Diane Bretherton
Siew Fang Law *Editors*

Methodologies in Peace Psychology

Peace Research by Peaceful Means

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Editor
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The scope of threats to human security at the dawn of the twenty-first century is daunting. Terrorism, weapons of mass destruction, nuclear proliferation, failed states, ideological struggles, growing resource scarcities, disparities in wealth and health, globalizing trends, violations of human rights, and the continued use of force to advance individual, group, and national interests, are all complex problems. At the same time, we are witnessing countervailing trends in the growing recognition and endorsement of nonviolent means of resolving differences, the importance of reconciliation processes in human relations, the promotion of cultures of peace, and the building of societal structures and global institutions that promote peace, human rights, and environmental sustainability. During the past 20 years, peace psychology has emerged as a specialty in psychology with its own knowledge base, perspectives, concepts, and preferred methodologies to grapple with threats to human security and seize opportunities to promote human well-being. In regard to the problem of violence, peace psychology scholars and activists place human psychology and its links to other disciplines at the center of their efforts to prevent and mitigate episodes of violence and structural forms of violence. In addition to reducing violence, peace psychologists seek to develop theory and practices that promote relational harmony across levels (from interpersonal relations to global networks) and equitable human well-being. The Peace Psychology Book Series recognizes that the emerging and multi-faceted problems of human security challenge us as scholars and activists to develop psychologically-informed theories that will deepen our understanding of the major threats to human security, and create practices that will help us address some of the most urgent and profound issues that bear on human well-being and survival in the twenty-first century.

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Methodologies in Peace Psychology

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Acknowledgements

We would like to begin by acknowledging indigenous peoples, the traditional owners of the land, who were the custodians of the earth for countless generations. We hope that the spirit of their stewardship will inform this book and help bring harmony and balance to the earth and all its inhabitants.

We would like to express our gratitude towards Springer for agreeing to publish the book and in particular, we thank Morgan Ryan for guiding us through the production process. Daniel Christie, the Series Editor of Springer's *Peace Psychology Book Series*, is both an inspiration and a guide: he was always there, never intruding, and quick to respond to requests for help and guidance.

We would like to recognize the Committee for the Psychological Study of Peace (CPSP) for its long-term commitment to peace. The work of the CPSP created the environment in which the idea for this volume took shape and a network of relationships between peace psychologists that made its realization possible.

The high quality contributions by the chapter authors are central to the success of the volume. The combined efforts of the chapter authors will provide the reader with a strong platform of research methodologies and many creative ideas for future research projects. So, thanks to our authors for imparting so much of their knowledge and experience and for their patience with the annoying changes that were made to bring some overall unity and coherence to the book.

Special thanks are due to those altruistic figures lurking in the background, the reviewers, who gave their time and expertise to improve other people's work, but remain anonymous.

Clare Coburn was a patient and thorough proofreader and we very much appreciated her assistance.

Thanks to Siew Fang's partner, David Leonard, who took on extra child minding duties and covered for Siew Fang while she retreated into this editing task. Special thanks to the colleagues from Victoria University who stepped in the breach to cover Siew Fang's work to help her finish the book. Apologies are due for Diane's loving friends and the caring, sharing community of Daylesford who suffered from negligence and were told to go away.

And finally thanks to you, our reader. We think that after reading this book you will be inspired (or re-inspired) to work for peace and will have a wealth of new ideas as to how to do so in a manner which is creative, lively, engaging, and rewarding.

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Diane Bretherton was the founding director of the International Conflict Resolution Centre in the pyschology department at the University of Melbourne, and for many years chaired the Committee for the Psychological Study of Peace of the International Union of Psychological Science. She is currently an honorary professor in Political Science and International Studies at the University of Queensland. She is also a visiting professor at the Zhou En Lai School of International Relations at the University of Nankai in Tianjin, China. She has previously contributed to the Springer Series in Peace Psychology as a co-editor of Peace Psychology in Australia and is a member of the editorial advisory board of the Journal of Peace and Conflict. She has conducted conflict resolution and peacebuilding workshops in many countries in the world, her most recent project being to facilitate a dialogue between indigenous (Mapuche) and non-indigenous people in Chile. She was awarded the Morton Deutsch Award for Research in Conflict Resolution by the American Psychological Association, Washington, in 2011. She has also been made a member of the Order of Australia for theoretical contributions to her discipline and for the practical prevention of violence through promoting conflict resolution in the community. Her extensive experience of supervising the research of undergraduate and postgraduate psychology students who wished to make a contribution to the prevention of violence and promotion of peace, within the psychology department at the University of Melbourne, informs the proposed book.

Siew Fang Law is a senior lecturer at Victoria University in Melbourne, Australia. She is the coordinator of the postgraduate programs in International Community Development in the College of Arts, a member of Centre for Culture Diversity and Wellbeing, and a member of the Communities, Identities, and Displacement Research Network. She teaches in the areas of peace, conflict, violence, and conflict resolution. Siew Fang received her PhD at RMIT University, Australia, and completed her master of science in social psychology at the University of Kent in Canterbury, England. Siew Fang is a member of the Committee for the Psychological Study of Peace, and an associate editor of the *Journal of Social and Political Psychology*. As a practitioner, she mediates community disputes as a nationally Accredited Mediator in Australia and has worked with UNDP and UNESCO in Southeast Asia.

About the Contributors

Melissa Anderson-Hinn has more than 15 years of progressively responsible and sophisticated (professional) experience in the field of peace psychology. Starting out as an activist, community development leader, and human rights educator (primarily in the field of public health), Anderson-Hinn continued to seek the knowledge and expertise needed to match her growing professional goals. In 2007, she completed her MA-MFT with specialization in the treatment of addictions and trauma to help meet the need for greater quality clinical expertise in addressing global (sex and labor) exploitation at the human experience level. Her primary clinical work continued to focus on adolescent and young adult survivors of social-global exploitation. While continuing to work in the field, she began pursuing her PhD in psychology, completed in 2012 in order to help meet the significant need for more and better quality research in the work of peace movements. While also serving as the home educator of her three young children in San Francisco, she works as an international consultant and mediator as well as a social media strategist for impact entrepreneurs.

Nikola Balvin is a peace psychologist who works in international development. Nikola held the position of the Knowledge Management Specialist at UNICEF's Office of Research in Florence, Italy. Prior to joining UNICEF, Nikola held a number of research positions in Australia. Nikola published the edited book (with Di Bretherton) *Peace Psychology in Australia* in 2012. In 2013, she was awarded the 2012 Early Career Award of the Society for the Study of Peace, Conflict, and Violence: Division of Peace Psychology, American Psychological Association.

Umesh Bawa is a clinical psychologist and senior lecturer in the Department of Psychology at the University of the Western Cape, Cape Town, South Africa. He also serves as a senior team member on key community-engaged research projects led by the University of South Africa's Institute for Social and Health Sciences. He has worked in the fields of violence rehabilitation, trauma, and human rights in South Africa, Mozambique, Sierra Leone, Rwanda, and Chile. He has served on the Council for the International Society for Health and Human Rights, and was until recently the director of the *Children for Tomorrow-South Africa Project,* a free

psychological service for children traumatized by violence in impoverished communities in the Western Cape province of South Africa. His research, training, and clinical interests are in the areas of the psychological effects of violence on children, trauma counselling, the re-integration of ex-combatants and child soldiers in post-conflict countries, and safety and peace promotion.

Arvin Boller is a graduate student taking his MA in applied social psychology at the Ateneo de Manila University. He is currently a fellow of the Ryoichi Sasakawa Young Leaders Fellowship Fund (SYLFF), an international fellowship funded and managed by the Tokyo Foundation and the Nippon Foundation. His field of interest is political psychology, particularly political behavior in the context of the internet and social media.

Jaqueline Bornstein is a jazz and world music vocalist, conflict resolution researcher, and human rights advocate. She has worked in numerous roles including reporting on rights abuses in Asia and the Pacific region for Human Rights Watch; evaluating alternative dispute resolution and arts-based peacebuilding projects in Australia and Indonesia; conducting field research on children's concepts of peacemaking; and, encouraging children with ASD to communicate and build relationships through music.

Mary Breheny is a senior lecturer in the School of Public Health at Massey University, New Zealand. She has used a range of qualitative methods to answer research questions about the social position of young single mothers, the family life of older people, and the identity of older people within wider society. She has used narrative methods to examine the ways that wider narratives of social life structure the accounts that older people provide of their personal lives and has published work about using narrative methods in psychological research. Dr. Breheny is interested in the use of narrative methods in critical and community research. In particular, she is interested in using narrative approaches to examine the ways that unequal access to material and social resources constrain people from having a valued identity.

Daniel J. Christie is the professor emeritus of psychology at Ohio State University and Fulbright Specialist in Peace and Conflict Studies. His research and writing is focused on harmony and equity in relationships and systems. He is the series editor and founder of the *Peace Psychology Book Series*, which has more than 20 books and *The Encyclopedia of Peace Psychology*, a three-volume set. As a Fulbright Specialist, he develops Peace and Conflict Studies scholarship, courses, and programs around the world.

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Alison Crosby is an associate professor in the School of Gender, Sexuality, and Women's Studies and the director of the Centre for Feminist Research at York University in Toronto. Her research and publications use an anti-racist, anti-colonial feminist lens to explore survivors' multifaceted struggles for agency and subjectivity in the aftermath of violence. She is currently completing a book manuscript with Professor M. Brinton Lykes on gender and reparation in Guatemala, based on 4 years of feminist participatory action research with Mayan women survivors of violence during the armed conflict in Guatemala, funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC) and the International Development Research Centre (IDRC). And with Dr. Malathi de Alwis, she is exploring memorialization as a site of contestation in Guatemala and Sri Lanka in a project entitled *The Inhabitance of Loss: A transnational feminist project on memorialization*, also funded by SSHRC.

Feric L. Galvez is a lecturer at the psychology department of Ateneo de Manila University. He is an MA candidate of applied social psychology program in Ateneo and engages in various research initiatives that encourage collaborative efforts aimed at producing scholarly work. Galvez mainly focuses on political and peace psychology.

Michelle LeBaron is an internationally renowned conflict transformation scholar/practitioner at the University of British Columbia Faculty of Law. She has done seminal work in many types of conflicts including intercultural, international, family, organizational, and commercial. The themes of creativity, culture, and interdisciplinarity animate Michelle's work. Over the past 10 years, she has brought artists and scholars from multiple disciplines into collaboration with community members in exploring how arts help address intractable conflicts. Her current research/practice project, Enacting Resilience, examines how the arts inoculate against conflict escalation in the diverse communities in Canada. Professor LeBaron's publications include several monographs and books. Her recent volume, *The Choreography of Resolution: Conflict, Movement and Neuroscience*, examines dance and movement as resources for fostering resilience, creativity, and cultural fluency during and following social trauma. She is editor and author of several other books, and is a published poet. Professor LeBaron has won multiple honours and awards for her scholarship, including a Wallenberg Fellowship at the Stellenbosch Institute for Advanced Studies, South Africa, and appointment as Distinguished Scholar in Residence at the Peter Wall Institute for Advanced Studies at UBC for 2013–2014, where she also serves on the International Academic Advisory Committee. She is an award-winning teacher with experience on five continents, a member of editorial boards of several journals, and a sought-after keynote speaker.

Serge Loode is a practitioner, trainer, and academic working in conflict resolution and peacebuilding. Originally from Germany, Serge worked as a civil law lawyer before developing his conflict resolution practice. At the University of Queensland, Serge teaches academic courses in mediation, negotiation, and theories of conflict resolution. He is pursuing PhD degree focusing on dialogue processes and systemic change in culturally diverse communities in Australia. Serge is the director of Peace and Conflict Studies Institute Australia (PaCSIA), a Brisbane based not-for-profit organization engaged in dialogical research, training, and facilitation. Internationally, Serge has worked on mediation, conflict resolution, peacebuilding, and development issues with people from the Philippines, Vanuatu, Papua New Guinea, Solomon Islands, Thailand, Nepal, Bhutan, Kenya, and other African countries. In 2011, he designed the intercultural Community Café Dialogue process for the award-winning Diverse Brisbane Project. Since then he has facilitated more than 50 Community Cafés with groups of up to 160 people.

M. Brinton Lykes is the professor of Community-Cultural Psychology and the associate director of the Center for Human Rights and International Justice at Boston College. She accompanies communities affected by war, gross violations of human rights, and unnatural disasters, drawing on the creative arts, indigenous resources, and anti-racist feminist participatory and action research methodologies to analyze causes and document effects of racialized gender violence. Currently, she is accompanying Mayan transnational mixed-status families (in New England and Guatemala) whose narratives of the continuities and discontinuities of historical and contemporary violence inform community-based educational and legal resources and actions towards redressing ongoing racialized violence. She has co-authored and co-edited several books and published widely in peer-reviewed journals and edited volumes. As an activist scholar, Brinton is also co-founder and participant in the Boston Women's Fund and the Ignacio Martín-Baró Fund for Mental Health and Human Rights. Her web site is www2.bc.edu/~lykes.

Rachel M. MacNair is the author of the textbook *The Psychology of Peace: An Introduction* and the monograph *Perpetration-Induced Traumatic Stress: The Psychological Consequences of Killing*. She edited *Working for Peace: A Handbook of Practical Psychology* for an activist audience. She was the 2013 president of the American Psychological Association's Division 48, Society for Peace Psychology. She is the director of the Institute for Integrated Social Analysis, research arm of the non-profit organization Consistent Life; she also coaches dissertation students on statistics. She graduated from Earlham College, a Quaker school, with a bachelor's in peace and conflict studies, and got her PhD in psychology and sociology from the University of Missouri at Kansas City.

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David Mellor is a professor and associate dean (International) in the Faculty of Health at Deakin University in Melbourne, Australia. He is a trained clinical psychologist and has worked extensively in the child and family area. He also spent 2 years working with Aboriginal populations in the far north of Western Australia. From this clinical work, he became interested in racism and has undertaken both quantitative and qualitative research in Sweden, Australia, Chile, and Malaysia. His interest in reconciliation between indigenous and non-indigenous Australians and peace psychology has grown out of this work.

Maritza Montero is a professor at Central University in Venezuela. She publishes in journals in the USA, Latin America, and Europe on research topics that cover the broad areas of critical community psychology, political discourse analysis, and liberation psychology. Professor Montero was the president of the International Society of Political Psychology. She has been a member of editorial boards of several community and social psychology journals, a member of the Advisory Board of the *Encyclopedia of Peace Psychology* and in the *Encyclopedia of Critical Psychology*. She is a senior associate editor of the *American Journal of Community Psychology* and a co-editor of *Psychology of Liberation, theory and histories* (2009) and *Histories of Community Psychology in Latin America* (2011). Professor Montero received the Venezuelan National Science Award (2000), and the Interamerican Psychology Award (1995). She was an honorary professor at Universidad de San Marcos in Perú.

Cristina Jayme Montiel is a professor of peace/political psychology and has been teaching at the Ateneo de Manila University for more than 30 years. She received the 2010 Ralph White Lifetime Achievement Award from the American Psychological Association's Division of Peace Psychology. Montiel is an international senior scholar in peace psychology. She was managing editor of the *Encyclopedia of Peace Psychology* (Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), and editor of the volume on *Peace Psychology in Asia* (Springer, 2009). Her recent international journal publications include *Nationalism in local media during international conflict: Text-mining domestic news reports of the China-Philippines maritime dispute* (2014); and *Conflicting group meanings of territorial rights in Central Mindanao: Muslim–Christian social representations of land entitlement* (2013). She chairs the Research Cluster on Peace, Social Justice, and Democratic Governance in the School of Social Sciences of Ateneo de Manila University. She has also recently been a consultant for the Philippine government's Commission on Human Rights, and the Office of the Presidential Adviser for the Peace Process.

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Anouk Ride is a researcher, editor, writer, and producer. Currently based in the Solomon Islands, she has written about conflict in Indonesia and Bougainville and edited a book of comparative research entitled *Community Resilience in Natural Disasters* featuring case studies from Asia-Pacific and Africa (Palgrave Macmillan, 2011). She has also edited and written social policy reports, conflict analysis, narrative analysis, and participatory action research particularly for projects involving

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Anthony J. Onwuegbuzie is a professor in the Department of Educational Leadership and Counseling at Sam Houston State University. He teaches doctoral-level courses in qualitative research, quantitative research, and mixed research, including program evaluation, as well as teacher education courses and educational psychology courses. His research areas primarily involve social and behavioral science topics, including disadvantaged and under-served populations such as minorities, children living in war zones, students with special needs, and juvenile delinquents. Also, he has conducted numerous research studies on factors that predict educational achievement at the primary, secondary, and tertiary levels. Additionally, he writes extensively on qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methodological topics applicable to multiple disciplines within the field of the social and behavioral sciences. Alongside more than 700 conference/keynote presentations delivered in 6 continents, he has had published more than 380 works, including more than 290 journal articles, 50 book chapters, and 2 books. He is former editor of Educational Researcher. Currently, he serves as co-editor of Research in the Schools.

Mohamed Seedat is the head of the Institute for Social and Health Sciences at the University of South Africa (UNISA), and the director of the associated Medical Research Council-University of South Africa Violence, Injury, and Peace Research Unit. He is a professor in the College of Graduate Studies at UNISA, and adjunct professor at Monash University, Australia. He is rated as an internationally recognized researcher by the National Research Foundation, and is a member of the Academy of Science of South Africa. His research focuses on the research-policy nexus, the psychology of oppression, violence, and injury prevention, ecological approaches to safety and peace promotion, enactments of community psychology in situations of social transformation, racism, psychohistory, and critical research enterprises, with an emphasis on redressing historically skewed knowledge production. He has published extensively, serves on several journal editorial boards and review committees, and has chaired a number of international, regional, and national conferences. He is currently leading on a multi-country study on safety, peace, and health promotion, national project on the determinants of safety and peace, and the establishment of safety demonstration sites across various African countries.

Benjamin C. Seloske is pursuing an undergraduate degree at Lewis-Clark State College in Lewiston, Idaho. He will graduate summa cum laude in the spring of 2015 with a BS in psychology. He plans to attend graduate school in the fall of 2015 to pursue a PhD in quantitative psychology. During his time at Lewis-Clark State, Ben has worked as a research assistant on three separate occasions. In addition to research on peace psychology, he is currently assisting a professor with her research on student compassion. Ben also recently completed an individual research project that investigated the relationship between competitive behavioral styles and indirect aggression. For over 2 years, Ben has been a member of the Lewis-Clark State College Psychology Club as well as Psi Chi.

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Christopher Sonn is an associate professor in Community Psychology at Victoria University (Melbourne Australia). He has published numerous articles and book chapters in the related fields of critical, community, and liberation psychology on topics of migration, race and racism, and whiteness and reconciliation. Recent publication focus on how critical theories of race and whiteness can be mobilized with community arts practice to promote individual and group belonging. He is also a lead researcher on the international Apartheid Archive Project based in South Africa to which he has contributed articles on South African immigrants in Australia and on the topic of why storytelling matters for psychosocial transformation. He is a co-editor of *Sense of Community: Research, Applications and Implications* (Springer, 2002) and *Psychology of Liberation: Theory and Applications (Springer, 2009)*, and associate editor of the journal *Community Psychology in Global Perspective* hosted by the University of Salento, Italy.

Christine Stephens is a professor of social science research in the School of Psychology at Massey University, New Zealand. She conducts research in health psychology which is presently focused on the health of older people in relation to their social location and the effects of changing discourses of ageing. Professor Stephens has used narrative methods to explore the situation of older people within their families, and within wider society, including issues around family relationships, reciprocity, living standards, and health. She has published work about using narrative methods in psychology and in health psychology research. Currently, her research focuses on the social networks of older people and the ways in which material aspects of social life, such as housing arrangements, intersect with and construct social relations.

Shahnaaz Suffla is trained as a clinical psychologist, and is a senior scientist within the Medical Research Council-University of South Africa Violence, Injury and Peace Research Unit. Her research interests include issues related to peace, conflict, violence and injury prevention, community-embedded approaches to peace and safety promotion, community-based participatory research, youth voice and activism, transformative knowledge, and qualitative research methods. Her work draws largely from community and peace psychology, as well as from the public health perspective. Her current research locates her within a number of African research partnerships. She is a member of the editorial board of *African Safety Promotion: A Journal of Violence and Injury Prevention* and associate editor of the *Journal of Social and Political Psychology*. She also serves on the Committee for the Psychological Study of Peace. She has been involved in the training of postgraduate psychology students for a number of years, and remains actively engaged in organized psychology in South Africa.

