained this as viewing different paradigms as different language communities and perform-ing a Gestalt switch to see the "object" in different ways. Paradigms can also be combined as in, for example, transformative-pragmatism, critical-constructivism, realist-pragmatism, etc.

Methodologically, one can use two or more methodologies separately to produce complementary knowledge, and one can construct *mixed methodologies* which by definition include logics, ideas, approaches, language from qualitative and quanti-tative research. Some examples of mixed methodologies are mixed methods-grounded theory or MM-GT (Johnson, McGowan, & Turner, 2010), mixed methods-intervention studies or MM-RCTs (Johnson & Schoonenboom, 2016), mixed methods-case study (Onghena, Maes, & Heyvaert, 2018), and mixed methods-phenomenology (Mayoh & Onwuegbuzie, 2015). Each methodology comes with its own logic of inquiry which should be respected and followed when-ever possible. For example, if one is combining traditional/quantitative survey research with traditional/qualitative narrative research, the survey research compo-nent will demand a large enough (hopefully random) sample and the narrative research component will demand depth of understanding of participants' stories.

Same Data Used for More Than One Purpose

In good MMR, the same data are often consulted from various perspectives and for more than one purpose. It is our responsibility as researchers to get nuanced answers from our data. We should not leave the costly task of new inquiry, new data collec-tion, and new data analysis to further research unnecessarily (Schoonenboom, Hitchcock, & Johnson, 2018). For example, quantitative-descriptive data of partici-pants that are used to answer a quantitatively-oriented research question might also be used to draw a sample for subsequent observations or interviews. Findings of observations or interviews might, in turn, be used to perform subgroup analyses of the quantitative data (see Glewwe, Kremer, & Moulin, 2009).

Use of Multiple Logics

Because MMR combines ideas from different approaches to research (qualitative, quantitative) and different philosophies of science, it often systematically com-bines more than one logic of inquiry in an MMR study. Here are some of those

logics: inductive/exploratory to identify concepts and patterns seen in the world (popular in qualitative research), deductive/confirmatory to deduce hypotheses and outcomes that will follow if the theory is true (popular in quantitative research), dialectical to produce new syntheses from apparent differences (see dialectical pluralism), a both-and logic (in contrast to binary logic that oftentimes results in false choices). As an example, Shim et al. (2017) used a mixed methodology called mixed methods-grounded theory, and phase one was exploratory, composed of an inductive analysis of the literature and conduct of a traditional grounded theory. Phase two was a model testing/confirmation stage, using a mixed methods experiment. Following phase two, a "final" mixed-methods-theoretical-model was produced. This study will appeal to qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods researchers because it uses key ideas from each of their "logics." Because of its careful/systematic use of multiple logics, it is an exemplary MMR study.

Some authors have emphasized that an important logic in MMR is abduction (Morgan, 2007; Wheeldon, 2010). An abductive approach, going back to the work of Charles Sanders Peirce (see Hoffmann, 1999), builds on a surprising finding, by systematically considering the complex contextual and causal factors in operation, and then developing a new explanation for the finding. In MMR, surprising findings are used to further develop theory, and to find a theory that explains both the expected and the surprising finding. Such tentative explanations can be tested, both theoretically and empirically (Shim et al., 2017; Wheeldon, 2010). We agree that abduction is a very important logic for MMR.

Theory and Practice Interaction

Good MMR shows interaction between theory and practice. Figure 1 shows that engaging with practice in the form of data collection and data analyses leads to an update of the explanatory inference and the researcher's theory. But the opposite is also true: theory is used to formulate research questions prior to or during the conduct of a research study. Theory is also important in sampling. Sampling should be performed so that the researcher maximizes what she can learn about the phenomenon. Diversification, a hallmark of our approach, applies to sampling as well. Sampling in our approach includes various stakeholders, subgroups, perspectives, levels, etc., to obtain a better and more nuanced understanding (see Becker (2014) and Emmel (2013) for an explanation of this principle in qualitative research).

Multiple Validities Legitimation

Research should be defensible and provide claims that are justified/warranted. In quantitative research, this idea is called research validity (e.g., internal, external, construct, and statistical conclusion validity), and in qualitative research it is

sometimes called trustworthiness (e.g., descriptive, interpretative, theoretical, catalytic, rhizomatic validity). In MMR quality/validity is often called legitimation. For a review of ten kinds of legitimation, see Johnson and Christensen (2017a). Here is the list without definitions: inside-outside or emic-etic legitimation, paradigmatic/philosophical legitimation, commensurability approximation legitimation, weakness minimization legitimation, sequential legitimation, conversion legitimation, sample integration legitimation, pragmatic legitimation, integration legitimation, sociopolitical legitimation, and, most importantly, multiple validities legitimation. Definitions of these can be found in Johnson and Christensen (2017b).

The key/integrative research quality concept for MMR is in the concept called multiple validities legitimation. The idea is explained as follows (Johnson & Christensen, 2017a):

> The term *multiple validities legitimation* refers to the extent to which the mixed methods researcher successfully addresses and resolves all relevant validity/trustworthiness/legitimation types, including the quantitative and qualitative validity types discussed earlier in this chapter as well as the mixed validity dimensions. In other words, the researcher must identify and address just the *relevant* validity/legitimation/trustworthiness issues facing a *particular* research study. Successfully addressing the pertinent "validity" issues will help researchers produce the kinds of inferences and meta-inferences that can be made in good or strong mixed methods research. (p. 309)

The idea is *not* to address in a particular research study every kind of quantitative validity, qualitative trustworthiness, and mixed methods legitimation. Rather, the idea is to determine a subset of the types that are relevant, basically constructing a unique "validities package" for each study. It is essential that researchers identify this package during the planning of the study and use the relevant design components and strategies for achieving high research quality. It's too late after the study has been completed.

Characteristics of Mixed Methods Peace Research: A Real-Life Example

We now discuss a real-life MMR study in the field of ethnic conflict (Varshney, 2001, 2003). We will discuss various characteristics of MMR and show how these characteristics are visible (or not) in Varshney's study. Varshney's study is summarized in Fig. 4 and its methodological elements are visualized in Fig. 5.

Diversification at Multiple Levels

Varshney's study shows diversification at multiple levels. Diversification is visible in Varshney's stated goal of "trying to understand a phenomenon that is highly variable over periods and places in which history, elite ambitions, modernization, and

Varshney (2001, 2003) conducted a qualitatively-driven mixed methods research study about the relation between the social structure of civic life in a multiethnic society, on the one hand, and the presence or absence of ethnic violence, on the other. More specifically, he investigated the occurrence of Hindu–Muslim riots between 1950 and 1995 and their connection to formal and informal forms of interethnic engagement, specifically, interactions between Hindu and Muslims as opposed to intraethnic engagement (i.e., interaction within each group).

Varshney used a sequential explanatory mixed methods design (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2018), consisting of a first mainly quantitative component or phase, followed by a second mainly qualitative component or phase. The research question that Varshney addressed in Phase 1was "Where did Hindu–Muslim riots in India between 1950 and 1995 take place?". To answer this question, he collected all reports of Hindu–Muslim riots that appeared in the daily newspaper *Times of India* between 1950 and 1995. His results showed that only 3.6 percent of the deaths in Hindu–Muslim riots occurred in rural areas, making the number of riot deaths per capita 70 times higher in urban than in rural areas. Within the urban areas, eight riot-prone cities, holding 18% of India's urban population, accounted for nearly 46% of the riot deaths.

Based on these findings, Varshney conducted a large-scale mostly qualitative research Phase 2 in six cities: three cities that belonged to the most violent eight and three peaceful cities that were carefully matched to their violent counterparts with respect to the Hindu–Muslim ratio. Varshney conducted interviews to study Hindu and Muslim attitudes toward politics, administration, police, religion, and history and to identify the everyday forms of engagement between the two communities in neighborhoods. Interviews were conducted at two levels—elite and cross-sectional. One hundred and fifty interviews (20–25 in each city) were conducted with members of the political, bureaucratic, religious, and educational elite. Seven hundred (100–140 per city) mixed interviews, containing both closed and open questions, were held with a cross section of selected households. In each city, five or six neighborhoods were selected, two Hindu dominated (one violence prone in the case of violent cities or with tensions in the case of the peaceful cities, the other a peaceful neighborhood), two Muslim dominated (one violence prone or with tensions and a second peaceful), and one or two "mixed" neighborhoods. The sample from each selected neighborhood contained a number of literate and illiterate people that was proportional to the literacy rates in the Hindu and Muslim communities in that neighborhood.