Abbas Tashakkori is a professor of Research and Evaluation Methodology and the chairperson of the Department of Educational Psychology at University of North Texas (Denton, USA). His doctoral education was in social psychology at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. He has been a postdoctoral fellow in Population Psychology at the Carolina Population Center, UNC-chapel Hill, and a visiting scholar at Texas A&M University in College Station, Texas. In addition to his current academic and administrative role at UNT, in the past three decades he has served as a faculty of Florida International University, Louisiana State University, Stetson University, in the USA, and Shiraz University in Iran. He has published extensively about education and social mobility, attitudes and self-perceptions, bilingual, minority, and gender issues, school/educational effectiveness evaluation, and research methodology. His scholarly work includes five authored/edited books, including the *Sage Handbook of Mixed Methods in Social and Behavioral Research* (with Charles Teddlie). He has published on, and made presentations and keynote speeches about mixed methods research in social and behavioral sciences at national and international conferences. He is a founding editor (with John Creswell) of the *Journal of Mixed Methods Research*.

Polly O. Walker is of Cherokee and Anglo-American descent and a member of the Scherokee Southwest Township. She is currently assistant professor of Peace and Conflict Studies at Juniata College in Huntingdon, PA. She is the director of the Peace and Conflict Studies Institute Australian and lectures in peace and conflict at James Cook. Previously, she was a research fellow in the Australian Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies, and lecturer in the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies Unit, University of Queensland in Brisbane, Australia. Her publications focus on conflict transformation between indigenous and non-indigenous peoples, indigenous peacemaking, and reducing epistemic violence towards indigenous peoples and their knowledge systems.

Michael G. Wessells is a professor at Columbia University in the Program on Forced Migration and Health. A long time psychosocial and child protection practitioner, he is former co-chair of the IASC Task Force on Mental Health and Psychosocial Support in Emergency Settings. Recently, he was co-focal point on mental health and psychosocial support for the revision of the Sphere humanitarian standards. He has conducted extensive research on the holistic impacts of war and political violence on children, and he is the author of *Child soldiers: From violence to protection* (Harvard University Press, 2006). He regularly advises UN agencies, governments, and donors on issues of child protection and psychosocial support, including in communities and schools.

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Chapter 1
Introduction: Methodologies in Peace Psychology

Diane Bretherton and Siew Fang Law

1.1 The Birth of an Idea and Its Context

In June 2013, we, that is Diane Bretherton and Siew Fang Law, attended the 13th Symposium on the Contributions of Psychology to Peace in Malaysia. We were very impressed with both, the substance of peace psychology and its innovative approaches to research. We were particularly touched by a presentation given by Shahnaaz Suffla. She told us how young people in a number of African nations had participated in a Photovoice project that taught them photography, then asked them to use their cameras to represent things, people, or places that made them feel safe or unsafe. Their photographs were not only analyzed as research data but also exhibited. Members of the public who came to the exhibitions included people such as local politicians who had the power to make changes, such as making sure that derelict buildings that are a site for violence are demolished. The young people were thus not only involved in research that clarified problems, they were also involved in finding solutions. The exhibitions demonstrated that their voices were heard and ensuing changes increased their sense of efficacy and understanding that the transformation of society is possible. The project not only provided information about violence and peace, it also, in its very process, was a peacebuilding measure.

The symposium in Malaysia was organized by the Committee for the Psychological Study of Peace (CPSP). The work of this group provided the context for the Photovoice presentation, and has fostered the development of peace psychology

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over two decades. The CPSP[1] was established in 1989 by an international group of scholar-activists who wanted psychology to do its part in building peace worldwide and to help legitimize and develop psychological work on peace. Working under the auspices of the International Union of Psychological Science, CPSP developed a series of bi-annual symposia on the contributions of psychology of peace that engaged with psychologists in many countries and hosted symposia in countries such as Bulgaria, Germany, United States of America, South Africa, Australia, Costa Rica, Philippines, Sweden, Indonesia, and Northern Ireland. The CPSP also developed analytic papers on the psychological aspects of the 1994 Rwandan genocide and for United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) cultures of peace program. In partnership with UNESCO and the University of Cape Town, it developed workshops on youth and political violence in South Africa. Today, the CPSP works as an independent body.

The number of international participants invited to the CPSP symposia is small, usually fewer than 50 people each time, though particular sessions can be open to a much wider public. The CPSP meetings differ from many international symposia in building field knowledge of the contexts of conflict. Visiting international scholars have the opportunity not only to share their academic findings with a global peer group, but also to visit local sites of conflict and peace and talk with local psychologists. There is a mutual benefit as the symposia bring the international scholars to locals who cannot necessarily afford to go to large international conferences or sponsor international speakers to come to them. It also brings to the internationals a more intimate knowledge of different contexts, cultures, nations, and conflict dynamics. Unlike large international gatherings that sometimes use the host nation as a nice location or tourist opportunity, the symposia can open opportunities for international attendees to visit in much the same way as a peace delegation would. In South Africa in 1995, international visitors were able to see the devastation apartheid had wrought, witness the birth of the "new" South Africa, visit the troubled townships, talk with community mediators, learn how the university staff in the different racial groups had struggled during the apartheid regime to overcome violence and build peace, as well as to attend academic presentations by eminent international scholars.

We were both involved in the organization of the symposium in Australia in 1997. It was attended by almost all of the Aboriginal Australian psychologists of the time, and they shared their perceptions of the structural violence inherent in the relationships between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal Australians. Some of the international visitors were then asked to visit Aboriginal communities by those they had befriended, a rare and unique experience. Noel Pearson, a key spokesperson for the Aboriginal people, was invited to address a session of the symposium that was also open to the public. Similarly, meetings were organized with multicultural organizations, providing opportunities for mutual exchange between visitors and locals with a shared interest in immigration and refugee issues. As the Australian hosts, we were honored to have such eminent visitors and were able to have one such speaker,

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[1] We would like to thank Micheal Wessells, former Chair of CPSP, for the wording of this paragraph and Daniel Christie, the current Chair of CPSP, for information on the origin of CPSP.

Professor Micheal Wessells, the author of Chapter 20 in this volume, tour Australia under the auspices of the Australian Psychological Society and its Psychologists for Peace Interest Group.

The symposia run as part of a 4 yearly cycle, with a meeting of the International Union of Psychological Science, then a symposium, then the International Congress of Applied Psychology, and then a symposium. The meeting of the International Union of Psychological Science starts the cycle again. CPSP helps organize a peace psychology "slate" at the larger meetings and then organizes smaller symposia in the alternate years. This has meant there is a consistent core of international peace psychologists meeting each year. The larger meetings are much more academic in their focus and the smaller meetings provide more space for peace practice as well as theory.

In Malaysia, listening to presentations, like that by Shahnaaz Suffla, which combine academic endeavor and experience with the practice of peace, we enjoyed not only the level of accomplishment in the papers, but also the youthful energy and vitality they convey. This vibrant creative space was a light year away from the image of academia as an ivory tower pursuit detached from the real world, from psychology as "rats and stats." But the symposia provide space for such a small audience. We wondered if we could publish a book that would bring this new approach to a larger audience.

We discussed the idea with Daniel Christie, who is the series editor for this Springer Series in Peace Psychology. He pointed out that there isn't a book on research methods in peace psychology and so it would also be useful to include the more established methods as well as the more innovative ones.

1.2 Introducing the Editors

Diane Bretherton and Siew Fang Law have been friends and colleagues for over a decade. We are both academics with a commitment to peace psychology working in universities, have practical skills in conflict resolution, have experience in working in different cultures, and have international experience working with UNESCO. One of our fond memories of working together was the experience of team teaching a course on Conflict, Culture, and Language in Applied Linguistics at the University of Melbourne. There is a considerable age difference between us, with Diane being a retired honorary professor whereas Siew Fang is a mid-career researcher.

1.3 The Process

The first step in publishing a book is to write a proposal and submit it to the publisher. If the proposal looks as if it is a reasonable possibility, the publisher sends the book out to be reviewed. Suggestions and amendments can be incorporated and provided the reviews are positive and the publisher is happy to go ahead, it is "all systems go."

Our initial proposal suggested a structure which would begin with the established methods in part one, then look at more innovative and creative approaches in part two. The proposed structure also followed the linear progress that a project might go through chronologically: reviewing the literature, obtaining permission from an ethics committee, formulating research questions, choosing the method, analyzing data, discussing research findings, publishing results, and thinking about applications of the results to practice. The third section of the proposal looked at this final stage of communicating and applying results. We wrote brief abstracts for each chapter, which showed how the volume might cohere, but as our focus was on creativity we did not expect that authors would adhere to these in a rigid manner.

In selecting authors, we wanted to showcase key scholars in the field but also wanted to represent diverse parts of the world in our selection of methodologies and projects. We could draw upon the network of relationships created by the CPSP to find authors from, or working in, different regions.

1.4   The Editing Process

Our aim in the editing process was to embody the values of peace, not only in considering each stage of the research process, but also in how to go about putting the book together. This includes the process of working together and communicating with chapter authors and reviewers.

The area of conflict resolution is (correctly) seen as a topic that can be studied by peace psychologists. But it is more than this. Practice in the field of conflict resolution, whether it is as a negotiator, facilitator, mediator, or conflict analyst provides a set of tools for nonviolent communication. We both drew on experience as practitioners of conflict resolution to collaborate with each other, the publishers, and authors and reviewers to propose ideas, give feedback, and negotiate solutions.

We have also both worked with UNESCO in different parts of the world and our guide as to the meaning of peace was, like the UNESCO articulation of the Culture of Peace, multidimensional. In fact, the UNESCO Culture of Peace program also influenced our approach to editing the book. The UNESCO training for moderators for the Culture of Peace News Program (CPNN), which we both helped develop, provided experience in helping draw out and improve peace reports from contributors. This training includes role-plays of moderating reports in both a warlike and peaceful manner. The broad dimensions of the UNESCO "keys" of peace (de Rivera, 2009) provide some demarcation of the content of peace studies, while allowing more explicit definitions to come from chapter authors.

We began by sending out invitations to contributors. Once chapters were submitted, they were reviewed by two reviewers who were not aware of the identity of the chapter author, and vice versa. The reviewers' comments were then returned to the authors so they could make amendments on the basis of feedback.

In order to keep the increasingly complex material in order and make sure we could track changes, the submitted documents were listed on an Excel spreadsheet

and kept in a shared Dropbox folder. When we were able to meet in person, we worked through the spreadsheet, using it to generate an agenda. Dropbox allowed us to view each others' editorial suggestions and amendments as they occurred.

We made conscious efforts to establish a peaceful process for this book project. For example, we invited authors from wider geographical and cultural arenas, aimed for gender balance, and included early career researchers as well as high-profile academics. We worked closely with authors who did not have English as their first language and found enjoyment in learning from them.

We were conscious of our power as editors, and careful not to impose our ideas on the authors in an arbitrary way. Hence, when inviting authors to contribute a chapter, we developed a basic brief of what the book might look like and what each chapter might entail, but encouraged the authors to develop their own topic, abstract, and structure. The chapters went through a blind peer review process to ensure the quality of conceptual development and writing. We expected constructive feedback from the reviewers and in most cases the reviews met this expectation, such that the feedback led to improved content and greater clarity of expression. When we received a highly critical or dismissive review, we gave considerable thought as to how to present the comments to authors in a constructive manner. In doing this we used the principle from conflict resolution which suggests one should "go hard on the problem and soft on the person" and found that flaws could be remedied to the satisfaction of all.

1.5 Aims of the Book

Although the book has a strong focus on peace psychology, its content is generally relevant to a range of readers from other disciplines. The focus on peace psychology is grounded in our common background in psychology and shared passion for peace. Students and researchers, field practitioners and community development, and activists from other disciplines who share our commitment to peacebuilding should find the book illuminating.

In the field of psychology, researchers have long been aware of the relevance of applying research findings to help reduce violence and promote peaceful relationships. Early psychologists were aware that the topics of conflict and peace were suitable for psychological exploration. Only later did they become aware of structural violence (e.g., Galtung, 1985; Christie, 2006) and begin to critique the inequalities in the power relationships between the positivist researcher and his or her subjects.

This book also goes further to explore methods of research as approaches to peacebuilding. Like the idea of *peace by peaceful means*, it explores not only how research can yield peaceful ends, but also how each stage of a research project may be seen as part of a peacebuilding process. As well as reviewing established methods from peace psychology, it presents some innovative ideas for conducting psychological peace research. Many of these methods are drawn from the field, from activities used by peace practitioners. The participants benefit directly from

their participation, as well as generating data for research that might inform later research and practice.

Much of the work on peace psychology exhorts researchers to be peaceful but does not provide ideas as to how one might proceed in practice. This book offers a range of creative and sound ideas as to how to go about conducting research with people whose worldview might differ considerably from that of the researchers.

Books about research methods usually focus on the mechanics of carrying out research. This is not, in this sense, a step-by-step "how-to" book. There are many books about conducting psychological research and we do not wish to replicate these. Rather, this book focuses on some of the research methodologies that study values of peace and how those values inform decisions about research and its approaches. As it draws on research experiences in different parts of the world, it presents diverse methodologies that have developed in multiple contexts. On top of some of the commonly used research methods, this book provides ideas for some of the alternative, arts-based research methods in psychology that promote peaceful processes and practices.

1.6   Structure of the Book

The authors accepted our general idea for the book but made their own imprint on their own chapters, so that the process of putting the book together brought out new and interesting ideas. Rather than sticking rigidly to the plan outlined in the proposal, we made some changes to the structure of the book based on the emergent themes and ideas. This is parallel to the process of qualitative research, where the researcher might have "a priori" categories, or by contrast might use a more grounded approach and allow themes to arise from the contents. The final structure of the book better reflects the rich content of the submitted chapters and is less linear than the original proposal. The material submitted by the authors takes steps beyond the established methods of research in psychology, for example, in using the Internet and other forms of electronic communication to enhance research. But it also takes steps back and these are important. The established research methods, such as quantitative methods, do not need to explicate their underlying philosophy to be deemed ready for publication. The basic methodology, which includes an understanding of the nature of knowledge, of what constitutes data, is tacitly shared with other researchers and so only the specific method of a particular study needs to be reported upon. Research which sits outside this positivist paradigm requires the researcher to be more explicit about the underlying philosophy.

The focus of the book hence shifted from "research methods" to "research methodologies." The term "methodology" is much broader and includes the philosophical rational which underlies a particular approach to research. The use of the plural emphasizes that there may be more than one way to approach research. This encapsulates a movement away from assuming that "the scientific method" is the one path to finding universal truths about humanity, and acknowledges that as we move the

discipline of psychology forward, we need to explore different approaches. Working within the dominant model of empirical psychology, it is possible to just delineate the method used, the specifics of a particular study, because the methodology is implicit, a default position. The methodology of much of psychology is based on a positivist view of psychology as a science, where the researcher is the objective observer who collects and analyzes factual material. In this approach, the research participants are the subjects of research. The positivist approach has criteria for what is good science. These include objectivity, standards of ethical conduct in the treatment of subjects, validity, reliability, accuracy in reporting results, and care in generalizing from empirical findings. We do not reject the use of quantitative research but rather suggest that to broaden the scope of peace psychology there is a need to draw on a range of approaches.

1.6.1   Research Methods in Peace Psychology

The first part of this volume looks at the development of peace psychology and describes the major methods used in research. This section examines quantitative and qualitative methodologies and provides a model of the integration of the different streams. It also points to some of the limitations of working for peace within the tradition of a single discipline and to the need to expand our methodology to encompass more diverse populations, and to work *with*, rather than *for* research participants, in more equal and collaborative partnerships.

In the second chapter, *Theories Underlying Peace Research,* Rachel MacNair situates peace psychology within its parent discipline of psychology, tracing its origin to the work of William James and classic experiments such as the studies carried out by Milgram. There has been a great deal of work within psychology that contributes to understanding the roots of violence, the findings of which might then be applied to work to prevent or contain its occurrence. However, peace is more than simply the absence of physical violence. The chapter distinguishes direct and structural violence, and notes that peace promotion will involve building social and political institutions that enhance positive relationships and reduce the probability that violence will occur. One strength of the chapter is that it provides links for the reader between current developments in the discipline of psychology and the organization of peace movements, particularly nonviolent campaigns. The chapter also introduces the idea of cycles of violence. The concept of causality is deeply embedded in the experimental method, with clear distinctions between cause and effect expressed as distinctions between independent and dependent variables. But violence is sometimes better understood as a cyclic phenomenon, and can be both a cause and an effect. For example, a victim might develop the symptoms of Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) as a result of violence. However, those suffering PTSD might be more likely to become perpetrators of violence as an outcome of this experience. Chapter 2 gives a brief sketch of a number of developments in

psychology which could provide starting point for psychologists who have a commitment to peace, but also wish to research within the discipline of psychology.

In the third chapter, *Themes in Peace Psychology Research,* Noriani Noor and Daniel Christie also distinguish between direct, which they term "episodic" violence and structural violence, and this becomes an organizing factor. On the dimension of peace, they distinguish between peacemaking and peacebuilding. This generates a 2×2 matrix, which provides a framework for organizing the literature from peace psychology. Key ideas and topics in peace psychology are drawn from the literature and classified within the matrix, resulting in a succinct and systematic review of the field. The authors acknowledge that some concepts are too diffuse to fit neatly into one quadrant of the table and introduce the idea of integrated concepts to provide a more nuanced picture. They then propose a further distinction, between objective and subjective violence and peace to develop a three-dimensional model of violence and peace. While psychology is typically focused on individuals, peace psychology is concerned also with larger units of analysis, such as groups and societies, and the relationships between the different levels. Peace psychologists recognize that the complexity of violence and peace requires a systems perspective. Violence and peace are viewed as a result of the interplay of experiences and processes across individual, group, and structural levels of analysis. The picture presented of peace psychology is of a burgeoning area in good health, with bright prospects for the future. While peace psychology is becoming more global and international, there is heightened sensitivity to contexts and therefore a growing awareness that peace and violence issues vary in diverse cultural settings and different areas of the world.

There is copious literature on quantitative methods in psychology and the challenge for the authors of the fourth chapter, *Quantitative Research in Peace Psychology*, is to provide a succinct overview, with a focus on peace. Daniel Mayton, Benjamin Seloske, and Brenda Cleaver meet the challenge by tabulating the designs used in articles published in two major peace psychology journals Some of the examples of quantitative methods discussed are laboratory and field experiments, surveys, interviews, and the analysis of existing statistics. Some classical and representative examples of peace research within each quantitative category are described. While much of psychology centers on the individual, larger macrosystem research projects are also possible and particularly relevant to peace. Readers will find the overview of selected measurement procedures useful as they think about creating their own designs. To conclude the chapter, the authors discuss current trends and future research needs.

Quantitative research in psychology has existed for some decades and has generated a vast body of findings. However, these are not necessarily representative of and applicable to the world as a whole. Arnett (2008) estimates that existing research in psychology excludes 95 % of the world's population. If peace psychologists are to reach out to other populations and help build a more comprehensive and inclusive discipline, they may need to use a variety of strategies and a broader approach. In contrast to quantitative methods that focus on numerical analyses, qualitative research methods analyze words and texts to explore subjective meanings and themes. In Chapter 5, *Qualitative Research in Peace Psychology*, we provide

an overview of positivist, constructivist, and transformative research paradigms and give examples of different qualitative research projects. Some of the key features, issues, and challenges at each stage of the research process, such as sampling, data collection, data analysis, reporting, and publication are described. We do not argue that qualitative research is inherently more peaceful than quantitative work, but rather suggest a broad set of approaches can help in the quest to give voice to hitherto neglected populations around the world. We note that peace psychologists do not necessarily work purely within one paradigm but might use mixed methods, drawn from both quantitative and qualitative approaches. One risk in using mixed methods is that there may be inconsistencies and contradictions in the underlying methodological assumptions. The idea of an integrative paradigm implies synthesis at a conceptual level rather than an assortment of convenient tactics for eliciting information.