Supplemented by documentary research, Varshney developed the following explanation for the differences between violent and peaceful cities and neighborhoods. He found that everyday interethnic personal contacts between Hindus and Muslims did not ethnic riots from occurring. In cities, as opposed to rural areas, interethnic personal contacts between the Hindus and Muslims did not suffice, because one person can only have personal ties to a very small proportion of the urban population of the other groups. Peaceful neighborhoods in cities were characterized by the existence of interethnic civic (formal) networks, such as business organizations and neighborhood committees. By representing a large number of people, such networks were able to withstand exogenous shocks, such as partitions, civil wars, and desecration of holy places. In violent neighborhoods, such civic organizations were largely absent.

An important question for practice is whether such interethnic civic networks can be forged. In his discussion, Varshney demonstrates that this is indeed possible, already at a relatively small scale. He shows how the establishment of one network by a local NGO and another network by a local town police officer were able to prevent communal violence in two places that up till then could be characterized as violent.

Fig. 4   Hindu–Muslim riots in India between 1950 and 1995 (Varshney, 2001, 2003)
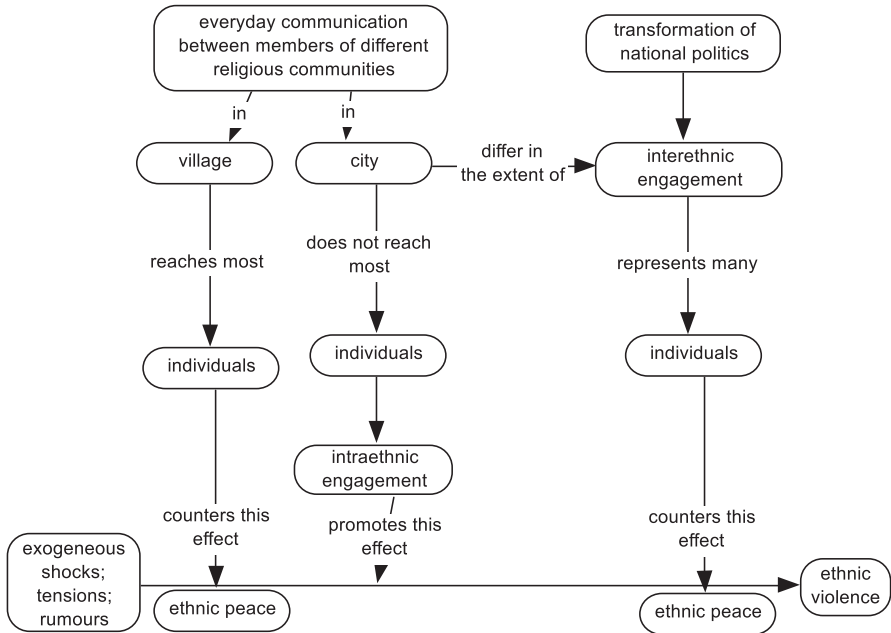
Fig. 5 A visualization of the mixed methods research process and its methodological elements of Varshney (2001, 2003)

political forms are changing only slowly" (McCauley, 2005, p. 646). Rather than trying to understand the timeless essence of Hindu–Muslim violence, Varshney tried to understand the diverse manifestations of it.

Diversification is visible in the multiple, intertwined research questions:

- Where did Hindu–Muslim riots in India between 1950 and 1995 take place?
- Were riots equally distributed between urban and rural areas?
- Were riots equally distributed among cities?
- Why was the number of riots higher in some cities than in other?
- Which processes led to riots in some cities?
- Which processes prevented riots in comparable cities?
- What are the everyday forms of engagement between the two communities in city neighborhoods?
- What are Hindu and Muslim attitudes toward politics, administration, police, religion, and history?
- How were Hindu–Muslim relations in the 1930s–1940s?

Diversification is further visible in Varshney's various sampling strategies. Varshney used various types of data sources, in Varshney's (2001, pp. 397–398) words:

To sum up, the following kinds of research materials were used: (1) archival research for historical periods on which historians have not yet written and oral records cannot be created; (2) documentary research for contemporary issues; (3) purposive and focused inter-

views with the elite in all six cities; (4) stratified survey research for the cross section, including the illiterate poor; and (5) a reading of each day's Times of India between 1950 and 1995 to figure out the long-run and large-N distribution of communal violence over forty-six years.

Further diversification is visible in the units Varshney sampled, in his comparison of cities and villages, of violent and peaceful cities and neighborhoods, and in his inclusion of elite and non-elite members, including illiterate people. Most notably, diversification in Varshney's study means that he not only studied places where riots did occur, but also comparable places where riots did not occur. A comparison between the two enabled Varshney to draw conclusions that otherwise could not have been drawn.

Diversification also becomes visible in the theory that Varshney developed, summarized in Fig. 6:

Varshney's theory explains what works for whom under what circumstances. It explains why what works in villages (interethnic daily contact between people) does not work in cities, and why some cities were prone to riots whereas others were not (presence vs. absence of interethnic engagement). Varshney's study resulted in a diversification of the underlying effect that he studied. Rather than confirming/disconfirming this underlying effect, namely the effect of exogenous shocks, tensions, and rumors on ethnic violence (See Fig. 6), Varshney sought to identify and understand the circumstances in which this underlying effect did or did not occur.

More Than One Purpose of Mixing

Varshney's study had multiple purposes of mixing, including the following:

– *Explanation* was a primary purpose of mixing. The mainly qualitative Phase 2 of the mixed methods study was conducted to explain the unbalanced occurrence of riots that resulted from the mainly quantitative Phase 1.
– *Conversion* of the qualitative textual reports of riots into numbers (counting the number of riots for a specific year, place, type of community (city or village)).
– Various types of quantitative data were used for *sampling* for the qualitative interviews. First, on the basis of quantitative data, the decision was made to sample cities, not villages. To select cities, quantitative data related to the violence of each city were used. To select participants for cross-sectional interviews, mostly quantitative data about neighborhoods were used, including their ratio of Hindus and Muslims and its level of literacy.
– Various types of *comparisons* were performed: cities were compared to villages; cities were compared to other cities, neighborhoods to other neighborhoods; interviews with elite members were compared to interviews with citizens; Hindus were compared to Muslims, literate to illiterate, and what some individuals said to what other individuals said.
– Various research questions were studied, and their results were integrated with the purpose of *complementarity*.

Fig. 6 Summary of Varshney's theory of the occurrence and prevention of ethnic riots (our interpretation)

Multiple and Emergent Research Questions and Research Design

Varshney's study included several research questions, each aiming at a different aspect of the phenomenon, such as the distribution of riots in India, the views of various Hindu and Muslim stakeholders about and their participation in various aspects of society and living together, the processes that promoted or prevented riots, and their history. The design was emergent, as the outcomes of the analysis of the *Times of India* provided directions to what needed to be explained. During the study, more levels were included, as cities were further divided into neighborhoods and individuals in those neighborhoods.

Thoughtful Combination of Methods, Methodologies, and Paradigms

Varshney thoughtfully combined various logics of inquiry. For example, for his interviews in the mainly qualitative Phase 2, he used purposive sampling (which belongs to the logic of qualitative inquiry), rather than quantitative random sampling. Although his sample size of interviews was large, they were analyzed using thematic and narrative analysis, which emphasizes depth over breadth, and the utterances of participants were interpreted qualitatively, rather than counted. For his mainly quantitative Phase 1 of his mixed methods design identifying the distribution of riots, Varshney used quantitative indicators for analysis, in this case percentages.

A mixed form of analysis, *conversion*, was used in Phase 1: Reports of riots (qualitative data) were converted into numbers (quantitative data), which were then counted as the number of riots for a specific year, place, and type of community. Identifying reports of riots followed a qualitative approach/logic, and corresponding qualitative criteria were applied. As Varshney (2001, p. 395) said:

> An interpretive reading of the reports was thus necessary, based on a detailed understanding of the variety of religious groups, festivals, and contentious issues found in different parts of India. Unless the labeling of the riot in the newspaper was supported by the description of the symbols and issues involved, to which an interpretive reading was applied, a communal riot was not coded as a Hindu-Muslim riot.