In Chapter 6 *Utilizing Mixed Methods for Research in Peace Psychology,* Anthony Onwuegbuzie and Abbas Tashakkori critique the dichotomization of quantitative and qualitative approaches to research, and suggest that both approaches are post-positivist. They suggest that integrating quantitative and qualitative research approaches within the same study will allow peace researchers to combine or to mix findings from quantitative analyses (e.g., inferential analysis of large-scale quantitative data) and findings from qualitative analyses (e.g., policy analysis, historical analysis, discourse analysis), yielding integrated (meta-) inferences that may potentially enhance the understanding of the phenomena that are investigated by peace researchers. The phenomena of violence and peace are complex and occur at multiple levels. For example, racism might be instantiated in interpersonal interactions, or group relations in the neighborhood, or discriminatory government policies. Increasingly, peace researchers are becoming interested in questions about how measures at the different levels of the human ecology interrelate. This chapter reminds readers that violence and peace have both objective and subjective facets, and that separating the study of these into distinct camps of quantitative and qualitative researchers creates an artificial schism that weakens the capacity of the field to understand the phenomena being researched. To match the complexity of the subject matter, researchers need to use integrated methods, to work across the artificial borders within the discipline of psychology and be prepared to work with other disciplines.

Peace psychology, with its objective to prevent violence and promote peace, is explicitly value laden and inherently ethical in intent. Psychology as a profession has an ethical code that delineates the rights and obligations of psychologists, particularly towards their clients, and professional associations of psychology have mechanisms to regulate the ethical conduct of their members. Is it then redundant to separate the values and ethics of peace psychology from those of the parent discipline? In Chapter 7 *Ethical Objectives and Values in Peace Psychology Social Justice Research* the authors Marc Pilisuk, Melissa Anderson-Hinn, and Gianina Pellegrini suggest that there are certain familiar ethical situations in social science research that take on special urgency and heightened psychological requirements in the context of avoiding lethal conflict, promoting social justice, and sustaining

transformative social change. Some involve methodologies for reflecting the voices that are often unheard. Others involve the necessity to consider larger system contexts including history and power dynamics. This chapter considers some of these special mandates, with both ethical and psychological elements indicated.

1.6.2   Extending the Range of Methodologies

Part I looks at the methods used in work published in psychology journals. This is approach is fruitful, but also has limits. We asked ourselves: Are there other sources we can draw upon for a more comprehensive and representative approach to peace psychology? Are there practitioners who have valuable insights but do not publish their work in learned journals? Are there important theorists in other countries who could potentially add much to our understanding of violence and peace but publish their work in languages other than English? Part II draws on these sources to introduce a range of more innovative research methodologies in peace psychology.

The aims of preventing violence and promoting peace draw the peace psychologist out of the laboratory and into the wider world. Working with different communities and across cultures, the peace psychologist needs to be open to other ways of understanding the world and prepared to learn from research participants. A flexible, creative, and innovative mindset will be needed to deal with the diverse challenges that come from undertaking research with a broader range of people.

Once the chapters in the second section were submitted, we realized that they did not proceed in a linear fashion, but fanned out in different directions. So we changed the original order and clustered the chapters to reflect the emergent themes. The chapters in Part II of the book are clustered into Postcolonial Methodologies; Participatory and Workshop Methods; and Using the Creative Arts in Peace Research and Technological Innovation. This second section shows how researchers can work with a wider range of populations studied; work in partnership with practitioners and participants; communicate more flexibly to accommodate different cultures, and use the creative arts and communication technology in research. The clusters are not mutually exclusive and in our final chapter we will highlight some points of convergence between the different methodologies.

1.6.2.1   Postcolonial Methodologies

In Chapter 8, *Indigenous Paradigm Research*, Polly Walker, who is of Cherokee descent, gives an "insider" perspective and highlights the ways in which Indigenous[2] peoples have been negatively impacted by Western research paradigms and methodologies. The chapter introduces the idea of epistemic violence, perpetuated

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[2] The use of capitalism of "I" in Indigenous varies. "I" is capitalized where Indigenous is referring to people. E.g. Indigenous people, Indigenous research assistant, Indigenous children. Small letter "i" is used where indigenous is used as adjective of an inanimate object - indigenous method, indigenous policy and so on.

by imposition of Western paradigms on Indigenous peoples. It advocates collaborating with, rather than conducting research on, Indigenous peoples in research. Some strategies such as symmetrical world-viewing, inter-paradigmatic dialogue and respectful engagement with principles of indigenous research are described. She shares examples from her own research and that of a number of other Indigenous scholars.

In *Approaches to Postcolonial Research,* the ninth chapter, David Mellor looks at the process of working with Indigenous people from the perspective of a white researcher who is self-reflective and sensitive. He considers the development of postcolonial research in psychology and its potential to find new insights while remediating some of the flaws of earlier "colonial" research. He begins with a discussion of ethnocentricity because it is fundamental to much conventional social science and examines earlier and current "ethnocentric psychology" research, and discusses some of the negative potentials of this approach in cross-cultural contexts. The chapter then moves to consider arguments for a research agenda that recognizes the importance of culture and context in human behavior, before embracing the call for a postcolonial approach to research that focuses on previously and currently oppressed minority groups. Postcolonial research is needed not only with Indigenous people, but also when working with minority groups within a society and across national borders. He provides examples from his extensive experience as a researcher in Australia and other parts of the world.

In Chapter 10, *Involving Participants in Data Analysis*, Anouk Ride discusses the rationale for involving participants in data analysis, and a selection of research methodologies that have been employed for this purpose. She draws on her personal experience of participatory data analysis in a study of peace and conflict in the Solomon Islands to illustrate some of the key challenges of researcher and participant data analysis. It is argued that while involving participants in data analysis is time and energy intensive, it does go some way to addressing the unequal relationship between researcher and participants, and also allows for new interpretations of social issues. While Polly Walker presents an "insider" viewpoint, and David Mellor gives an "outsider" perspective, Anouk Ride writes from an "insider/ outsider" standpoint. Although she is originally from Australia, she has worked in different parts of the world. She now lives in the Solomon Islands and is married into the culture. This perspective heightened her awareness of the impact of Western research on indigenous cultures. When she began her research, her design was more typical of Western studies, but as her work progressed she became increasingly sensitive to the impact her findings might have, and the importance of involving local participants in the interpretation of the data. The way in which she was originally planning to study the conflict, based on reviewing the literature, carried the risk of reifying ethnic differences and reinforcing conflict. The point we are making here is that a Western researcher who flies in, collects data, and then flies out, does not have to live locally with the consequences of the research, and might be unaware of the impact of his or her work on the local context. Through her own life situation, Anouk Ride must negotiate both Western and indigenous

paradigms and world views, and this leads to some highly innovative approaches in her research work.

1.6.2.2   Participatory and Workshop Methods

Chapter 11 draws upon experience in Latin and South America, which has been a rich source of participatory methods. In *Philosophies of Participation*, Maritza Montero describes some of the philosophical thinking that has given rise to these methods, and introduces the idea of analectics as the basis of a number of participatory techniques. Drawn from a philosophical base, analectics describes the Self in relation to the Other. The use of capital letters signifies a specific philosophical approach. That which is Other is not just another person, but rather that which is so different as to be on distant margins of consciousness or not admitted to my worldview at all. A number of techniques for consciousness raising are described, with vivid examples drawn from practical experience. The techniques use dialogue to deepen understanding of social and political conditions and extend personal awareness. The first step to change is to problematize the situation so people become aware that it is not natural and inevitable but rather is shaped by powerful interests. Conscientization then re-casts people as actors and confronts them with questions as to how they will respond to this new knowledge, what changes they would like to make, and how to go about changing the situation.

In Chapter 12, the authors Brinton Lykes and Alison Crosby, discuss their work in Guatamala and the use of participatory action research to counter gender violence during the armed conflict there. Their chapter on *Participatory Action Research as a Resource for Community Regeneration in Post-conflict Contexts* explores how participatory workshops that incorporate creative techniques such as drawing, dramatizations, and creative storytelling and embodied practices, including, in the context of Guatemala, Mayan practices and beliefs, can generate spaces in which intermediaries and protagonists can co-construct alternative ways of knowing and performing suffering and resistance. The aim is regeneration of women's and Indigenous communities in contexts of ongoing impunity. The spaces of action and reflection facilitate outsider researchers' critical reflexivity through which they interrogate their power and privilege as they work in collaboration with protagonists and other intermediaries. They critique the tendency to essentialize gender violence and women in peacebuilding discourses and instead argue that gender violence is inherently racialized, and requires attention to indigenous struggles.

The idea of putting theory into practice is almost a tenet of psychology. A more novel approach in peace psychology is to think about it the other way round. In a world of equals can we draw upon the experience of practitioners, put their practice into our theory and research? In Chapter 13, *Inquiry into Practice and Practicing Inquiry: the Intersection of Practice Intervention and Research,* Serge Loode explores the way in which workshop methods to promote peace can inform our thinking and research in peace psychology. Using examples and reflections from his research and practice, he discusses the nexus between peace research and peace

intervention based on a systemic research approach. Different data collection and analysis methods such as collective note-taking, use of images and metaphors, and artistic activities such as role-play simulation and forum theatre are described. These methods help in bringing less visible parts of the system under investigation to light. This chapter also raises the idea of using technology not only in the analysis of data, but in the process of gathering data, and involving participants in the note taking, recording, and data modeling processes.

1.6.2.3 Using the Creative Arts in Peace Research

The aim to prevent violence and promote peace draws the peace psychologist out of the laboratory and into the wider world. Working with different communities and across cultures, the peace psychologist needs to be open to other ways of understanding the world and prepared to learn from research participants. A flexible, creative, and innovative mindset will be needed to deal with the diverse challenges that come from research with a broader range of people.

Chapter 14 suggests that stories provide an accessible way to understand the social context of conflict resolution and peacemaking processes. In *Approaches to Narrative Analysis: Using Personal, Dialogical, and Social Stories to Promote Peace* Mary Breheny and Christine Stephens provide examples of narrative theory and research from several disciplines. Of particular interest is the way in which narrative may be used to integrate different aspects and systemic levels, such as personal experience, identity, culture, and social circumstance. As narrative research is used to interpret personal stories in the context of social struggles and historical developments, it provides an opportunity to move beyond individualistic accounts of conflict towards shared resolution and peace. The authors point out that narratives are inherently social, and have a listener as well as a narrator, and a possible future audience. Even private diaries have an imagined reader. Thus relationship is at the core of this approach and it is a promising tool for peacebuilding, which is about transforming relationships. Another interesting idea that is introduced is the observation that a personal narrative informs us about the context and is framed by a narrative from a larger social system. Understanding and shifting these macrosystem narratives can be a tool in combatting structural violence. This idea has a certain convergence with the idea of "problematization" which Maritza Montero introduced. Do we focus our concerns on individual adjustment or look to understanding and transforming the wider social structures? The narrative approach suggests that, as a starting point for transformation, we need to understand how the stories of the individual are framed within the stories of the wider domains.

In Chapter 15, *Challenging Structural Violence Through Community Drama: Exploring Theatre as Transformative Praxis,* Christopher Sonn, Karina Smith, and Kirsten Mayer examine community theatre as an example of arts practice that has gained significant interest as a form of social action in various social and health science disciplines. Community theatre has the broad goal of challenging structural violence through processes such as storytelling, active witnessing, and embodiment.

Community theatre draws upon and builds upon the consciousness raising methods of Friere discussed in Chapter 11. The authors position discussion of community theatre within arts-based research and performative social science, which challenge the singular master narrative underpinning traditional methodologies. Describing projects from two different countries—Melbourne, Australia, and Kingston, Jamaica—that have used theatre praxis to address forms of structural violence, they discuss community theatre as an ethical participatory approach that can contribute to the goals of peace psychology research. For these authors, arts-based research opens up different possibilities for research and practice shifting the discussion from arts as representation, to arts as constituting knowledge creation.

In Chapter 16, *Photovoice as Emancipatory Praxis: A Visual Methodology Towards Critical Consciousness and Social Action,* the authors Mohamed Seedat, Shahnaaz Suffla, and Umesh Bawa describe the Photovoice method and present as an example a multi-country study with young people in Africa. The young people were taught to use cameras and then asked to take photographs on the theme of *Things, places, and people that make me feel safe/unsafe in my community.* The participants were encouraged to describe their photographs and talk about the themes reflected in their selected photographs. Their photos and narratives were then displayed as posters and shared with peers In a final meeting, the facilitators prompted participants to consider their own roles and possible responses by way of awakening a sense of social agency. Each of the country groups delineated a series of actions, some more achievable than others, that could possibly be adopted to tackle risks to safety and peace, improve community safety and peace resources, and expand their engagement in community matters. Rather than trying to come up with solutions for young people, this project involved them in developing consciousness of, and strategies for, peacebuilding and moved seamlessly from research into social activism.

In Chapter 17, *Music and Peace* Jacqueline Bornstein suggests that there is an increase in the use of music and the arts in projects designed to address social-psychological aspects of conflict around the globe. There is however, little evaluation of music and arts-based peacebuilding projects examining whether or not intended social-psychological related goals have been reached. She describes a study of an Indonesian-based peacebuilding project utilizing music and the arts. The study provides an example of how peace practitioners can use music to stimulate psychological shifts conducive to peace and how one might research the impacts of such projects. The project she describes addressed the intolerance of local Islamic communities toward the artistic practices of local non-Islamic Javanese communities in Surakarta in Indonesia. The study found that participating Islamic communities developed a greater tolerance toward, and appreciation of, the musical practices originating from local non-Islamic cultures.

1.6.2.4 Technological Innovation

The authors of Chapter 18, *Using the Internet and Social Media in Peace Psychology Research,* Cristina Montiel, Arvin Boller, and Feric Galvez, suggest that recent

advances in information technology have given rise not only to alternative ways of peacebuilding, but also to new methods in peace research. This chapter explains methodological strategies related to the interface between peace psychology and the internet. Experimental and survey approaches (such as those described in Chapter 4) use the internet primarily for data collection. As well as being convenient, the internet can open up communication with participants who live in contentious and dangerous areas without compromising their safety. An ethnographic-field approach to peace psychology (that has more in common with the methods described in Chapters 5 and 6) needs to be sensitive to online political configurations. Research strategies such as case studies; content analysis of text, videos, images, and audios; and computational social science methods like data mining and social network analysis are outlined.

1.6.3   *Transforming the World*

The final section of the book looks more broadly at how research in peace psychology is communicated, not only in research journals but also to organizations, colleagues, the media and in the field.

In Chapter 19 looks at the process of *Translating Psychological Research into Policy, Advocacy and Programs in International Development*. Economics and public health, quantitative analyses at the global, regional, and national levels are often the preferred source of evidence for informing new programs, policies, and advocacy efforts at the international level. In comparison, psychological research, even quantitative research, is small scale. There are, however, advantages to the rigorous training psychologists receive in research methods and ethics, and donors value quality metrics—particularly the experimental design, which is considered the 'gold standard' for measuring impact. This chapter presents Nikola Balvin's observations about psychological research in international development and points to ways of making research more applicable to and hence more likely to impact large-scale policy, advocacy, and programming.

In Chapter 20, *Program Evaluation: Why Process Matters,* Michael Wessells puts forward the idea that in peace programming in humanitarian contexts, evaluations are essential for learning what worked or did not work and for strengthening the practice of peacebuilding. Despite their importance, evaluations are seldom conducted. Worse yet, even when evaluations have been conducted, they may not be peaceful and may actively undermine or limit the impact of peacebuilding programs. An exclusive focus on technical issues leads to evaluations that are driven by outsiders, who have not participated in the program, and marginalize the categories that guide the thinking of local people about peace and peacebuilding. When this happens, the evaluation process itself can cause unintended harm and actively set back the cause of peace in the local area. The chapter explores why non-peaceful evaluations are so widespread and explores the way in which evaluations might be more peaceful and shows how the use of qualitative data in a mixed methods ap-

proach can simultaneously strengthen the technical quality of the evaluation and the process aspects of the evaluation.

An old adage suggests the pen is mightier than the sword, but actually it is the way in which the pen is used that determines its power. "Good peace psychology writing", says Michelle LeBaron, "changes the world." In Chapter 21, *Writing Peace Psychology: Creating High-Impact Peace Research Scholarship*, Michelle LeBaron gives us, editors and readers alike, something to aim for when we write up our research. She asks for plain language, but not oversimplification. She asks for imagination as well as critical reflection. Congruence with the values of peace is a feature of good writing for peace. There is honesty, clarity, and realism, but also compassion, empathy, and insight. Policy considerations appear alongside theory, research, and practice in seamless ways, modeling dialogue amongst them. This chapter advocates aesthetic, sensory writing, and provides suggestions for effective writing that has impact.

In Chapter 22, *Peace Research by Peaceful Means*, we draw together the emergent themes, note some gaps where further research and development is needed and point to some directions for the future of research in peace psychology. The core finding of the book is that peace research should be conducted by peaceful means, and should model peaceful processes. A range of imaginative and engaging, as well as technically valid research methodologies, are being used by peace practitioners and researchers. At the deeper level of epistemology and values the methodologies share some common ground, so they can be integrated with one another and tend to converge into a coherent movement to build peace. In the future, peace psychologists will increasingly work as part of a team with researchers from other disciplines. No matter which level they choose to focus on, intrapersonal, interpersonal, community, or national, they will benefit from contextualizing their research in the local cultural context and also within the broader geo-historical domain. Increasingly, they can expect to work with participants at all stages of the research and so will be called upon to have facilitation and people skills as well as research expertise. The new approaches, which meld practice and research together in social inquiries, and build peaceful relationships as they go, will require researchers to be literate in a range of methods, to be flexible and open to learning from colleagues and participants, as well as the research literature.

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Part I
Research Methods in Peace Psychology

Chapter 2
Theories Underlying Research in Peace Psychology

Rachel M. MacNair

2.1 Founding of Peace Psychology

Though philosophizing about peace has ancient roots, the discipline of peace psychology essentially began soon after the establishment of modern scientific psychology with the 1910 essay by William James, "The Moral Equivalent of War." Over the century since, many theories have been developed and tested extensively. Other theories are still in early stages and have yet to be researched.

Peace can be defined as a positive societal state in which violence, whether direct or structural, is not a likely occurrence, and in which all humans, animals, and ecology are treated with fairness, dignity, and respect. Peace psychology is the study of mental processes and behavior that lead to violence, prevent violence, and facilitate nonviolence as well as promoting fairness, respect, and dignity for all, for the purpose of making violence a less likely occurrence and helping to heal its psychological effects.

2.2 Violence and Countering Violence

Direct violence comes from individuals who hurt others in acute and discrete incidents. In a war, there will be a multitude of such incidents. Structural violence is inflicted on people through the structures of society and involves chronic forms of harm such as poverty, environmental damage, misallocated resources, or dangerous working conditions. As originally proposed by Galtung (1969), these two major

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forms of violence are differentiated because the theoretical approach to understanding them and countering them might vary. The concept of structural violence is particularly important to understanding that peace is more than the absence of violence that is dramatic and direct, but might also be perceived as the absence of lifelong violence that may have come to be perceived as normal to many.

Some theorists have approached peace psychology research by positing key factors that either generate violence or counter it. Some theories focus on the institutions and situational contexts that result in aggression, even in people who would not otherwise commit violence (e.g., Vallacher, Coleman, Nowak, & Bui-Wrzosinska, 2012; Bar-Tal & Hammack, 2012). Others focus on the thinking processes that presage occurrences of massive violence, or consider the appeal that war might offer (e.g., Cohrs, 2012). Still other researchers focus on individual factors, such as the motivations, needs, and drives of individuals and groups (e.g., Lickel, 2012; Bilali & Ross, 2012; Vollhardt, 2012). The theorizing in peace psychology is not limited to these factors, but many decades of research have seen robust development in these areas.

2.3   Institutions and Situations Causing Direct Violence

Starting in the early 1960s, the widely replicated Milgram electroshock laboratory experiments examined why people obey authority even when its demands are destructive. In a set-up where authoritative men in white lab coats made demands, compliance rates in this experiment were high in all cultures, countries, races, and for both genders (Blass, 2000). This led to a situational theory of perpetration behavior, one based on the characteristics of the situation rather than the individual.

Participants were told this was a learning–memory experiment. It was supposedly randomly decided which of two people would be the "teacher" and which the "learner," yet was rigged so all participants were assigned the teacher role. The teacher was instructed to depress a key to give a shock to the learner, unseen but heard, when the learner gave an incorrect answer. The shocks started at a low level and increased gradually. After the shocks reached a certain level, the learner (actually an actor) indicated distress and demanded to be let out. "Teachers" were instructed to go on, with the researcher making authoritative statements such as "The experiment requires that you continue." Under this pressure, roughly two-thirds of participants increased shocks to the highest level. Milgram proposed that the authority defined the situation, and the participants shifted their thinking to holding the authority responsible for the violence, rather than themselves.

Some manipulation of experimental conditions made a difference, offering ways for participants to counter the violence. There was a dramatic drop when the researcher was not present, allowing for "cheating." The power of authority reduced dramatically when there was evidence of disunity: when two experimenters who were both in the position of authority argued, the shock giving stopped. A real-life

analogy for this situation might be when a government is opposed by a major religious institution. When experimenters arranged for a condition where people who appeared to be participating in the same experiment across the room rebelled in full view of the participant, this provided a powerful influence on participants' refusal to comply. This might provide some insight into why protest demonstrations have an effect; a peer rebellion provides a model.

Milgram suggested that the sequential nature of the action is important. Only at the beginning is a person asked to do something innovative, beginning with a mild action. People are then asked to become only a little more extreme than before. To break off the behavior, they would have to justify why they persisted to that point. Therefore, people continue up to the maximum level, which they would not have considered at the beginning. Since this is a descent down into behavior that would not otherwise occur—a downward slide rather than a quick fall—that is commonly described as a slippery slope.

There are two lessons on violence prevention from the "slippery slope" observation. It is important to address even small incidents of violence or discrimination—mild problems are easier to solve and their expansion can be stopped. Also, the slippery slope can work in both directions: people who are not willing to undertake fully-fledged nonviolent revolution immediately may be willing to attempt something small. As they grow accustomed to taking small actions, their resolve can build.

However, there was a major problem with the method for the Milgram experiments: the treatment of participants was harsh; a film is painful to watch. Paradoxically, the experimenters themselves seemed unaware that they were caught up in their own theory. They inflicted distress on others and they continued because the experiment required them to persist—an authority was instructing them to continue.

In the Stanford Prison Experiment of 1971, experimenters were aware that it was not merely the "subjects" of the experiment that could provide theoretical insight (Zimbardo, 2007). This experiment was a simulated imprisonment designed to last 2 weeks. There was no deception. The study had to be called off after 6 days. Though all participants were screened to be within normal psychological parameters, and assignment for prisoners or guards was random, vast personality changes quickly developed. The "guards" became cruel; the "prisoners" grew depressed. The experimenters were induced to attend to the requirements of a prison, becoming more concerned about rumors of a prison break than objectively collecting data. The person who called a halt to the destructive process was an outsider, Christina Maslach, the soon-to-be fiancée of Phil Zimbardo, the head experimenter. She was a trained psychologist, invited to observe the experiment. She was appalled to see how inhumane it became. After much argument, the experimenters were persuaded she was right, and shut down the simulation (Blass, 2000). We have more psychological knowledge because those involved knew to include the reaction of the experimenters themselves as part of the crucial data.

Real-life cases for applying this knowledge show up frequently. The most notable is the Abu Ghraib prison scandal of the USA in Iraq; anyone familiar with the

Stanford Prison Experiment would have been reminded of it from that news. Within a cruel environment of detainment, the "guards" became abusive. Consistent with theories focusing on institutional characteristics as key factors promoting aggression, researchers Haney and Zimbardo (1998) have suggested several reforms for the penal system with the aim of countering violence. But as with Abu Ghraib, which while a prison was also part of a war, the application can extend beyond reforms—primarily to understanding the destructive impact of the situational contexts and institutions that might encourage such brutal behavior.

In both the Milgram experiments and the Stanford Prison Experiment, the focus of the analysis was on the extreme individuals, those people who provided shocks all the way to the top of the scale and the "guards" who became brutal. It was, after all, the extreme individuals responsible for the violence, and that was the goal of the studies. But in the original Milgram electroshock experiments, there were still about a third of the people who refused to continue the shock, and differing conditions in the replications gave us information about what circumstances are most likely to bring about greater levels of noncompliance. In another prison experiment, Reicher and Haslam (2006, 2011) undertook a study which was instead informed by social identity theory, noting the conditions under which people identify with the groups to which they were assigned and the consequences of doing so or not doing so. They propose that it is "powerlessness and the failure of groups that makes tyranny psychologically acceptable" (Richer & Haslam, 2006, p. 1).

Another method for generating theory is through using data generated in the real world, where the situations are not artificially contrived. An early case of this kind of research resulted in the concept of *groupthink*. Janis (1972) originally derived this notion from examination of the decision under the Kennedy administration to invade Cuba's Bay of Pigs. The government of the USA believed this would spark an uprising against the Castro administration. The uprising did not occur, and careful analysis would have seen the shortcomings of their decision. The administration blundered into a fiasco because a group decision-making process did not allow individuals to consider the matter as carefully as they would have done if it had been their individual responsibility. Theoretical developments continue to explore where this concept may and may not apply; Whyte (1998) proposes a framework where the primary reason for lack of vigilance and unwise risk-taking is perceptions of collective efficacy that are an egregious mismatch to capability.

This psychological concept has proven helpful in preventing violence because decision-makers and the public scrutinizing them are aware of the possible pitfalls of groupthink. Among the measures Irving suggests for lessening groupthink are insisting that the group's leader offer information without first stating preferences, and making it clear that airing objections is always encouraged. When a rival group is involved, a sizable block of time should be devoted to considering the rival's possible reactions.

2.4   Thinking and Unthinking Violence

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.

2.4.1   Integrative Complexity

One concept for understanding the decision-making process for wars is *integrative complexity*. This construct has two features: differentiation or the degree to which people see differences among perspectives on a particular problem; and integration, which is the degree to which people relate those perspectives to each other within some coherent framework. Leaders who take an oversimplified, inflexible approach are more likely to escalate conflicts. More flexible leaders, able to understand the other side's perspectives, are less likely to get into a war.

Content analysis of public speeches and similar documents before various wars and conflicts shows that a fall in integrative complexity scores is a good predictor of whether war will be the outcome (Conway, Suedfeld, & Tetlock, 2001). In two-sided wars, scores for both sides drop as war approaches. When one nation attacks another, scores drop on the attacking side but increase for the defending nation. Defenders hope for a negotiated solution. In revolutions within a country, as far back as Cromwell in England, scores fall as the revolution is successful in overturning the government. If scores remain low afterward, the new government is less likely to remain in power.

Whether or not a lack of integrative complexity is a cause of specific wars awaits further study. It is difficult to perceive which factor takes precedence; it is possible that as war seems more likely, leaders become more rigid rather than the reverse. However, laboratory studies that simulated situations of international conflict suggested low complexity may be a cause rather than a symptom. Those leaders who came into the situation with low scores tended to move to more violent solutions within the same situations, compared to those who came in with high scores.

2.4.2   Mechanisms of Moral Disengagement

Albert Bandura and colleagues argue that the most inhumane behavior occurs when original ideas of moral conduct are disengaged. That these mechanisms remove inhibitions has been extensively documented in historical atrocities, and confirmed in laboratory studies of punitive behavior (Bandura, Barbanelli, Caprara, & Pastorelli, 1996). People disengage by changing how they think about the act, comparing it

to worse conduct, scapegoating, deferring to authority, discounting the effects, or discounting the victims.

Discounting the effects is similar to the concept of *distancing*. To continue violence, one can create mental distance from the reality of what is happening. Violence is often made easier when distancing is done physically, such as where bombs are delivered from airplanes, dangerous working conditions are out of view of factory owners, or in examples like the Nazi gas chambers situated in remote locations. *Compartmentalizing* is related—putting different parts of life into different compartments, sealed off from one another. The officers ordering a massacre may go to church on Sunday and profess beliefs contrary to their actions. They are not thinking of their actions when they make those statements. Also related is *intellectualizing*, a focus on reasoning that allows for violence, avoiding the accompanying negative emotions. Discounting the victim is described in detail by Brennan (1995) who gives various categories of "linguistic warfare" used to facilitate violence: describing people as deficient humans, nonhumans, nonpersons, animals, parasites, diseases, inanimate objects, or waste products. He offers an array of quotations from throughout history to depict these attitudes aimed at vulnerable groups.

The alternative to dehumanizing is re-humanizing. Since linguistic warfare often functions as the first step down the slippery slope, challenging language and insisting on words that recognize all humans as humans (and nonhuman animals as beings, rather than targets of cruelty) becomes something that is not merely moralizing, but crucial to future violence prevention.

2.4.3   Beliefs

Various types of beliefs have been proposed to generate aggressive behavior, propositions that have received some empirical support. The Just World View is a psychological attitude whereby people interpret violent and other unfair events in such a way as to maintain a belief that the world operates in a basically fair way (Lerner, 1980; Lerner & Lerner, 1981; Rubin & Peplau, 1975). People use the view to protect their minds from the fear that they can become victims. Many do not want to believe grotesque unfairness happens; they must then fear being victims of such injustice. If victims are to blame for their own victimization, people can be more mentally comfortable they will never be similarly victimized. A belief in Realpolitik or the importance of maximizing power can also be used to justify violent conduct. The idea that violence is inevitable because it is part of human nature can serve to justify violence and can become a self-fulfilling prophecy. The belief that suffering violence demands a retaliatory response in kind can also underlay violence. A belief in violence as a last resort is a common justification. Many believe violence should ordinarily be avoided, but is needed as a last resort. Once violence is perceived this way, the model may be that violence is effective in solving problems. If violence should be used only when the situation is extreme, then when the situation becomes extreme, violence is expected. The question of whether it would actually be effective in solving the problem is not asked.

2.5   The Appeal of War

In his 1910 essay, "The Moral Equivalent of War," William James suggested that war has appeal in meeting certain psychological functions, particularly the need to belong to a group: "All the qualities of a man acquire dignity when he knows that the service of the collectivity that owns him needs them. If proud of the collectivity, his own pride rises in proportion. No collectivity is like an army for nourishing such pride" (James, 1910/1971). James proposed that to eliminate war, society must offer nonviolent alternatives that meet those psychological needs: pride in belonging to a greater group which needs help to achieve its ends; a sense of aliveness as part of a vast undertaking; finding meaning to an otherwise boring life; projection of self-doubts or self-hatred onto someone else and redirecting anxieties toward a more comfortable target; displacing aggression onto a third party, and thereby increasing group cohesion; virtues of discipline, courage, and self-sacrifice; and diminishment of anxiety of uncertainty with the arrival of war hysteria.

LeShan's (1992) theory expands on the phenomenon of war hysteria, in which a move toward war causes people to think in ways contrary to reason and contrary to the way they think in normal times. He suggests that psychologically, we all have different modes of perceiving reality in different contexts. We move between these modes easily and automatically. A businessman at work has a construction of reality determined by his senses—LeShan calls this the sensory mode. The rules of behavior in this context involve a realistic understanding. At home, the businessman hears his child crying and as he dashes upstairs he says a prayer, something it would not occur to him to do at work. Seeing that the child is fine, he assures her everything is all right and that she is safe. He would not make such assurances in the workplace as they may be inaccurate, but he is not lying to his child. The rules of behavior for comforting a frightened child are different from those for dealing with work colleagues. The businessman shifts between his different perceptions of reality, with their different rules, without any effort.

In the case of war, LeShan suggests, there is often a shift to a mythic mode. This means the rules of understanding change dramatically. Reasons that make sense in the sensory mode are quickly forgotten as people shift to the mythic mode.

The escalation to World War I is a prime example of this mythic mode, colloquially called war hysteria. Before the war, international travel in Europe was high, so dehumanized views of the enemy were not caused by lack of exposure to other peoples. Many pacifist groups existed, and the international socialist movement was fairly strong. But once war broke out, socialist groups shifted from their internationalist leanings to greater nationalism and enthusiastically supported the war effort. All their work on explaining what was wrong with war was quickly abandoned. People were no longer in a sensory mode that took reasoning into account. Large numbers shifted to the mythic mode.

James' psychological solution to address the appeal of war included noncontroversial initiatives such as campaigns to eradicate a particular disease, but he was writing when the concept of nonviolent revolutions were still in formative stages.

With the twentieth century upsurge in nonviolent revolutions, we know that such revolutions do contain all the appealing features he described.

2.6 Emotions and Drives as Motivators of Violence

A range of theories has focused on emotions and drives as bases for violent behavior. This section samples some of those theories, and includes some findings supporting or disconfirming their primary tenets.

2.6.1 Frustration

One of the earliest proposed explanations of aggression was the Frustration–Aggression Hypothesis, which holds that when people are thwarted from attaining an expected goal, aggression follows (Dollard, Doob, Miller, Mowrer, & Sears, 1939). Many but not all laboratory experiments showed frustration leading to greater aggression. Experiments that took time into account found that frustration dissipates quickly if not maintained by uninterrupted rumination. The later Milgram experiments also showed that greater aggression was not caused by frustration. Soldiers are discouraged from basing deliberate actions in warfare on frustration. A classic study by Hovland and Sears in 1940 suggested the hypothesis should be evident in a correlation between lynching and economic conditions. They found a correlation between lynching and lower cotton prices in the south of the USA between 1882 and 1930. Yet other studies have not supported this finding. The correlation in this study also falls apart under modern statistical analysis, or if the data is extended beyond 1930. That extension is not irrelevant—a major depression followed, yet lynchings decreased. Assessing other economic indicators, hate crimes, and historical periods, the evidence is that frustration alone does not lead to hate crimes (Green, Glaser, & Rich, 1998). The assertion that frustration must usually lie at the root of all aggression has not held up well under years of scrutiny. Nevertheless, there are occasions where it may be a motivating emotion, as in domestic abuse or street crime.

2.6.2 Catharsis

Freud believed that if anger builds up, it can explode into poorly timed, inappropriate action. If anger were aimed at an inanimate or symbolic target instead, it dissipates. The buildup subsides. He termed this process "catharsis." This hypothesis has been tested extensively for decades. Contrary to Freud's proposition, the opposite has been found: letting out anger *increases* aggression (see reviews: Geen & Quanty, 1977; Warren & Kurlychek, 1981). Aggression following expression of

anger has been found to be directed not only toward targets of the anger, but at innocent third parties (Bushman, Baumeister, & Stack, 1999).

2.6.3 Cognitive Dissonance and Effort Justification

The theory of cognitive dissonance is that people find it stressful to have two different ideas in conflict with each other. To reduce this tension, they might take actions or make arguments that seem illogical. Suggestions of a contradiction are then met with belligerency. For wars, this can include *effort justification*—the belief that more effort is required to protect and justify the effort already made. If one must otherwise admit all the effort was wasted, then the effort must be continued. The continuation of the American war in Vietnam for several years is one of the most cited examples.

When opposing structural violence it can be the case that belligerency and opting for a more forceful solution can override strategy that is more pragmatic and practical. Noonan observed puzzling behavior in relation to campaigns to end slavery in the early years of the USA: political prudence would make allowances, yet slavery advocates insisted on extremes. The *Dred Scott* court case led to Northerners being forced to watch escaped slaves taken away in chains. Noonan questions the actions of the slavery advocates: "Why did they take such risks, why did they persist beyond prudent calculation? The answer must be that in a moral question of this kind, turning on basic concepts of humanity, you cannot be content that your critics are feeble and ineffective, you cannot be content with their practical tolerance of your activities. You want, in a sense you need, actual acceptance, open approval" (Noonan, 1979, p. 82).

2.7 Psychological Effects of Violence

The theoretical implications of the mental aftermath of violence are important to peace psychology to further the understanding of how to heal from violence, both for individuals and for society as a whole. When violence begets violence, then understanding the psychological consequences can help in the design of interventions for individuals and for post-violence reconciliation efforts for society as a whole.

Psychological impacts of violence include increased tendency to abuse alcohol or drugs and other stress-related ailments. A major psychological impact of victimization by direct violence is Posttraumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD). This diagnosis became official with veterans of the American war in Vietnam. Many of those who supported the war thought the idea was an antiwar propaganda ploy. Nevertheless, it developed into a psychiatric definition for diagnosis. It then was applied and expanded to various forms of victim groups.

Despite the explosion of interest, only a small number of studies have considered the impact of perpetrating violence in causing a traumatic outcome for the perpetrator. Official definitions of PTSD (American Psychiatric Association, 2013; World Health Organization, 1992) at least allow for the idea that committing violence is a kind of trauma, and the DSM-5, in contrast to previous versions, does address it in a direct if cursory way under the discussion accompanying the definition, by adding it to the list of causal factors: "for military personnel, being a perpetrator, witnessing atrocities, or killing the enemy." Yet data shows that this trauma extends far beyond military personnel, and can cover a wide range of direct participants in violence (MacNair, 2002).

In the case of war, it would seem likely that the intensity of battle would be related to the severity of later PTSD symptoms. However, analysis of U.S. government data (the National Vietnam Veterans Readjustment Study) shows that even taking this into account, if someone participated in killing then this behavior leads to more severe symptoms. The pattern of symptoms also differed between those veterans who said they killed compared with those who said they did not. It showed intrusive imagery—nightmares, flashbacks, and unwanted thoughts one cannot get rid of—was especially high for those who said they had killed. Temper, irritability, and violent outbursts were also particularly high. Frequently reported, but not as strong, were hypervigilance, alienation, and survivor guilt (MacNair, 2002).

Killing as trauma—Perpetration-Induced Traumatic Stress (PITS)—can be applied to others apart from veterans of combat: people who carry out executions, police who have shot in the line of duty, the Nazi methodical killers, abortion providers, those engaged in blood sports or slaughterhouse activities, and homicide criminals (MacNair, 2002). Research to ascertain how such experiences affect individuals involved is just beginning; researchers have many factors to explore.

2.8   Cycles: Effects Turning into Causes

A theoretical understanding of how violence might be the cause of subsequent violence can be one of the many crucial avenues to violence prevention. Prevalent use of violence may legitimate it as a method of problem-solving in a society. For individuals, post-violence symptoms which disturb mental health can also lead to adverse behavioral outcomes and the increased use of violence.

2.8.1   *Homicide Rates after War*

Dane Archer (1984) examined homicide rates, comparing prewar and postwar homicide rates and generally finding a postwar upsurge. Most nations that had participated in war demonstrated increases in contrast to contemporary noncombatant nations, but rates varied. The main difference was related to the size, impact, and

outcome of the wars for the nation involved. Nations with larger combat losses showed increases. While both victorious and defeated nations showed increases, victorious nations revealed higher rates. Increases occurred for both women and men, and in all age groups. Economic conditions made only a slight difference—but nations with improved economies more frequently demonstrated increased rates.

Why? If social disorganization was a factor, then defeated nations or those with worsened economies could be expected to show higher rates than the victorious side—but the opposite occurred. Was it a result of violent veterans? They might contribute, but the rate also went up among women, and in all age groups.

Archer proposed a *legitimation of violence model*, suggesting that civilians are influenced by a model of officially sanctioned killing. "What all wars have in common is the unmistakable moral lesson that homicide is an acceptable, even praiseworthy, means to certain ends. It seems likely that this lesson will not be lost on at least some of the citizens in a warring nation" (Archer, 1984, p. 66). He also applied this technique to the years immediately before and after abolition of the death penalty in various countries. The homicide rate tends to go down after abolition, thus bolstering the case for this model (Archer, 1984). The case for this model may conversely be strengthened by the observation that crime rates often go down during nonviolent campaigns. This has not been subjected to such rigorous statistical study, but Sharp cites several instances in which this drop occurred (Sharp, 1973, pp. 789–793). If we make this parallel to Archer's suggestion, it may be described as the *de-legitimation of violence model*.

2.8.2   Symptoms of Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD)

In situations where a particular individual decides on violence, such as domestic abuse and street crime, some investigation has shown PTSD symptoms to be a risk (Silva et al., 2001) The PTSD symptoms of outbursts of anger, irritability, and hostility, including, in extreme cases, flashback-induced misidentification of others, can lead to direct unplanned violence. The PTSD symptom of emotional numbing may lead to the imposition of a mental distance between the doer and the deed, as with distancing, compartmentalizing, and intellectualizing. These factors can also exacerbate obedience to destructive demands of authority (MacNair, 2002, pp. 100–106).

2.9   Biological Questions for Peace Psychology Research

The recent field of biopsychology, whose methodological techniques include observations of the brain, monitoring of physiological reactions, and blood samples, offers an entirely different set of theoretical questions for consideration.