Thus, within the mainly quantitative Phase 1, Varshney still used a mixed methods approach, in which qualitative interpretive reading of documents resulted in qualitative findings, which were subsequently converted into quantitative data by counting the occurrences of riots.

Same Data Used for More Than One Purpose

In a good mixed methods study, the data are often used for various purposes, to benefit from them as much as possible. This was most visible for Varshney's riot reports. These reports were used to answer the sub-question where riots in India took place between 1950 and 1995. The same data were also used for several decisions concerning sampling for the qualitative interviews: they were used for the decision to study cities rather than villages, and they were used to select and match cities. In addition, these data were used in describing the situation in the selected cities.

The qualitative/mixed interview data were used to answer various research questions, namely "What are the everyday forms of engagement between the two communities in city neighborhoods?", "What are Hindu and Muslim attitudes toward politics, administration, police, religion, and history?", and "How were Hindu–Muslim relations in the 1930s–1940s?"

Use of Multiple Logics

Varshney (2003, p. 3) stated, "In this book I seek to establish an integral link between the structure of civil society on one hand and ethnic, or communal, violence on the other." Varshney did not just use an inductive approach of being open to allowing categories and theory(ies) to emerge from his data; he also started with a, be it vague, theory that he aimed to make more precise. Hence, there was a small amount of deduction in his research, his use of some a priori theoretical categories and possible theoretical expectations/hypotheses. Varshney was especially interested in difference and he sampled his resources to obtain contrasts. He relied heavily on abduction to make sense of all initially unexpected findings, through which he could adapt and change, rather than linearly develop, his theory. Two of these unexpected findings occurred at the beginning of his study, after analyzing the riot reports in the *Times of India*. Varshney's two conclusions were that riots were much more common in cities than in villages, and that they were unevenly distributed among cities. For these two findings, Varshney found explanations abductively, by developing an explanation that made these findings understandable and was a logical consequence of the differences among cities and between cities and villages.

Theory and Practice Interaction

In Varshney's study, we see an interaction between theory and practice at several occasions. First, the theoretical idea that the occurrence of riots might be unevenly distributed was tested using text from practice, namely the riot reports. This test led

to an update of the theory, namely that riots occur mainly in cities, and that there are two types of cities: violent cities and peaceful cities. This theory was further developed using reports from practice, namely interviews with several groups from peaceful and violent cities. From the interviews, a more sophisticated theory was developed: The presence of interethnic civic networks prevents violence in peaceful cities and neighborhoods; in violent neighborhoods and cities, such civic organizations are largely absent. In his discussion, using two real-life examples, Varshney went back to practice and showed that interethnic civic networks can be forged.

Multiple Validities Legitimation

Here are a few "validity" types relevant to Varshney's study:

- *Internal or causal validity* is "the ability to infer that a causal relationship exists between two variables" (Johnson & Christensen, 2017a, p. 285). To establish causal validity, Varshney (2001) applied process tracing (see Johnson et al., 2017) to both violent and peaceful cities:

  To establish causality, a modified technique of process tracing was applied to each pair of cities. The technique of process tracing works back from the outcome—peace or violence—step by step, looking to identify what led to what. It can be shown that process tracing, as applied to one case, may not conclusively establish causality. […] Therefore, a modification was applied to the technique. In each pair, we looked for similar stimuli that led to different outcomes in the two cities and then identified the mechanisms by which the same trigger produced divergent outcomes. Civil society emerged as a causal factor from such comparisons. If we had studied only violent cities, where interconnections between Hindus and Muslims were minimal or absent in the first place, we would not have discovered what intercommunal civic links can do. A controlled comparison based on variance can thus turn process tracing into a method for establishing causality. (p. 380)