2.9.1   Addiction to Trauma

Is there a biological component to the sense of exhilaration that has been observed with the act of killing? Some studies suggest there may be a release of opioids in the brain; a normally adaptive response to stress that goes badly wrong (van der Kolk, Greenberg, Boyd, & Krystal, 1985; Southwick, Yehuda, & Morgan, 1995). In the world of artificial drugs, opioids are related to morphine, heroin, and cocaine, known for their addictive qualities. Does a biological component of the reaction help explain the observation that in some people the behavior seems to be addictive? If so, what interventions might effectively counter this problem?

2.9.2   Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD)

Physical reaction to reminders of trauma, such as increased heart rate, blood pressure, and galvanic skin response can be measured. Brain structures may differ for PTSD sufferers, such as having a smaller hippocampus, and hormones may show something of a particular profile. The difference in symptoms that comes from being a victim as opposed to being a perpetrator in the trauma is yet to be considered.

2.9.3   General Stress

The biology of the general stress response is one of the better-understood aspects of biopsychology. Stress responses can also be physiologically measured, as can the effects of stress on bodily functions such as the immune system. This can lead to research about the different impacts on stress of violence and nonviolence. For example, one study showed that exposure to television violence weakened the immune system, as measured by levels of immunoglobulin A in the saliva (Bosch et al., 2001). In contrast, watching films of loving interaction with Mother Teresa (McClelland & Krishnit, 1988) or humor (McClelland & Cheriff, 1997) caused rises in the immunoglobulin A, indicating a healthier immune system. It seems that the biological impact of violent or nonviolent behavior might have implications for physical health.

2.9.4   The Brain's Decision Making

Medical scans of the brain have become quite sophisticated, and researchers have been able to see what areas seem to be most active while people perform certain tasks. Some decisions seem to rely more on the memory area, and others on the emotion area. Some studies may have application to decision-making that has to do with war or other forms of violence (e.g., Yang & Reign, 2010; Schiltz, Witzel,

Bausch-Hölterhoff, & Bogerts, 2013), as well as decisions to engage in nonviolent campaigns.

2.10   Promoting Peace

Just as literature focused on physical health care is generally focused on illness, much of peace psychology tends to explore what happens in situations of violence and warfare. This is necessary in that preventing illnesses is required for health, and preventing violence is vital for peace. Nevertheless, in both cases, the study is incomplete if the goal is simply to address or remove a deficit. Positive physical health, mental health, and societal health all require direct attention. This includes investigating the efficacy of the promotion of peace work, and the way in which efficacy may be increased and sustained (e.g., see Deutsch & Coleman, 2012; Tropp, 2012; Johnson, Johnson, & Tjosvold, 2012; Sims, Nelson, & Puopolo, 2014).

2.11   The Psychology of Nonviolent Campaigns

It is common among theorists of nonviolent action to posit that "power" is itself a psychological phenomenon, not a physical one (Sharp, 1973; Mayton, 2011). Why do campaigns that give assertive nonviolent responses to violent institutions succeed? Some suggestions from the literature on social psychological mechanisms account for the success of nonviolent campaigns (Mayton, 2011; Thomas & Louis, 2014).

2.11.1   Attribution Theory

When people perceive behavior as normal, they tend to attribute it to the situation, but when they identify it as unexpected, they tend to attribute it to internal disposition. For example, the expected response to violence may be violence. When the actual response is nonviolence, this deviates from expectation. The resultant behavior is thus attributed to a nonviolent disposition (Mayton, 2001, 2011).

2.11.2   Self-Serving Bias

Successes are perceived as being due to internal factors like people's own good character or talents, while failures are seen as being due to external factors of the situation. If a nonviolent campaign provokes a violent response, yet those who

respond with violence wish to view themselves favorably, then they will attribute their violence to external factors. The law or practice that is being protested against provides the justification for their behavior. If change occurs, the law is changed or the practice discontinued and the external justification no longer exists, the violence disappears, and those engaged in violence can maintain their self-image as people who are not by character violent (Mayton, 2001).

2.11.3 Out-Group Homogeneity Effect

People can easily see differences between individuals in their own in-group. These perceptions tend to decrease when looking at an out-group, where differences are blurred. The resulting de-individuation can become dehumanization (see Haslam, 2006, 2015; Haslam & Loughnan, 2012). One of the things a nonviolent campaign seeks to do is to reduce the out-group homogeneity effect by reducing the sense of its group as an out-group in the minds of its opponents.

2.11.4 Social Referencing and Role Expectations

When a situation is unusual, people cannot rely on habit to tell them how to react so they monitor the actions of surrounding people to ascertain how to define the situation and what to do (social referencing), or they respond to social interactions in the ways normally expected (role expectations) (MacNair, 2012). If a protester approaches a police officer in a friendly manner this increases the probability that the officer will respond in kind.

2.11.5 Cognitive Consistency

If people strive to avoid contradiction of their values, ideas, facts, and behavior, this can be an enormous aid in nonviolent campaigns in three ways (Pelton, 1974; Kool, 2008). Firstly, if a person is given facts that contradict previous attitudes, they may cope by changing the previous attitude to match the new information. This is called persuasion, the quickest and most effective form of nonviolent action. Secondly, if people are induced to behave in ways that are contrary to their attitudes, their drive for consistency can make them change their attitudes, inducing a more permanent behavioral change. For example, in the Montgomery bus boycott, business leaders eventually found it in their best business interests to allow for the racial integration being demanded. Greed may have changed the behavior by overriding prejudice, but once the behavior changed, so did the prejudice. Thirdly, nonviolent campaigners can expose individuals to already existing inconsistencies between their values, attitudes, and behavior. People generally like to think of themselves as humane and

just. There will be parts of their philosophies or religions that contradict inhumane or unjust behavior. Sometimes, bringing the contradictions to their attention causes a belligerent response, but occasionally the contradiction is seen and addressed by changing the behavior. This is called "appealing to conscience."

2.11.6   Beliefs and Emotions as Motivators for Assertive Nonviolence

The beliefs and emotions that have been proposed to generate peace-promoting behavior include courage, forgiveness, tolerance for ambiguity, stress reduction, spirituality, humor, and creativity (e.g., Bretherton & Bornstein, 2003; Kool, 2008; Mayton, 2011).

Courage is crucial to nonviolent action. On a personal level, research in therapy is showing forgiveness as a major component of healing for inner peace, relieving depression, anxiety, and resentment. On a societal level, it can be crucial to post-violence reconciliation (Tutu, 1999). Tolerance for ambiguity is the ability to live with unclear situations, to accept complexity. Since peace campaigns are full of situations that are not clear-cut, a high tolerance for such circumstances causes a greater ability to handle them. The existence of differing interpretations allows for creativity in reaching solutions that offer the opponent a way of saving face and yet are satisfactory for justice goals. Stress reduction is also important. The discussion so far has been of society-wide peace, what could be called "outer peace." Many people include "inner peace," or mental tranquility; in psychological terms, this often means stress reduction. From ancient times, spirituality has been connected to nonviolence (Kool, 2008). While some campaigns did not make use of spirituality, many have used the religion common to their time and area in the nonviolent pursuit of justice. Humor can be used as a prophetic instrument in nonviolent campaigns, cutting the pretensions of the powerful. It can help keep activists from burnout. By deflating the activists' own pretensions, it can keep them from descending into arrogance leading cause-oriented people to violent thoughts. Forms of humor that opponents can share can lead to greater friendliness. It can make it easier to understand differing points of view, differing sides of an issue. Once a violent solution is on the table, it precludes development of alternatives. The foreclosure of the violent option can promote divergent thinking.

2.12   Approaches to Conflict Resolution

In 1924, social psychologist Mary Parker Follett suggested three ways conflicts are settled: domination, compromise, and integration. Follett argued that the first two merely rearrange material; what exists is adjusted, not created. *Integration* means analyzing the desires or intentions of the parties and working out a new solution to

satisfy all. This concept of integrative solutions is still a major foundation of current conflict resolution models. More thorough discussion of conflict resolution models and theories can be found in Ramsbotham, Miall, and Woodhouse (2011), Deutsch, Coleman and Marcus (2006) and Tropp (2012).

Programs that teach conflict resolution—to children, to families, to warring parties, to any groups in conflict—are a prime area for psychological efficacy research. Which approaches work well, and which ones work in which situations? In addition to the before-and-after quantitative comparisons common to program efficacy research, qualitative interviews with those involved are crucial to crafting programs suited for specific occasions.

2.13   The Contact Hypothesis

In 1954, Allport offered a construct called the *Contact Hypothesis*. The initial thought was that prejudice is based on ignorance of others, so less ignorance will mean less prejudice. Since ethnic groups in close contact can still suffer colossal amounts of prejudice, the theory required greater complexity. Accordingly, further research suggested certain conditions as necessary to see that contact was actually helpful. The contact needs to be supported by authority figures, voluntary for participants, and participants need to be of equal status. The conditions of contact need to foster cooperative interdependence among participants across groups and individualized contact can provide the potential for friendships. Members of the other group need to be seen as typical of that group, not exceptional, if stereotyping is to be reduced. The contact hypothesis is one of the most researched hypotheses in intergroup conflict (e.g., Hammack, 2010). Results are mixed—some experiments show a good success rate, others are disappointing. The hypothesis has grown in complexity, with researchers looking for new avenues to increase its effectiveness.

Forbes (1997) argued the problem is that the hypothesis analyzes individuals, where it experimentally does work, but not groups, where it does not work as well. If sympathetic contact with an out-group by some individuals causes reduced tension for those individuals, it can be countered by increased tension of other members in the in-group who become resentful and see the befrienders as traitors. This may be why something that works for individuals may not have the same effect for groups.

However, reviews of the vast literature (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008; Al Ramia & Hewstone, 2013) found strong support for the contact hypothesis. They ascertain that what is needed for greater understanding between groups is contact, in all but the most hostile and threatening conditions. When the necessary conditions discussed above are met, then the effect is even larger. Pettigrew and Tropp also found that the effect is primarily not from changed thinking, but from changed emotions. Stereotypes may not change, but greater liking occurs. This explanation could also help account for mixed results. Al Ramiah and Hewstone emphasize that applying the theory bluntly can actually cause more harm, so taking care to design contact to avoid the pitfalls inherent especially in circumstances where there are power differences or overt conflict between groups.

2.14 Dealing with the Past and Post-Violence Reconciliation

Tint (2010) makes a distinction between history and memory. History is what happened out in the world, while memory is a psychological phenomenon inside a person. History is static. Memory is fluid and can change the feelings, context, and priorities of what is most important, and the coloring of subsequent events. History is in the past. Memory is in the present. According to Tint's analysis, it is memory that most needs to be dealt with. She observes that people argue over what actually happened. Political debates are full of such disputes. Memory is not debatable in that way. People have the memories they have—internal, personal feelings. If they say they have them, they do. There is no point in arguing. Tint found the distinctions useful in her research of extensive interviews with Israelis and Palestinians. She believes her findings can be applied across a large variety of long-standing conflicts. She found that people often challenge cultural or political history, but generally accept other people's personal and family histories. Historical stories tended to promote nationalism, whereas personal stories can promote conciliation. People's memories often focus on their own victimization. They are less likely to see the victimization of others. Those who are entrenched in the past are less open to conflict resolution processes and are the most likely to keep the conflict going. However, how much people actually suffered or lost is not necessarily correlated to their tendency to focus on the past. An important implication for dialogue is that having parties argue about historical facts is not likely to be productive, whereas bringing discussion to the personal level may be.

Repairing the damage of war is needed for humanitarian reasons, but there is also a prevention aspect. If war-torn societies experience little or inadequate reconstruction, psychological wounds can remain deep and lingering and social hatreds invite more conflict (Malley-Morrison, Mercurio, & Twose, 2013). Reconstruction needs to include physical rebuilding to meeting basic material needs, but psychologically there is also work to be done for reconciliation, a form of learning from the experience. The South African experience with its Truth and Reconciliation Commission dealt with memories as a way to finish resolving a conflict that had been settled (Tutu, 1999). A more thorough discussion of theory along with application to specific conflicts can be found in Nadler, Malloy and Fisher (2008).

2.15 Restorative Justice

Restorative justice is a category of victim and offender encounter programs that can be regarded as a post-crime reconciliation program. Its core values are restitution, reconciliation, and reintegration for all concerned. This is helpful in criminal justice, and had also been found helpful as an alternative approach in school discipline (PBS Newshour, 2014).

Victims, offenders, and members of the community take the active role in healing relationships broken by crime. Retribution is replaced by restoration, which benefits the victims and makes the offenders less likely to re-offend.

In general, juvenile programs are where the idea is most workable; once established this can then be expanded to adults. The United Nations (2006) and the US Department of Justice (Nicholl, 1999) are among those who have taken an interest in this approach and its effectiveness.

2.16 Schools of Thought in Social Movements

Several kinds of arguments show up in most large, long-lasting nonviolent social movements. People are often distressed by these divisions—factions—and feel 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. Instead of factions, movements can work with differing schools of thought (MacNair, 2012, pp. 165–167). Purists say compromise is immoral and detrimental in the long run. Pragmatists believe it immoral to allow violence to continue while waiting for purity when steps can be taken now. These two approaches can complement each other. Purists keep compromises from becoming too watered-down, and the pragmatists can use the purists to make themselves appear more moderate.

There is also an issue between those who look for root causes and those who strive for reform. This can be illustrated by a parable of the people of a village who find babies floating in their river. They pull the babies out and care for them, day after day. Finally one person decides to go up the river to find out why babies are being thrown in. This story is an explanation of a radical approach, one that goes to the root. The babies are better off not being placed in danger than being rescued. Nevertheless, while the person is searching for the root cause, the babies are still in desperate need. What if the person cannot find the root cause or cannot quickly do anything about it? Both approaches are needed.

It is possible to distinguish between those who want to take immediate direct action and those with a more reformist agenda. Nonviolent "street" people argue that it is immoral to wait for normal legal channels rather than taking direct action immediately. "Straight" people believe respectability is crucial. This is not a strict division, but there are often tensions, as those desperate for respectability think those who opt for urgency hurt the movement, and vice versa. Again, these two perspectives provide for a more holistic movement. Those in the street communicating urgency can be ignored if perceived as crazy. The respectable can be ignored because the issue is not understood as urgent. There is a greater likelihood that both will be heard if they are both present.

Would knowledge of these as differing approaches that are all needed at the same time help participants in the movement function together more amicably? Do they in fact make social movements more holistic and likely to succeed? Research has barely begun.

2.17 Community-Based Social Marketing

Community-based social marketing is basically using psychological research techniques to increase effectiveness. Selected behaviors that can lower the likelihood of violence are considered in the light of three questions: What is the potential impact of the behavior? What barriers, internal or external, are there for the behavior? Do resources exist to overcome the barriers? These behaviors might include, for example, avoiding products made by companies that manufacture weapons, abuse animals, or pollute. The next step is to design strategies to change the behavior. Running a pilot project and then evaluating the approach would follow (McKenzie-Mohr, 2010).

2.18 Stories Promoting Peace

There are a number of questions that psychological research could answer in regard to nonviolent stories: What are the effects of stories that encourage nonviolent rather than violent problem solving? Can stories encourage more flexible thinking in approaching problems? How do they affect people's sense of their ability to use nonviolence? Are there differences in impact of true stories versus fictional stories? What kind of impact do adult stories have, and children's stories? Does the best use of various kinds of stories vary by developmental stage?

Some forms of literature are effective at encouraging audiences to reflect. The television miniseries *Roots*, by depicting a realistic history of American slavery and its aftermath from the viewpoint of one intergenerational family, had an impact so clear it was still documented in a television special on its 25th anniversary. Yet there is question over the impact of depicting the aftermath of nuclear attack, as was done in a television movie called *The Day After*. Did it make people more supportive of nuclear disarmament, or did it instead make people more anxious about increasing nuclear arms for deterrence? For many reasons psychologists can study, the film seemed to have had minimal impact (Schofield & Pavelchak, 1985).

The techniques of psychological research can ascertain the actual effect of works of art that are intended to cause reflection or changes in attitudes. In some cases, something may be more effective with one group, while something different is more effective with another. Doing the research rather than simply assuming what the impact is can be an important contribution of peace psychology to activists.

2.19 Conclusion

Topics in this chapter give a short overview, but leave out a great deal more that could be covered: research on effectiveness of different approaches to peace education; research related to specific policy issues, or to many more aspects of art, or to

private lifestyles (MacNair, 2012); methods of increasing persuasiveness and group cohesion and other forms of effectiveness for activists (MacNair, 2006); peace aspects of community psychology, personality psychology, health psychology, environmental psychology, and many other topics to be covered in the following chapters. The creative mind will find many more topics related to peace than any one book could cover.

The methods of research also range widely. Covered above we have laboratory experiments, quantitative surveys and polls, in-depth interviews, content analysis of documents, biological markers, and society-wide collected data. Peace researchers will be especially mindful about cross-cultural applications, the context of the situations, and the relationship between researchers and participants in terms of honesty, equality, and mutual learning. More methods, and more depth about these ones, are found in the following chapters—and any one book will only scratch the surface.

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Chapter 3
Themes in Peace Psychology Research

Noraini M. Noor and Daniel J. Christie

3.1 Introduction

Although William James has been referred to as the first peace psychologist (Deutsch, 1995), the term "peace" is a relatively new entry in the lexicon of psychology. For the greater part of the twentieth century, theory and practice in psychology was dominated by a Western perspective that ignored the study of peace and gave preference to an examination of the problem of aggression and other forms of direct violence (Buss, 1961; Berkowitz, 1962; Bandura, 1973). Emphasis was placed on the individual whose behavior was usually viewed as a result of personality and narrowly defined situational variables without regard for the larger "situational" context within which the individual was embedded. However, since the end of the Cold War in the late 1980s, the trend line in citations to the word "peace" in the field of psychology has grown exponentially (Christie, 2014). This suggests that consideration of the wider context is beginning to be explored.

In recent decades, peace psychology has also become internationalized, global in scope, and more thickly contextualized (Bretherton & Balvin, 2012; Hamber, 2009; Montero & Sonn, 2009, Montiel & Noor, 2009). Three themes have emerged (Christie, 2006): (i) the concept of peace has become differentiated which is reflected in distinctions such as episodic and structural violence, and peacemaking and peacebuilding; (ii) recognition that the complexity of violence and peace requires a systems perspective in which violence and peace are viewed as a result of the interplay of experiences and processes across individual, relational, and structural levels

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of analysis; and (iii) there is heightened sensitivity to geo-historical contexts, and therefore a growing awareness that focal peace and violence issues vary by region of the world and cultural context.

In the current chapter, we examine, elaborate, and extend these three themes.

3.2   Distinguishing Various Forms of Violence and Peace

3.2.1   The 2 × 2 Matrix of Violence and Peace

The differentiated nature of peace and violence was used as an organizing framework for the first book that had "peace psychology" in its title, *Peace, conflict, and violence: Peace psychology for the twenty-first century* (Christie, Wagner, & Winter, 2001). The authors defined peace psychology as "…seek[ing] to develop theories and practices aimed at the prevention and mitigation of direct and structural violence. Framed positively, peace psychology promotes the nonviolent management of conflict and the pursuit of social justice, what we refer to as peacemaking and peacebuilding, respectively" (p. 7). This definition is consistent with Galtung's between direct violence and structural violence. When direct is differentiated from structural and crossed with peace and violence, a 2 × 2 matrix with four cells results: direct violence, structural violence, direct peace (also referred to as peacemaking), and structural peace (peacebuilding).

In the present chapter, we use this twofold classification system to organize some of the literature in peace psychology focusing primarily on content, concepts, and themes. The literature we used was chosen from a number of sources including three main journals: *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology, Journal of Social Issues*, and *Analyses of Social Issues and Public Policy*. We also used information from the three-volume set *Encyclopedia of Peace Psychology*, the *Peace Psychology Book Series* (which consists of 23 books at the time of this writing) and several books on peace psychology such as *Peace, conflict, and violence: Peace psychology for the twenty-first century* (Christie et al., 2001), *Peace psychology: A comprehensive introduction* (Blumberg, Hare, & Costin, 2006), *The psychology of peace: An introduction* (McNair, 2011), and a comprehensive entry in the *Oxford Bibliographies* entitled *Peace Psychology* (Christie & Noor, 2013).