- *Sociopolitical legitimation* is the degree to which a mixed researcher addresses the interests, values, and viewpoints of multiple stakeholders in the research process. Varshney's study involved the interests, values, and viewpoints of multiple stakeholders: Hindus, Muslims, elite members, households, literate people, illiterate people.
- *Commensurability approximation legitimation* is the degree to which a researcher makes Gestalt switches between the lenses of a qualitative and a quantitative researcher and integrates the views into an "integrated" or broader viewpoint. In Varshney (2001, 2003), commensurability approximation legitimation is largely implicit. Yet, Varshney (2008) makes a clear statement about the proper role of quantitative and qualitative research. Regarding large-N statistical research: "it does not allow scholarly intimacy with any of the empirical cases. As a result, we can't quite figure out the process through which a given outcome occurs. And without understanding the process-what led to what-it is hard to sort out causal mechanisms" (Varshney, 2008, p. 348). "Datasets are not about causes; they are a way to describe the empirical universe" (Varshney, 2008, p. 352).

- *Sequential legitimation* is the degree to which a mixed researcher appropriately addresses and/or builds on effects or findings from earlier qualitative and quantitative phases. The distinction between peaceful and violent cities and the selection and matching of peaceful and violent cities for the qualitative Phase 2 was based on the identification of riots in the previous quantitative Phase 1.
- *Conversion legitimation* is the degree to which quantitizing or qualitizing yields high-quality meta-inferences. Counting the number and types of riots that were mentioned in the *Times of India* led to an accurate description of the unequal distribution of riots in the period 1950–1995.
- *Integration legitimation* is the degree to which the researcher achieved integration of quantitative and qualitative data, analysis, and conclusions. Varshney used five types of data and various comparisons to arrive at the integrated conclusion that the presence of interethnic civic networks can help prevent Hindu–Muslim riots.

Critique of Varshney's Study

Varshney's study received much praise in the literature. Yet, despite its obvious level of interacting with many differences, it was also criticized for not considering enough possible explanatory factors and circumstances. Thaler (2017) pointed out that Varshney used qualitative evidence only at the local, city, and neighborhood levels, and did not adequately connect his findings on the distribution of riots to the contemporary national context, such as the intensity of nonviolent ethnic conflict and the extent of Hindu nationalist mobilization.

McCauley (2005) pointed out that the level of everyday contact between Hindus and Muslims in riot-prone cities is lower than in peaceful cities, but it is still considerable. Perhaps, McCauley (2005) suggested, there is a threshold of daily contact that is necessary to prevent riots. McCauley (2005) further noticed a discrepancy between the detailed quantitative representation of the riots (city, year, number of deaths) and the global presentation of the civic organization, for which names and memberships or percentages of Hindus and Muslims in each were not provided. Finally, McCauley (2005) noticed an emphasis on riots in cities, but lack of attention to rural areas:

- A higher level of everyday face-to-face contacts between Muslims and Hindus in rural rather than urban areas was more assumed than assessed.
- The possibility that many villages are all Muslim or all Hindu—which would reduce everyday intergroup contacts, at least in some rural areas—was not entertained.
- The possibility that there are rural organizations such as farm cooperatives, educational associations, or political parties—which might integrate Muslims and Hindus at least in some areas—was not recognized.

This critique is not too devastating. Note that alternative explanations and further possibilities in these comments are quite detailed. They are written as relatively straightforward questions, that can form the basis of future studies. That is a positive sign. It means that Varshney's study not only provided some tentative answers to a pressing issue, but also opened up possible further research, which most likely will further develop, rather than completely supersede Varshney's findings.

Conclusions

We consider MMR to be an important kind of research for peace studies, but qualitative and quantitative studies also have important places. In this chapter, we explain an iterative approach to MMR that emphasizes diversification at multiple levels, use of more than one purpose of mixing, use of multiple and emergent research questions and research design, use of a thoughtful combination of methods, methodologies, and paradigms for each study, use of the same data for more than one purpose, use of multiple logics (such as induction, deduction, abduction, dialectical, critical, "both-and"), integration of theory and practice, and attention to multiple validities legitimation to ensure high-quality results and applications. We provided an empirical example of an MMR study, and we listed some strengths/ weaknesses of this example study. The reader will likely identify additional strengths and weaknesses. We hope our chapter will provide an MMR process and criteria that other researchers in peace research will find helpful. We look forward to seeing many additional, high-quality, MMR studies in the future in the peace research literature!