We organized the literature with the 2 × 2 matrix that distinguishes between episodic and structural violence and peace. However, for purposes of clarity and consistency, we have chosen to substitute the term "episodic" for "direct" violence. The modifier "episodic" captures the intermittent quality of violence and contrasts with the term "structural" violence, which implies a relatively constant state and permanent arrangement in the access, acquisition, or distribution of resources that are necessary for human well-being. The term "episodic" has the added advantage of implying a cycle in which violence rises then falls and further suggests the prevention and mitigation of violence can take place either before, during or after a violent

episode. In regard to peace, we have adopted the term "peacemaking" to imply the prevention or mitigation of violent episodes. The term "peacebuilding" will be used to refer to two complementary but potentially different processes: the mitigation of structural violence and movement toward greater equity in interactions, relationships, and structures. Table 3.1 tabulates the use of our terms in relation to peace and violence.

Table 3.2 shows some of the main features of the four cells. As noted, episodic violence inflicts harm and kills people directly and quickly, whereas structural violence is more indirect, normalized and harms or kills people slowly by depriving them of their basic needs. To prevent and mitigate episodic violence, peacemaking interventions are proposed. Similarly, to reduce structural violence and promote a more equitable social order, peacebuilding interventions are used.

Table 3.3 presents some of the more commonly researched concepts, theories, and themes extracted from the literature.

3.2.2   Another Distinction: Integration and Differentiation

Some concepts and theories in peace psychology are sufficiently precise, specific, and narrow in their applications, they fit quite neatly within the 2×2 matrix. For

Table 3.1 Terminology

	Episodic	Structural
Violence	Episodic violence	Structural violence
Peace	Peacemaking	Peacebuilding

Table 3.2 Characteristics of the 2×2 matrix in peace psychology. (Adapted from Christie, 2006)

	Episodic	Structural
Violence	Typically kills or harms people quickly	Typically kills or harms people slowly
	Intermittently kills or harms people	Continuously deprives people of basic needs
	Acute insult to well-being	Chronic insult to well-being
	Dramatic	Normalized
Peace	Peacemaking	Peacebuilding
	Reduces violent episodes	Reduces structural violence
	Emphasizes nonviolence	Emphasizes social justice
	Seeks to prevent violent episodes	Seeks to ameliorate structural violence
	Produces intergroup tension reduction	Produces intergroup tension enhancement
	Uses intergroup contact and dialogue	Uses intergroup contact and noncooperation
	Supports status quo	Challenges status quo

Table 3.3 Examples of common themes within the 2×2 Matrix

		Episodic	Structural
Violence		Aggression	Belief in a just world
		Armed conflict	Ideologies that normalize social exclusion
		Genocide	Patriarchy
		Identity-based violence (based on ethnicity, religion, economic resources, etc.)	Protestant work ethic
		Intergroup violence (political, interstate, etc.)	Psychological factors in economic exploitation and/or political oppression Racism
		Intimate partner violence	Sexism
		Media violence	Sexual harassment
		Militaristic attitude	Social dominance theory
		Terrorism	Social injustices
		Traumatic stress	Symbols that support structural violence
		War	System justification theory
Peace		Peacemaking	Peacebuilding
		Alternative dispute resolution	Conflict transformation
		Anti-war activism	Conscientization
		Conflict management	Nonviolence democratic transitions
		Conflict resolution	Nonviolent resistance
		Dialogue	People power
		Diplomacy	Reparation
		Intergroup contact	Social justice movements
		Mediation	Societal reconstruction after intergroup violence or post-war reconstruction
		Negotiation	
		Reconciliation	

instance, genocide is a particular kind of episodic violence; social dominance theory has explanatory power in relation to structural violence; antiwar activism is aimed at promoting peacemaking; conscientization is part of an emancipatory agenda that seeks to liberate the individual from oppressive structures, and therefore falls within the peacebuilding domain.

Other concepts and theories in peace psychology are more integrative and can be applied to both episodic and structural violence. For example members of one group could "dehumanize" members of another group and thereby legitimize either episodes or structures of violence. Similarly, some concepts and theories could be applied to both peacemaking and peacebuilding; an "apology" could take place in the wake of a violent episode or in the context of structurally violent relationships.

At the highest level of integration, there are concepts and theories in peace psychology that are useful in conceptualizing and explaining both violence and peace. "Collective efficacy," for example, could occur under violent (e.g., war) or peaceful

(nonviolent social justice movements) conditions. Figure 3.1 presents some concepts and theories, organized according to the degree to which they offer integrative versus differentiated conceptions and explanations in peace psychology.

In addition to organizing concepts and theories by degrees of integration and differentiation, Fig. 3.1 suggests that highly differentiated or specific kinds of violence and peace can be understood by drawing on other concepts and theories at the same level of differentiation as well as higher-level concepts and theories that have more integrative power. For example, restorative justice is a highly differentiated peacebuilding concept that could draw on another highly differentiated theory, such as equity theory for explanatory purposes. In addition, "empathy" and "altruism" (moderately integrative/differentiated concepts) could apply to the process of re-

Fig. 3.1 Some concepts and theories in peace psychology from highly integrative to highly differentiated

storative justice even though empathy and altruism are more integrative and are often involved in not only peacebuilding but also peacemaking. At an even higher-level of integration, "collective victimization," a concept that could apply to all forms of violence and peace, could add explanatory power to our understanding of restorative justice.

A few more examples may be helpful: an instance of "common in-group identity" (peacemaking) may be explained by drawing on "intergroup contact theory" and a host of moderately integrative/differentiated variables including, for instance, empathy, trust, and forgiveness. At the most integrative level, social identity and ideologies may be in play.

In relation to violence, moving bottom to top, that is, from highly differentiated to highly integrative: "conflict escalation" (highly differentiated) may involve a "destructive ideology" (moderately differentiated/integrated) that applies to a particular category of persons (i.e., social categorization theory, a highly integrative theory). "Just world thinking" (highly differentiated) may be driven by "social exclusion" activities (moderate level) combined with a narrow scope of justice in which the target is victim of "moral exclusion" (moderate level) and "social representations of history" (highly integrative) in which the current perpetrator was once a victim. In short, Fig. 3.1 suggests potentially useful ways of drawing on a range of concepts and theories when attempting to conceptualize and explain instances of peace and violence.

3.2.3 Levels of Analysis

Lewin (1951) raised a key question for scholarly inquiry in the social and behavioural sciences when he noted: "The first prerequisite of a successful observation in any science is a definite understanding about what size unit one is going to observe at a given time" (p. 157). Psychologists typically focus their observations and measurements on the individual unit of analysis though some specialties in psychology include considerations of the social and political context within which behavior is embedded. Although the field of psychology is typically associated with research and practice at the individual level or unit of analysis, when engaged in peace research, the term "peace" tends to imply larger units of analysis. Thus, the question arises: how many levels of analysis should be considered, two, three, four, or more?

Three levels have been examined in analyses that view the individual as functioning within a group, which in turn is embedded in the larger society (Suedfeld, Cross, & Stewart, 2012; Christie & Noor, 2012). These three levels—individuals, groups, society—have been conceptualized as interdependent so that the functioning at one level affects that of other levels. Many research endeavors in peace psychology attest to this interconnectedness between the individual, group, and the wider society. Take racism as an example. At the societal level of analysis, "racism" is manifest in norms and policies that promote prejudice and discrimination and eschew the fair and equal treatment of the "other." At the group level, racism is

seen in the collective narratives and actions of groups. And, at the individual level of analysis, racism involves the individual's subjective states and behaviors toward the "other." Thus, in the case of racism, what is observed and experienced at the individual level comports with the actions and policies at the other levels. Indeed, a mutually reinforcing relationship exists between and among all levels.

Peace psychology research has also examined four levels that include the individual, interpersonal, within-group, and between-group levels of analysis. An even larger unit, the international unit could be included by viewing the "inter-nation" unit of analysis as a special case of between-group or inter-group relations and interactions. To be more precise, from a psychological perspective, a key question is the identification of influences that play a role in the actions and subjectivities of political elite and other actors who are recognized as legitimate leaders of sovereign nations. Conversely, the macro to micro question addresses the impact of inter-nation relations on the actions and subjectivities of individual elite and nonelite members of a society.

In the multidisciplinary field of Peace and Conflict Studies, the term "peace" is seldom examined at the individual level of analysis. Because "peace" is typically associated with large units of analysis, it is not surprising that college level course work in Peace and Conflict Studies often includes a great deal of information from international relations, a specialty in political science. The study of psychology in this context is useful through (i) its applicability to understanding peaceful and violent individuals, and (ii) its contributions to the transdisciplinary feature of Peace and Conflict Studies.

Indeed, a great deal of research in peace psychology has examined the characteristics of peaceful and nonviolent individuals (cf. Sims, Nelson, & Puopolo, 2014; Mayton, 2009) and in regard to transdisciplinary contributions, nearly all of the concepts and theories identified in Table 3.3 while typically examined at the individual level have applications and implications at multiple levels of analysis. Events that take place at the micro level of analysis can impact macro-level processes. For example, people who have a highly agreeable disposition (individual level) are more likely to engage in empathic concern, cooperation, helpfulness, and elicit less conflict (interpersonal level) than people who are low in agreeability (Graziano & Tobin, 2009).

The concept of "collective efficacy" also can be used to illustrate the interplay among levels. Collective efficacy is often measured by aggregating individuals' appraisal of their groups' capability in relation to some task. High-levels of perceived collective efficacy (individual level) are causally linked to high-levels of group-level motivation and performance (Bandura, 2000). Cognitive complexity is another variable measured at the individual level, quantified by scoring the extent to which individuals engage in thinking that differentiates and integrates events. In contrast, low-levels of cognitive complexity are reflected in more simplistic one-dimensional kinds of analysis. When political leaders reduce the complexity of their rhetoric (i.e., move toward low-levels of integrative complexity) the shift is often followed by the outbreak of war between nations, a transdisciplinary finding that re-

lates individual cognition to international relations (Conway, Suedfeld, & Tetlock, 2001; Suedfeld, Tetlock, & Ramirez, 1977).

Events that take place at larger or macro units of analysis, such as the national (group) level for instance, can also affect the individual. For instance, as interethnic violence broke out in the former Yugoslavia, the national identity of individuals became less salient than ethnic identity. Individuals who once identified themselves as Yugoslavians observed an ethnic division in their country, and duplicated that division in their own sense of social identity. Individuals lost their common identity as Yugoslavians and adopted or were assigned to an ethnic category: Bosnian, Croat, or Serb (Simic, 2014).

Some peace psychologists have found it useful to draw primarily on two levels of analysis: macro and micro. Moghaddam (2008), for example, has invented the concept of "cultural carriers" or symbolic containers that consist of a society's sociocultural narratives as well as values, norms, rules, and ways of thinking that inform and shape an individual's identity and subjectivities. Hence, macro-level cultural carriers have the ability to maintain and sustain conflict, animosity, and prejudice at the individual level long after the actual hostile event has taken place.

3.2.4   *Objective and Subjective Violence and Peace: 2 × 2 × 2*

Past research in peace psychology has used the 2 × 2 matrix depicted in Tables 3.1–3.3 extensively, but in this chapter, we go beyond this matrix and add a third dimension that captures the objective versus subjective properties of violence and peace. The term "objective" refers to actions by individuals or groups that are overt, directly observable, and measurable. In contrast, the "subjective" property of violence and peace refers to internal thoughts and feelings of individuals and groups. Subjectivities are covert, inferred and only indirectly observable or measurable.

At the individual level of analysis, subjectivities that are examined in peace research often take the form of beliefs, values, and attitudes. At the group level, collective subjectivities may cohere around symbols or shared meanings or memories. Monuments, rituals, and stories are some of the observable manifestations of subjectivities or symbols that have meanings attached to them.

The subjective property of humans exist in individual and collective beliefs, ideologies, shared narratives, collective memories, shared meanings, symbols, and other cognitive and affective states that may serve to maintain, exacerbate, or mitigate observable forms of violence or peace.

Psychology has yet to contribute fully to the transdisciplinary agenda of Peace and Conflict Studies even though the subjective existence of humans is central to both the field of psychology and peaceful processes. A key challenge for peace psychologists is to begin mapping relationships between directly observable phenomena and the subjectivities of individuals and collectives. For example, "ideology" is a highly integrative subjective concept that has broad applications to violence and peace across multiple levels of analysis. In a more differentiated form, the concept

of "ideology" would bear on either violence or peace but not both. In the case of violence, an ideology that "delegitimizes the other" would not promote peace but could accompany either structural or episodic violence. "Belief in Just World" is an even more differentiated ideology that bears on violence and is typically associated with the justification of enormous differences in well-being, that is, structural violence but not necessarily episodic violence. Both concepts, delegitimizing the other and believing in the notion of a just world, may lead to subjective forms of violence undertaken either by an individual or a group of individuals who share these destructive beliefs.

In regard to violent episodes, the philosophy of "just war theory" is a set of beliefs that supports organized episodes of violence because, according to the theory, violent actions are morally acceptable under certain conditions (e.g., self-defense). Another example: in recent years, one of the most challenging issues for peace scholars and practitioners is the problem of intractable conflicts. The objective properties of intractable conflicts are directly observable cycles of violence that, by definition, are repeated, overt, and transmitted across generations (Bar-Tal, 2007; Coleman, 2003). The subjectivities that accompany intractable conflicts take place within individuals and groups and consist of shared beliefs that the conflict is irreconcilable and involves goals, needs, and values that are perceived as essential for each group's existence or survival. The zero-sum subjectivity that accompanies intractable conflicts at the individual and collective levels of analysis means that any loss suffered by one side is viewed as a gain for the other side. Because intractable conflicts are central to the lives of group members, thoughts about the conflict are readily accessible in a cognitive sense and relevant to many individual and collective choices and decisions. A host of emotions accompany intractable conflicts including fear, insecurity, and animosity (Bar-Tal, 2012).

The notion of subjectivities is important in peacemaking and peacebuilding. For example, a shared belief in the power of dialogue can accompany, support, encourage, and justify nonviolent conflict resolving actions. Similarly, a belief in the efficacy of nonviolence as a means of producing structural change can contribute to nonviolent actions in the pursuit of socially just ends.

In short, subjective violence and peace may accompany, support, amplify, encourage, or legitimize overt forms of violence or peace. Figure 3.2 illustrates the third dimension, objective and subjective, that we have added to the 2×2 matrix.

A real-world example can be seen in the case of Hindu–Muslim relations in India, where the Babri mosque in Ayodhya is used as a symbol of *Hindutva* or Hindu nationalism (Khan & Sen, 2009). This symbol of Hindu nationalism was created out of the country's rich multi-layered past to make sense of how secularism and democracy could have failed to uplift Hindus and the great civilization they created, a failure that was attributed in part to the Muslim minority community who once dominated the Hindu population. Babri mosque in itself is a dilapidated monument, but the belief that the mosque was built on the site of the temple of Lord Rama and the historic Hindu march that culminated in the destruction of the mosque had enormous symbolic value. Communal violence spread through many parts of India and the symbol of the mosque was a rallying point for Hindus to strengthen a na-

Fig. 3.2 A 2×2×2 matrix of key concepts and theories in peace psychology
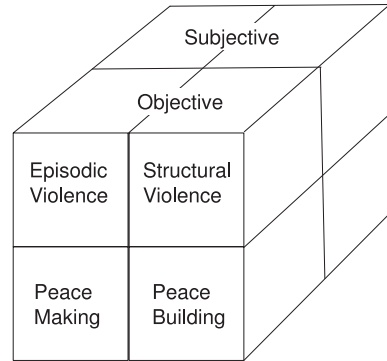
tional identity in opposition to Muslims. Political leaders have also used the Babri mosque, a Muslim symbol, to mobilize support for Hindu nationalism, an effective strategy that was repeated when a fire broke out on a train in Gadhra and took the lives of many Hindu pilgrims. The incident, blamed on Muslim terrorists whose responsibility was never proven, sparked violent riots because Hindu political leaders successfully associated the fire with the symbol of the mosque (Khan & Sen, 2009), further strengthening *Hindutva* as the champion of the threatened Hindu religion.

These symbolic representations can be seen as part of a society's collective narratives—its collective experiences, belief system and shared identity (Bar-Tal, 2007; Salomon, 2006) but they are malleable and many times have been manipulated to mobilize sectarian conflict and justify crimes against the other (see also Liu & Sibley, 2009). That is one reason why conflicts, such as the Hindu–Muslim conflict, Palestinian–Israeli conflict, the Northern Ireland conflict, are protracted and intractable—the collective narratives are entwined with the historical memories of the groups' sense of identity. Of course there are other factors, but collective memories and narratives that are part of a group's identity, can be a strong contributing source of conflict and violence.

Two special issues of *Peace and Conflict* (see "Of Narratives and Nostalgia" edited by Duncan, Stevens, and Sonn, 2012 and "Museums as Sites for Historical Understanding, Peace and Justice: Views from Canada" edited by Dean, 2013) have provided more insight into how these subjectivities of the past—personal and collective histories, memories, narratives, identities—may play out and promote peace or violence. For instance, in the case of South Africa, if there is denial of apartheid's racist history coupled with the nostalgic idealization of its past, then reconciliation will be difficult (Gobodo-Madikizela, 2012). However, if these painful, suppressed, and oppressed memories are remembered, they may assist individual and group reconciliation and healing (Sonn, 2012) and provide opportunities for future possibilities (Bradbury, 2012). Clearly, individual and collective subjectivities of the past can support violence or peace. Museums, for example, can offer contested narratives that have the potential to amplify past injustices or promote peace through historical understanding and consciousness (Dean, 2013).

3.3 A Systems Perspective in Peace Psychology

A systems perspective seeks to take into account the distinctions we have introduced and flesh out the ways in which parts of the system interact with one another, along with the functioning of the system as a whole. In relation to violence, a systems perspective recognizes that episodes and structures of violence have objective and subjective qualities, operate within and across levels, and form an interlocking system of violence. For example, gender inequalities in economic well-being exists globally, and economic dependency makes it difficult for women to extricate themselves from violent relationships (Bunch, 1990). This problem can be analyzed at the individual and collective levels of analysis and has objective as well as subjective qualities. In regard to war, more than 50 years ago, Eisenhower (1961), warned Americans about the structural roots of wars that can be traced to a number of standing institutions that together formed what he called "the military-industrial complex."

In short, peace psychologists appreciate that societal conditions—historical, social, cultural, political—may give rise to either violence or peace and their accompanying subjectivities, such as ideologies, collective memories and the like. Because violence and peace are inextricably woven into the fabric of societal conditions, by identifying and understanding these conditions, opportunities for prevention and constructive social processes can be initiated.

A systems perspective can be useful in attempts to understand a wide range of violence. In an effort to shed light on the origins of extreme violence between groups, such as mass killing or genocide, Staub (2013), argued that certain social conditions, such as difficult life situations and continuous group conflict—about land, for example, may privilege some groups, while frustrating and threatening the material and psychological needs of individuals who belong to other groups. These conditions when coupled with certain cultural characteristics (like past victimization, a history of aggressive behavior, and devaluation of out-group), result in psychological processes, such as in-group favoritism and identification (or ethnocentrism). In addition, these destructive processes are facilitated by the messages and behaviors of group leaders who may use conflict-related emotions of anger and fear (Leidner, Tropp, & Lickel, 2013; Lerner, et al., 2003) that can give rise to moral disengagement, moral exclusion, (Opotow, 1990, 2001) and dehumanization of the other (Haslam et al., 2005; Leyens et al., 2000). Taken together, these destructive processes conspire to make violence against an out-group more easily condoned and supported (Castano & Giner-Sorolla, 2006; Maoz & McCauley, 2008). Further, in regard to perpetrators of violence, those having certain personality dispositions, such as authoritarian personalities, or those who endorse right-wing authoritarianism have been found to be more likely to harm others (Benjamin, 2006). Research has also found that leaders with less cognitive complexity or those who view crisis situations in overly simplistic terms are more likely to send their nation to war as opposed to those who think complexly during a crisis (Conway & Gornick, 2012; Conway, Suedfeld, & Tetlock, 2001). Hence, episodic violence on a large scale can

be conceptualized as the interplay of factors across levels with particular emphasis on societal conditions and psychological processes.

On the other hand, mitigation of certain social conditions can be used to bring peace and harmonious relations among people. To illustrate, contact via joint projects that apply the principles of intergroup contact theory (where groups meet on the basis of equal status, cooperate toward a common goal, and have institutional support, see Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006) have enabled people to engage and form positive relations with others outside their group (Hewstone & Swart, 2011). Direct contact has been shown to have a significant negative relation with prejudice (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006), and has been found to be most effective when cross-group friends provide optimal contact, although still maintaining their respective group memberships (Brown & Hewstone, 2005).

Ashoka Fellows (or social entrepreneurs) have utilized contact principles (Praszkier, Nowak, & Coleman, 2010) by encouraging members of hostile groups to work cooperatively toward common goals and build trust. Over time, the conflict becomes less relevant and people tend to see themselves and others as part of a common in-group, resulting in more positive attitudes toward others and more help for members of the other group (Dovidio, Gaertner, & Saguy, 2009). In another example of ongoing contact via joint ventures, Varshney (2002) showed that despite instigating events, Hindus and Muslims did not resort to violence in some Indian cities that had vibrant civil society groups in which Hindus and Muslims had regular and frequent contact prior to an event that triggered the spread of intergroup violence in other Indian cities. These real-world contact experiences demonstrate that when groups experience appropriate contact, positive long-term effects may ensue.

Intergroup contact can also facilitate empathy and perspective taking (Al Ramiah & Hewstone, 2013; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008). Empathy has been shown to be positively associated with out-group support (Malhotra & Liyanage, 2005) and mediates the relationship between contact and the reduction of prejudice (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008). Empathy has also been associated with increasing trust (Kelman, 1999), a prerequisite to resolving conflict, and beliefs that out-group members do not harbor harmful intentions toward the in-group (Lewicki & Wiethoff, 2000). Similarly, taking the perspectives of others is related positively to intergroup attitudes (Vescio, Sechrist, & Paolucci, 2003), and the ability to challenge the in-group members when they engage in violence toward the out-group (Mallett et al., 2008).

Thus, a systems perspective is able to inform psychological research and theory in peace psychology and deepen our understanding of the origins and nature of peace, conflict, and violence.

3.4   Geo-Historical Contexts of Peace Psychology

Systematic reviews of scholarly sources often entail a number of steps: explicit search strategy (including published and unpublished publications and reports), strategies for data extraction and synthesis, clear inclusion and exclusion criteria,

systematic coding and analysis of included studies, rules for resolving disagreements between coders, etc. (cf. Hemingway, 2009; Kitchenham, 2004). Such an approach is well suited for controlling certain variables and identifying the correlates of various phenomena. In contrast, our aim in the current review is to be descriptive, drawing on the major sources of literature in peace psychology and recognizing that geo-historical contexts and corresponding focal issues are not fixed, but fluid phenomena that vary with time and place. Thus, we offer a selective survey of geo-historical contexts and focal issues with the modest aim of providing some examples of how peace psychology is nuanced by geo-historical contexts.

Peace psychology emerged as an independent field of inquiry in the West during the Cold War, a period when the two superpowers—the USA and Soviet Union—contested for global hegemony via the nuclear arms race. Widespread fear of nuclear annihilation led to a backlash among psychologists who started questioning the US foreign policy (notably the policy of deterrence that created a security dilemma in which efforts to increase one's own security, results in the adversary also increasing its security), and the destructive nature of the superpower relationship (Christie, 2012). During this time, peace psychologists offered scholarship that emphasized the psychological nature of adversarial relations, such as destructive communication patterns as well as mutually distorted perceptions. After the Cold War, there was increasing recognition that geo-historical context plays a central role in the meanings and types of peace (Christie, 2006).

This internationalization of peace psychology identified that the focal concerns of peace and violence vary in different regions of the world. Hence, in contrast to the West's concerns with direct violence like nuclear annihilation, terrorism, and militarism, for example, in Asia, violence is entrenched within the society's cultural and structural systems. An awareness of Asia's rich and complex history—foreign colonization, a destructive WWII, ethnic pluralism, and authoritarian regimes—is required to understand the nature of conflict and peace in the region (Montiel, 2003; Montiel & Noor, 2009). Here, violent events are seen as manifestations of the interactions among the many social, cultural, and historical factors that are embedded within the society. In addition, despite the recognition that many of the issues of peace psychology in Asia are rooted at the macro-structural level of society, and the interconnectedness between macro- (societal norms and policies), meso- (groups and their narratives), and micro-level (individual-level states and behaviour) phenomena, the field is still dependent on subjectivities at the meso- and micro-levels. In this case, efforts at peacebuilding that are directed at addressing and redressing structural roots of social violence, like inequalities and oppression are the preeminent concerns for peace psychologists in Asia. Thus, themes of foreign colonization, memories of WWII, ethnic conflicts and identities, authoritarian abuses, and Asian collective values, are among some of the dominant themes of peace psychology in the Asian context.

In many parts of Asia, religion plays a central role in people's lives. Indeed, Asia boasts a multiplicity of religions such as Buddhism, Hinduism, Islam, Christianity, Taoism, and many others (Confucianism is a philosophy, not a religion that is practiced by many Chinese in East Asia and Southeast Asia). Religion has often

been associated with conflict, but in many cases, religion has also been exploited as a convenient explanation. For example, Malik and Muluk (2009), examined the violence in Maluku, Indonesia that was perceived by many to be caused by religion—specifically by adherents of Islam and Christianity. They showed that the violence had deeper roots in the long history of structural inequalities that could be traced back to the colonial period. Such violence, according to the authors, cannot simply be explained by religion or ethnicity, but needs a multilevel examination that includes the historical, political, and social. In these cases, religion is intertwined with already deep-rooted inequalities. In difficult times, religious differences may become a sufficient trigger to provoke the groups into violent actions.

But, religion can also be used as a pathway for peacemaking and peacebuilding. For example, Pohl (2009) demonstrated that Islamic educational institutions are agents in the network of civil Islam, promoting justice and peacebuilding and fostering values that are essential for peaceful coexistence in the plural society of Indonesia. Noor (2009) further suggested that similar religious values can provide the common ground to initiate dialogue between ethnic Malay and Chinese in Malaysia. Thus, religion can also be part of the solution, particularly when constructive relationships exist among the religious institutions, civil society, and the state. Within these Southeast Asian countries, themes of peace psychology include ethnic and religious conflict, religious peacemaking, dialogue, and peaceful coexistence.

In contrast to Southeast Asian countries, in East Asia themes of peace psychology revolve around the narratives of the Japanese invasions during WWII and the issues of memorializing and forgiveness. For example, issues of forgiveness in relation to China–Japan as well as Japan–Korea (Atsumi & Suwa, 2009; Ohbuchi & Takada, 2009) that includes themes of reparation, apology, Pacific War, Nanjing massacre, reconciliation, social representation of history, and national identity (Chinese first identity vs Taiwanese only identity) have been emphasized.

Table 3.4 highlights the kinds of themes in peace psychology research and writings pertaining to these different geo-historical contexts.

In the African context, violent events can be examined as manifestations of the underlying structural violence, the result of multiple problems mainly from the remnants of colonization, such as ethnopolitical conflicts and other intrastate intergroup strife, oppression and trauma, racism, the legacy of Apartheid in South Africa, the subjugation of women and children, HIV/AIDS, refugees, etc. (Hamber, 2009; refer also to the 2012 special issue on "Of narratives and nostalgia," edited by Duncan, Stevens & Sonn, *Peace and Conflict: A Journal of Peace Psychology*). Peacebuilding efforts to address these injustices have included the truth and reconciliation commission (TRC) to deal with past atrocities, reparation, reconciliation, transitional justice, forgiveness, healing, post-war reconstruction, and promoting the rights of women and children. For example, the South African TRC, which was charged with uncovering the nature and extent of the human rights violations from 1960 to 1994, was meant to bring some closure to victims. However, follow-up research indicates that because the TRC was also set up to grant amnesty to those who provided disclosures of their complicity in violence, reconciliation between perpetrators and victims was often not realized largely because truth does not equate

Table 3.4 Focal concepts and themes in peace psychology by geo-historical contexts

	Conflict/violence	Peace
West (North America)	American identity	Activism
	Bullying (incl. cyber bullying)	Civil liberties
	Cold War	Conflict resolution
	Discrimination	Dialogues
	Domestic violence/intimate	Empathy
	partner abuse (IPV)	Humanitarian intervention
	Globalization	Human rights
	Gun violence	Intergroup contact
	Homelessness	International peacekeeping
	Immigrants	Mediation
	Islamophobia	Moral inclusion
	Media abuses	Multiculturalism
	Militarism	Perspective taking
	Militaristic attitudes	Professional ethics
	Moral exclusion	Tolerance of dissent
	Nationalism	Trust
	Poverty	
	Prejudice	
	Racial/ethnic attitudes	
	Racism	
	School shootings	
	Terrorism	
	Threat (realistic and symbolic)	
	Torture	
	War	

Table 3.4 (continued)

	Conflict/violence	Peace
West (Europe)	Anti-semitism	Apologies
	Basque separatists vs Spain	Concession-making and reciprocity
	Cold War	Dialogue
	Discrimination	Forgiveness
	Divided societies	Empathy
	Group identification	Humanization
	Holocaust	Integrated schools
	Identity-based conflicts	Intergroup contact
	Inequalities	Peace education
	Intergroup conflict	Peace process
	Intrastate conflict	Promoting pluralism
	Intrastate conflict/violence	Reconciliation
	Immigrants	Tolerance
	Islamophobia	Trust
	Northern Ireland conflict (Protestant-Catholic conflict)	
	Prejudice	
	Political radicalism	
	Political violence	
	Racism	
	Relative deprivation	
	Relative deprivation theory	
	Right wing authoritarianism	
	Social dominance	
	Social identity theory	
	Social representation of war	
	Sectarian violence	
	Sexual violence (war rape) terrorism	
Australia, N. Zealand	Asylum seekers	Apology
	Immigrants	Dialogue
	Indigenous peoples	Fairness
	Islamophobia	Forgiveness
	Oppression	Reconciliation
	Racism	Reparations
	Social representations of history	
	Terrorism	
Asia (East Asia)	Collective memories	Apology
	Group trauma	Compensation/reparation
	Historical trauma	Forgiveness
	Social representations of history	Healing
	Past victimization	Public remembering
	World War II (Pacific War, Nanjing massacre)	Reconcialiation

Table 3.4 (continued)

	Conflict/violence	Peace
Asia (South)	Caste system	Civil society groups
	Collective memory of victimization	Co-existence
	Communalism	Dialogue
	Ethnic groups and identities	Healing
	Gender violence (against females)	Human rights
	Illiteracy	Interethnic engagement
	Nationalist ideologies	Intergroup contact
	Partition	Intergroup forgiveness
	Political violence	Nonviolence
	Poverty	Peacebuilding
	Prejudice	Peace process
	Racial conflict (Tamil-Sinhalese conflict)	Syncretic cultures
	Relative deprivation	
	Religious conflict (Hindu-Muslim conflict)	
	Religious fundamentalism	
	Separatism	
	Social and symbolic representation of history	
	Stereotypes	
	Terrorism	
	Threat	
	Trauma	
Asia (Middle-East)	Beliefs of victimization	Activism
	Collective emotions	Arab spring/uprising
	Collective memory of conflict	Coexistence programs
	Collective trauma	Conflict resolution
	Colonization	Counselling
	Continuous traumatic stress	Democracy
	Cultures of conflict	Empathy
	Delegitimization	Forgiveness
	Emotional barriers to peace (e.g., fear, anger, hatred)	Human rights
	Ethos of conflict	Intergroup contact
	Identity (good/us vs bad/them)	Negotiation
	Intractable conflict (Israeli-Palestinian conflict)	Peace education
	Nationalism	Peace process
	Ongoing/continuous traumatic stress	Perspective taking
	Oppression	Positive emotion (hope)
	Political violence	Prejudice reduction programs
	Religious fundamentalism	Psychosocial program
	Trauma	Resolution
	Threat	Reconciliation
	Terrorism (incl. suicide terrorism)	Resilience
	Nationalism	Social justice
		Social movement

Table 3.4 (continued)

	Conflict/violence	Peace
Asia (South-east Asia)	Authoritarian regimes	*Baku Bae* movement
	Collective memory of victimization	Conflict resolution
	Colonization	Forgiveness
	Cultural differences	Humanization
	Dehumanization	Indigenous peacebuilding
	Divide and rule policy	Interfaith dialogue
	Ethnic conflict/violence and identity (Malay-Chinese)	Negotiation
	Inequality (power, resources)	Nonviolent democratization People Power
	Interethnic inequality	Problem-solving workshop
	Massacre	Reconciliation
	Political violence	Religious peacebuilding
	Religious conflict (Muslim-Christian)	Reparation
	Riots	Social justice
	Trauma	Asian values
		Coexistence
Africa	Child soldiers	Child rights
	Colonization	Community healing and community-based intervention
	Continuous traumatic stress	Counselling
	Discrimination	Forgiveness
	Domestic violence	Healing
	Ethnic identity	Human rights
	Gender-based violence	Intergroup contact
	Identity conflict	Interventions
	Inequality	Integration
	Intergroup relations	Psychoeducation
	Organized violence	Psychosocial rehabilitation
	Political violence	Reconciliation
	Poly-victimization	Social justice
	PTSD	Traditional healing
	Prejudice	Truth and reconciliation commission (TRC)
	Racism	
	Racial segregation	
	Torture	
	Trauma	
	Collective victimization	

Table 3.4 (continued)

	Conflict/violence	Peace
Latin America	Exclusion	Bottom-up movement conscientization
	Exploitation	Empowerment
	Inequality	Forgiveness
	Political oppression/repression	Liberation psychology
	Political polarization	Mobilization
	Poverty	Political participation
		Praxis
		Reparation
		Social transformation
		Social peace
		Postwar disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration of former paramilitaries

to justice (Hamber, 2002, 2009). Whereas, amnesty was granted to many perpetrators, justice (both social justice and justice through the courts) remained elusive for many victims. Thus, it was not surprising that Chapman (2007) found a lack of enthusiasm for forgiveness among the victims. Furthermore, among those who were willing to consider forgiveness, the majority placed conditions on doing so.

Similar to the TRC, the *gacaca* courts in Rwanda served as justice tribunals after the 1994 genocide, sharing the goals of promoting reconciliation and uncovering the truth. In their study examining women's experiences as witnesses in the *gacaca* courts, Funkeson et al. (2011) found that those who testified, reported psychological ill health, emotional distress as well as relief, and increased hostility or reconciliation toward the perpetrator, depending on different factors within the *gacaca* process: like the physical presence, and experience of being face-to face with the perpetrator; listening to the vivid description of atrocities committed by the perpetrator; or when the perpetrator rejected the testimony of the witness.

In Sierra Leone, the process of truth-telling within the country's Truth and Reconciliation Commission was experienced by the locals as redundant due to their religious beliefs. Though proponents of truth commissions claim that such processes promote postwar reconciliation, Millar (2012), via qualitative ethnographic analyses of local experiences of truth-telling performances, found that due to the country's violent past combined with fatalistic beliefs in God's omnipotence, the people of Sierra Leone were disempowered and viewed man-made processes, such as the TRC as unable to provide much in the way of reconciliation. This finding points to the importance of understanding the local cultural experience, and emphasizes that peacemaking and peacebuilding have to be carried out through a context-sensitive lens.

In addition, intergroup contact theory has been utilized in several divided African countries that have witnessed violent intrastate conflict to improve intergroup relations (e.g., see the 2010 special issue on Intergroup Relations in South Africa,

Journal of Social Issues, volume 66, notably the Commentary by Pettigrew). Table 3.4 presents some of the themes within this geo-historical context.

The "Middle East" was a term initially used by the British colonial power to refer to countries situated in the east of London and midway between the UK and India (the Far East). It is now commonly accepted that the Middle East is the region that encompasses Western Asia and Egypt. The region is well known for its conflicts, ranging from intrastate violence (sectarian violence) to interstate violence (Iran–Iraq war) to the intractable Arab–Israeli conflict, most notably between Palestinians and Israelis. Some themes related to peace psychology include Arab–Jewish relations, ethos and cultures of conflict, terrorism, beliefs of victimization, legitimization, emotions (of fear, hate, anger, hope), intergroup contact, coexistence programs, peace education, peace process, trauma, forgiveness, among others (Abu-Nimer, 2012; Bar-Tal, 2012, 2013).

Since the Palestinian–Israel conflict is protracted and multigenerational, the way in which children develop in such a context may have implications for continuing cycles of violence. In one of the few studies that have considered Palestinian children, Punamäki et al. (2011), examined the prevalence of resilience among these children together with their parents and teachers living under conditions of war and military violence. In this study, 21 % of the children were found to be resilient (high level of trauma and low level of disorders), about an equal number experienced disorders of various kinds (23 %, high level of trauma and high level of disorders). In another study, Nasie and Bar-Tal (2012), studied the writings of Palestinian children and adolescents as expressed in a youth newspaper, and noted their daily distress and suffering that result from living amidst the violent conflict. But, the long-term effect of such continuous traumatic stress on children's physical and mental health has not been discerned. For example, to what extent are children in these situations more likely to be willing to reconcile and to show empathy toward the enemy, or continue to play an active role in repeated cycles of violence?

In another study, Nasie, Bar-Tal, and Shnaidman (2014), investigated the personal stories of members of four radical peace organizations (characterized either by radicalism in their ideology or in their actions) in Israel to understand the factors that made them join these organizations and become social activists. A qualitative content analysis of the interviews revealed that these activists shared specific experiences in their earlier socialization that contradicted the dominant narrative in society. For males, it was the feelings of dissonance created by the difficult experience in the military service, whereas for females it was their experience of being socially marginalized in their younger days that prompted them to empathize and identify with the weak in resisting the status quo. Joining these radical peace organizations provided these young activists (21–32 years) with a place to identify and express their newfound identity of a radical activist. Radical peace organizations, such as these are a form of social movement that aims to change the prevalent social beliefs regarding the conflict. Thus, an understanding of these radical peace organizations can create awareness and promote social peace by providing an alternative ethos of conflict, whereas at the same time helping to facilitate a peace process by opening a window for a peaceful resolution of the conflict.

The articles in the special issue of *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology* on Continuous Traumatic Stress (2013), edited by Kaminer, Eagle, Stevens and Higson-Smith, are also relevant. Recent research is beginning to piece together how political violence impacts not only individuals, but also whole families and communities. In politically unstable countries, danger and threat is an ongoing stress and individuals suffer from continuous traumatic stress. Such ongoing trauma is associated with multiple antisocial behaviors (aggression, behavior problems, conduct disorders, school violence) and other mental health problems (stress, post-traumatic distress, post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD)) in both the young and old. Table 3.4 shows some of the themes related to peace and conflict from this region.

Similarly in Latin America, violent events are perceived to be manifestations of the underlying structural violence, marked by oppression and exploitation (Montero & Sonn, 2009). To redress this social injustice, Latin American psychologists have utilized the liberation movement to change the society by working with the oppressed through engagement and solidarity with them to denounce what is wrong and construct an alternative social reality. This social change process based on the work of Martin-Baró is carried out by endorsing the occupation of the public space by the oppressed majority (or conscientized victims), promoting the development of civil society, strengthening democracy, and exercising the rights and duties of the citizenry (Montero, 2007, 2009). The liberation psychology movement is a bottom-up process that aims to empower the oppressed majority to understand and change their lives and the conditions they live in. Thus, themes that resonate around these concerns constitute the focus of research of peace psychology in this region (see Table 3.4).

In addition, a post-war Latin American country like Columbia, for example, is still struggling to come to terms with the emotional ramifications of war in the country. Nussio (2012), in interviews investigating postwar disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration of former paramilitaries, found that past conflict (1998–2002) in the country, impacts upon the present lives of former members of paramilitaries. According to Nussio, these emotional legacies can either foster a desire for a peaceful life or push some members back to armed violence and drug trafficking as in the past.