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Afterword: Exemplars of an Ecological Praxis for a Community Peace Psychology

Bradley D. Olson

This volume marries peace and community psychology in a way that takes us a significant step closer toward seriously reducing war, violence, and conflict. The chapters of this book cover an array of issues that reminds me of the need for a model of *ecological praxis*. We need an ecological praxis, a theoretical model, to help us keep track of the great complexity of forces involved in the field as we engage in social justice action. There are so many sectors of social ecology to keep track of: cultural and historical contexts, the environmental and political regularities, the structural levels—person, family, local, state, federal, and international entities. The promotion of peace, in all its complexity, does not occur in a single event or activity in a single moment. It is a temporal process, a praxis. I am defining *praxis* here as an iterative, cyclical set of stages toward social change. Complexity can interfere with concentrated action, and yet we need to see the whole field before us.

The book chapters and their common themes suggest many of the needed elements of an ecological praxis: the knowledge, the research, the practice, and the peer dialogues—the ecological knowledge that can be used toward praxis-based action.

There is such rich material here. The chapters allow the sharing of all of the elements of psychological well-being of refugees from New York City to Turkey, interventions and understandings from Nigeria to Venezuela. There is the research methodology, relevant to both understanding the ecology and guiding the praxis. We are introduced in the book to the new philosophy of science concept of *dialectical pluralism*, which equally respects quantitative and qualitative approaches. In an ecological praxis, the more research methodologies—participatory action, life story narratives, social network analysis—the better.

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An ecological praxis also necessitates identifying and engaging in the right access points, according to the exact nature of the problem. The chapters offer an illustrative range from personal peace zoomed to institutions and expanded to internation collaboration. Personal peacefulness is a good place for any of us to begin. After all when we psychologists intervene in the world, even if it is for well-being and peace, we can, if not careful, do some unintentional harm to delicate systems. One protection is to be mindful and reflective of where we are personally, ethically coming from, that we are centered, what the most heroic historical nonviolent activists called self-purification.

Community psychology should be about personal peacefulness, personality, and therapy, but to also go beyond these microcomponents in the larger social sphere. A special feature of this book's peace and community psychology integration is that the socio-political peace psychology makes it clear we need to expand our conception of what is a "community." It is well beyond an extended family or a neighborhood and peace psychology allows community psychology principles to be expanded to any realm of the political process that touches on war or peace.

An ecological praxis should, within a long sustained effort, harbor a movement that values therapeutic processes, and places for rest and respite. Here too community psychology appreciates therapy and the usual services provided by an NGO. Yet community psychology, as seen by the discussion of Oxford House in this book, is equally about autonomous alternative settings. Peace requires the addressing of human rights violations, domestic violence, the trauma of racism, homophobia, sexism, islamophobia, and anti-semitism. We need more alternative settings on multiple levels, designed and driven by those with lived experiences. With sense of community and empowerment comes recovery. Praxis can never just end, satisfyingly, in sequestration. Eventually recovery brings consciousness raising, as does education, a recognition that some of life's struggles are attributable to some bad people, bad structures, and bad policy. This is where community peace psychologists have the opportunity to help channel consciousness raising toward productive social change. One chapter in the book points out that even within a cohesive social movement progress toward effective action can be hampered by internal discord. Psychologists can help open the clogs of this intra group conflict, and open up channels toward a campaign toward social justice aims.

Ultimately, we need to recognize that bringing about peace requires policy change. Once the healing education has occurred, once empathy for the broader world has re-emerged, a sense of universality and generativity, a clearer picture then emerges of the macro forces that have led to so much harm. We cannot leave those forces unchanged in the world, continuing through eternity to cause very real trauma.

Critical community psychology knows there are structural systems of violence and oftentimes unjust and uncaring or simply ignorant people behind them. There are unjust actors, apathetic governmental and bureaucratic bystanders. An ecological praxis, a community peace psychology, needs to courageously, honestly, and peacefully work toward changing the dominant narrative they release in the world, their neglect, or their catastrophic interventions. For us scholar activists this is just what is right and for some this activism can be the ultimate form of healing.

We do not engage on this hero's journey alone. We do it with others, and we would do well to dig into the rich material offered throughout this book, and use its knowledge and exemplars to expand our understandings of the broader ecology, and to progressively use social action to push against the forces that uphold structural violence in the world.

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