The geo-historical context of Australia reveals the importance of issues of peace and violence. The country has moved from an indigenous population to one of White settlers, to the present multicultural society (Bretherton & Balvin, 2012). Issues of violence and peace in the country reflect this transition, from contestations and reconciliation between its indigenous and non-indigenous population to the present majority "White" attitudes toward asylum seekers. There is structural violence and social injustice toward the indigenous people and immigrant population. Indeed, following the 9/11 incidents in the USA, Australian Muslims have been portrayed by a defamatory media as the "culturally Other," a culture that is incompatible with the non-Muslim White Australian culture (Dunn, Klocker, & Salabay, 2007). Thus, themes of racism, Australian identity, Australian values, refugees, asylum seekers, are interspersed with more positive peacebuilding initiatives such as conflict resolution, mediation, reconciliation, reparations, apologies, the promo-

tion of rights and justice to facilitate social and political change. In crafting a future together, peacebuilding efforts should not only celebrate diverse cultures, but seek answers from these cultures in the hope of a more peaceful, sustainable future.

In Europe, recent research has taken place in the context of European unification and the political transformations that accompany this change. For example, ethnic group relations are becoming more important with the increasing number of immigrants moving from one country to another within the EU (moving from Eastern to Western European countries), as well as from outside the EU (non-Europeans, past colonies of Western European nations). Thus, themes of peace psychology in this region include not only prejudice against nonethnic minorities such as the homeless, homosexuals, Gypsies, and other groups within the EU countries, but also negative attitudes toward other ethnic and social minorities (see Zick, Pettigrew, & Wagner, 2008, special issue on Ethnic Prejudice and Discrimination in Europe, *Journal of Social Issues*, volume 64).

The conflict in Northern Ireland has been the focus of a great deal of research and practice in peace psychology that has taken place in the European context. Most of the research and practice focuses on intergroup relations between Catholics and Protestants, the prevention of violent episodes via intergroup contact, post-conflict reconciliation, and forgiveness (e.g., Hewstone et al., 2006; Tam et al., 2008; Tausch, et al., 2007). Research in Northern Ireland also has provided insights into concepts and themes such as nature of stereotypes, prejudice, cognitive biases, and discrimination, whereas also contributing to our understanding of the theoretical underpinnings of peace and conflict drawing on social identity theory and relative deprivation theory, for example (e.g., Tajfel, 1982). Table 3.4 shows some of the peace and conflict themes that are concerns of peace psychologists in this region.

Finally, the USA, as *the* current global superpower, in both economic and military terms, has enormous investments in the military-industrial complex. Astore (2013) astutely states that "the business of America is war" where war is seen as a form of "politics," commerce or even "disaster capitalism." Thus, peace psychology in the US focuses on the uses and abuses of power, militarism, militaristic attitudes, patriotism, nationalism, terrorism, religious fundamentalism, consumerism, post-traumatic stress syndrome, intimate partner violence, and gun violence. Peace psychologists in the USA also have been instrumental in highlighting that war and its accompaniments have resulted in structural violence to the poor, homeless, or non-Whites, where little is left of the national budget to fulfill their needs (Schwebel, 2012). This has given rise to health disparities between the socially advantaged and disadvantaged groups (Major, Mendes, & Dovidio, 2013). Together with European psychologists, American peace psychologists have contributed significantly to the discipline's understanding of the underpinnings of conflict, violence, and peace (see Table 3.4).

Though issues of concern in the different geo-historical contexts may vary, one theme that underlies these issues is that many cases of violent events are manifestations of deeper, underlying structures of violence. For example, the special issue of *Peace and Conflict* on Continuous Traumatic Stress, edited by Kaminer, Eagle, Stevens, and Higson-Smith (2013), showed that during political violence, people and whole communities are faced with trauma on an ongoing or continuous basis.

The studies in the special issue also indicate that the construct of "ongoing traumatic stress" is rooted in the structure of the society; thus, opening the door to a broader and deeper sociocultural and political understanding of trauma. In addressing intervention strategies, the influence of these structural factors—social, cultural, political—alongside with culturally and contextually appropriate approaches needs to be considered. More importantly, however, because the construct is rooted within the structure of the society, finding a more systemic solution that can bring about some changes to conditions causing the traumatic stress would be preferable over individual or group-based interventions.

Thus, the concerns of peace psychology depend on geo-historical contexts with different concerns in different regions. Table 3.4 shows the main themes of violence and peace that have been examined. New issues have been added such as ongoing traumatic stress that may require different ways of coping in the different regions.

3.5   Conclusion

In this chapter we have organized concepts, themes, and theories of research and practice in peace psychology within a $2 \times 2 \times 2$ matrix that considers not only episodic and structural violence and peace, but also a third dimensions that takes into account objective versus subjective forms of violence and peace. This third dimension is important considering the subjective nature of many aspects of the human experience. These subjective or symbolic representations of the world can take the form of individual and collective memories, narratives, beliefs, and ideologies. We have also suggested that these concepts, themes, and theories in peace psychology may vary by degrees of integration or differentiation with some concepts highly integrative, whereas others apply to the psychological components of specific kinds of violence and peace. In addition, using a systems perspective, we have demonstrated how violence and peace are inextricably woven into the fabric of societal institutions and structures resulting in episodes of peace and violence. We offered examples of the kinds of violence and peace that are focal in various geo-historical contexts around the world, and noted that underlying many of the violent episodes are structures that are themselves violent as well as collective narratives and individual beliefs that support and sustain violence. Hence, sustainable peace would need to go beyond mere peacemaking strategies and include peacebuilding to transform violent structures in society.

New issues and concepts may evolve from time to time based on developments in the world, leading to new challenges in peace psychology research and practice. For example, the fact that continuous traumatic stress is experienced not only in politically unstable countries, but also in developed countries within people who dwell in poor urban areas and experience marginalization and exclusion, has only received recent recognition. With globalization and immigration, continuous traumatic stress may be more common than initially thought. The twin processes of globalization and immigration have occurred in tandem with growing inequality and power differences between groups within some societies and between countries. These factors have added new triggers of conflict due to overconsumption of the

world's natural resources—resulting in environmental pollution, overfishing, the destruction of habitats, and climate change. Indeed, the depletion and scarcity of resources is likely to continue to challenge global efforts to move toward the sustainable satisfaction of human needs for all people. These and other challenges are likely to pose enormous barriers to human well-being because structural violence by its very nature is pervasive, subtle, and normalized.

Finally, the definition and scope of peace psychology was initially proposed by Western scholars in the context of the Cold War, an historical period when the threat of nuclear war seemed to be the preeminent threat to human survival and required efforts to reduce tensions in relations between adversaries. Today, as peace psychology becomes more global, the emphasis on tension reduction is complemented by socially transformative approaches that place social justice at the center of peace-building processes. Peace movements and uprisings around the world are making it abundantly clear that while tension reduction is desirable, sustainable peace requires the continuous crafting of nonviolent approaches aimed at more equitable relations and structures in societies.

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Chapter 4
Quantitative Research in Peace Psychology

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4.1 Introduction

Peace psychology may be viewed as a discipline that works to "develop theories and practices aimed at the prevention and mitigation of direct and structural violence" (Christie, Wagner, & Winters, 2001, p. 7). Research is fundamental to the establishment of a rich and well-developed scientific discipline and peace psychology is no exception. Quantitative research is a major type of research that needs to be utilized to gather data for inductive theory development and to test the validity of theories through deductive processes. Whereas strong and valid arguments have been made for qualitative designs to be the major methodologies used in peace psychology research (e.g., Haney & Lykes, 2000; Lykes, Coquillon, & Rabenstein, 2010), quantitative research need not—and should not—be rejected. In order to address the complexities of peace concepts, theories, and practices, it is important to employ multiple designs on the same topic. This would allow for the weaknesses of one design type to be offset by the strengths of a different design. Thus, the principle of triangulation with both quantitative and qualitative designs would provide more robust results for peace psychology (Vollhardt & Bilai, 2008).

Herman Ebbinhaus once described psychology as a discipline with a long past, but a short history (Hunt, 2007). One could say the same about the psychological subdiscipline of peace psychology. Whereas the formal establishment of the Division of Peace Psychology (Division 48) within the American Psychological Association (APA) did not happen until 1990, theorists and researchers had been addressing concepts inherent to peace psychology for much longer. Even so, earlier research was oftentimes narrowly limited to issues surrounding war and generally was designed to substantiate government policy and activities (Christie, 2006). The early emphasis on war over peace can be seen in the *Thesaurus of Psychological*

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Index Terms (2005) for the APA's abstracting and database services wherein the search term of war entered as a useable option in 1967, whereas peace did not get added until 1988.

The research that psychologists performed in the USA during World War I and World War II was largely in cooperation with branches of the armed services (e.g., Stouffer, 1949). Although some have characterized these research efforts as patriotic endeavors designed to assist in the war effort, others like Scott (1970) have described these psychologists as being "handmaidens of war." Even when psychological research has been more recently conceptualized to address peace instead of war, the prevention and mitigation of direct violence—which is associated with negative peace—has been researched more frequently than research focused on the prevention and mitigation of structural violence—which is associated with positive peace (Vollhardt & Bilai, 2008).

In this chapter we will address five separate topics relevant to quantitative peace psychology research. First, we will briefly describe the types of quantitative research designs employed by peace psychologists as well as highlight a few of the classic or noteworthy examples of peace research within each quantitative category. Second, we will look at the types of quantitative designs more commonly utilized and referenced in peace research. Third, major large scale or macro system research projects will be described. Fourth, an overview of the more commonly used measurement procedures will be presented and summarized along with reference resources for peace researchers. Fifth, current trends and future research needs will be presented.

4.2 Quantitative Designs and Representative Examples of Their Use in Peace Psychology

Quantitative research designs may be categorized in many different formulations. For this chapter, the following types of quantitative designs will be considered: (1) laboratory experiments, (2) field experiments, (3) quasi-experimental designs, (4) small n designs, (5) intact group surveys, (6) mail surveys, (7) Internet surveys, (8) face-to-face interviews, (9) telephone interviews, (10) content analysis, and (11) the analysis of existing statistics.

4.2.1 Experiments and Quasi-Experiments

Experimentation is the quantitative research design that allows the investigator to test for and substantiate causal relationships. Through careful manipulation and control of variables, experimental and control groups can be compared to test causal relationships and the underlying reasons for the phenomena of interest to the researcher. Pretest-posttest control group designs, posttest-only control group

designs, and extensions of these designs effectively control for sources of internal invalidity. In other words, these designs randomly assign at least one group to receive an intervention and have a second similar group as a control so differences between group posttest scores will reflect the true impact of the intervention. Laboratory experiments and field experiments are two contextual variations that can be followed. Laboratory experiments take place in a highly controlled situation where assurances can reasonably be made that extraneous variables will not undercut the experiment-wise validity of the results. Thus, conclusions from laboratory experiments generally reflect the real effect of the intervention (Babbie, 2011). Field experiments are conducted outside a laboratory or artificial setting and in the field or the natural setting where the variables in question would normally occur (Cozby, 2001).

Numerous experimental research studies might be highlighted as examples of peace psychology research. Very early examples include Lewin, Lippit, and White's (1939) research on aggression and Deutsch's (1949) research on cooperation and competition. The field experiment, known as the Robbers Cave Experiment, by Sherif, Harvey, White, Hood, & Sherif (1954) is a classic study of superordinate goals to reduce intergroup conflict. In this study two groups of 11 year-old boys (the Eagles and the Rattlers) were separated from each other at a summer camp. Initially, the two groups competed with each other and considerable animosity developed in a short period of time. However, when the situation was modified the two groups were needed to work together to achieve the goals of their own group, intergroup friction subsided and friendships between members of the Eagles and Rattlers grew.

More recent examples include the body of work on terror management produced by research team of Pyszczynski, Solomon, and Greenberg, (2002) and by the research team of Johnson and Johnson (1995, 2003). Pyszczynski, Solomon, and Greenberg have worked collaboratively with each other, their colleagues, and their students to delineate the situational effects that the awareness of one's mortality can have on behavior. They have established terror management theory as a theory that is clearly relevant to peace psychology. In one study the members of the experimental groups of American college students were made aware of their own mortality while members of the control groups were not. Afterwards, experimental and control groups read essays that either strongly favored or opposed the American political system. Whereas all participants tended to favor the pro-American essay, the differences were significantly larger once mortality salience was aroused. A careful look at their body of work would serve as an excellent example to peace psychologists interested in experimentation. Likewise, a careful perusal of the research of David Johnson and Roger Johnson's work on cooperation and integrative negotiation would find many fine examples of experimentation. Their work has led to the wide-scale introduction of cooperative learning techniques in elementary and secondary schools.

Campbell and Stanley (1963) delineated quasi-experimental designs in considerable detail. They described 10 distinct quasi-experimental designs that may be employed when limited manipulation and control is possible. These designs are useful even if they are not as strong as true experimentation. For instance, time-

series design uses many pretests and many posttests in lieu of a control group and the nonequivalent control group design does not randomly assign participants to the treatment and control groups. While the time series design and its variations or the nonequivalent control group design are not as internally valid as the true experimental methods, these designs can, if done wisely, be superior in external validity and generalizability. The results from quasi-experimental designs can oftentimes be more easily generalized to more people and situations.

Quasi-experimental designs are employed when experimental methods are not possible or are unethical to implement. Peace psychologists should remain cognizant of the ethics of their research and use peaceful means to conduct their peace research. Many times random assignment cannot be fully applied as it can take away the freedom of participants in the research, however, the random assignment of intact groups can be made as an approximation. Mpande et al. (2013) employed a nonequivalent control group design to investigate the impact of two community interventions in Zimbabwe. Using quasi-experimentation, Mpande and her colleagues found positive and significant reductions in stress for survivors of torture who experienced healing interventions.

4.2.2   Small n Designs

Small n designs or single subject designs are another type of quantitative design that has potential applications for peace psychology. These designs do not use large groups of participants but the number of participants (n) may be only one or at most just a few. Although not applicable on large-scale issues, such as the efficacy of peace education, or the efficacy of nonviolent activism to change social policy, small n designs are very germane on intrapersonal and interpersonal levels of analysis. Specific small n or single subject designs, such as ABA, ABAB, and multiple baseline designs, may be applied to research methods intended to increase peaceful behaviors and also decrease the incidence of behaviors that reduce peacefulness. For instance, reducing aggressive behaviors, increasing prosocial behaviors, and improving levels of inner peace can be researched using single subject designs.

Though we were not able to locate small n or single subject designs in the more traditional peace psychology journals, examples of research relevant to peace psychology could be found. Benish and Bramlett (2011) used a multiple baseline design to reduce aggressive behaviors and increase positive peer interactions in preschool-age children using social stories specially tailored to three different children. Hobbs and Yan (2008) used a multiple baseline design to reduce aggressive behaviors with a computer game for highly aggressive fifth graders with limited effectiveness.

4.2.3   Survey Designs

Survey research involves asking research participants to respond to a series of items or questions and indicate their responses in a way that can be quantified. The form

that the items are presented and the form that responses are made can vary within survey methodologies. Types of survey designs include (1) intact group surveys, (2) mail surveys, (3) Internet surveys, (4) face-to-face interviews, and (5) telephone interviews. All of these survey methodologies are designed to be descriptive and to determine relationships among variables but cannot definitively substantiate cause and effect relationship. A large proportion of quantitative research in peace psychology has utilized survey methodologies.

Researchers conducting intact group surveys typically locate their respondents at a particular place when the individuals are gathered for a reason apart from the survey being conducted. Students in classrooms, workers in staff meetings, civic groups at regular meetings, etc. allow the survey researcher to hand out and collect completed surveys in a quick and efficient manner (Babbie, 2011).

Harris, Proshansky, and Raskin (1956) completed one of the first intact group surveys to assess college students' knowledge about nuclear weapons. Elder (1965) surveyed college students in an early survey to determine level of concern about the nuclear threat. More recent examples of intact survey research include studies by Cohrs and Moschner (2002), Unger, Gareis, and Locher (2007) and Kaminer, du Plessis, Hardy, and Benjamin (2013). Cohrs and Moschner (2002) surveyed German university students to assess their views of the war in Kosovo. Unger, Gareis, and Locher (2007) surveyed university students to assess the reactions to 9/11 and support for government responses to the event. Kaminer et al. (2013) surveyed South African adolescents in their classrooms to assess their direct and indirect exposure to violence in their homes and communities.

Mail surveys involve using the postal system to send written surveys to respondents with a method for return using the postal system as well. This approach allows the researcher to access respondents in a wider geographical area and generally results in a sample that is more representative of the population of concern. Response rates can be a concern if a sizable portion of possible respondents fails to return their surveys. Dillman (2000) describes a Tailored Design Method (TDM) for conducting mail surveys in a way to maximize return rate. His approach is well tested with empirical data so it is worth following for anyone contemplating mail surveys.

Koopman, Shiraev, McDermott, Jervis, and Snyder (1998) conducted a noteworthy multiple method survey of American and Russian elites to determine their beliefs about international security. Their random sample of American elites completed a mail survey whereas the Russian participants were a convenient sample and contacted individually. Mayton and Furnham (1994) used different survey methodologies that included a randomly selected mail survey of members of the general population in the Pacific Northwest and intact group sampling in the USA, England, New Zealand, and Japan. They found a significant relationship between the universalism value type (understanding, appreciation, and tolerance for the welfare of all peoples) and pro-freeze activist behaviors across several of the participant groups.

Internet surveys use the World Wide Web to make the written survey accessible to potential respondents. Although the Internet has been around for a considerable time, the logistics and nuances of the process of Internet surveys have only recently been able to deal with some methodological problems and other problems still

remain, especially concerning representative sampling. Online organizations, like Survey Monkey, are making the development of Internet surveys easier and provide a URL for the survey to be located and accessible to potential respondents. Again, Dillman (2000) provides guidance in possibilities for Internet surveys.

Internet surveys have increased in number over the last decade. Ehrenreich and Elliott (2004) used a questionnaire posted on a website to survey the methods used to deal with stress levels of humanitarian aid workers. Their methodology was plagued with low response rate. Cohrs, Moschner, Maes, and Kielmann (2005) used mixed survey methodology that included collecting data from their questionnaire over the Internet. Their study resulted in a much improved response rate and found positive correlations between self-enhancement values (achievement and power) and militaristic attitudes (support for military solutions).

Another type of survey uses face-to-face interviews. In this survey design, the researcher asks questions directly to the respondents and the respondents indicate their answers in a conversational format using established response options, such as agree or disagree. Whereas getting interviewers to a representative group of interviewees can be time consuming and expensive due to travel costs, response rates are higher with face-to-face interviews. Telephone interviews are similar to face-to-face interviews except that the questioning and answering occurs over the telephone. The late 1980s and early 1990s were probably the golden age for telephone surveys as many impediments have arisen over the last decade and a half. Telemarketers, answering machines, caller ID, and cell phones have all worked to limit the success of telephone survey research. However, it can still be a cost-effective way to access reasonably representative samples across a wide geographic region very quickly (Babbie, 2011).

Escalona (1962) conducted one of the earliest face-to-face interview studies. She interviewed children to determine levels of concern about nuclear war. DeMuth and Melnick (1998) interviewed families to assess their reactions to the possibility of nuclear war. Ilse Hakvoort has probably conducted the most in-depth interview research program in peace psychology to date (Hakvoort, 1996; Hakvoort & Hägglund, 2001). Hakvoort interviewed many Dutch, Swedish, Hungarian, and Polish children to determine the meaning attached to peace and war. Kira et al. (2006) conducted another noteworthy face-to-face interview study. They interviewed Shiite and Sunni Muslims and Christians in an Iraq community in Michigan to see how individuals who were tortured were different from those who had not been tortured.

During the Cold War in the early 1980s, some peace psychologists suggested that living under the threat of a global nuclear war made adolescents despair and feel a level of helplessness to the point where they would cease planning for the future and would use drugs to avoid thinking about the possibility of living during a global nuclear war. The causal factor was living under the nuclear threat and the effect was high levels of drug use and not planning for the future. In this case, an experiment is not possible because the potential for a global nuclear conflict existed since the 1950s. However, was there a correlation between the hypothesized cause and effect? Were increased levels of concern and worry about the possibilities of nuclear war associated with less planning for the future? Were increased levels of

concern and worry associated with higher levels of drug usage? When researchers looked at the level of concern and worry about the nuclear threat and self-reported drug usage, plans to go to college, or to get married, adolescents who were most concerned and worried about the possibility of nuclear war reported higher GPAs, were more likely to say they planned on going to college and getting married, and they reported using fewer recreational drugs than those adolescents who were less concerned. This is a situation where qualitative interviews might have been fruitful in understanding how adolescents were thinking about the nuclear threat.

It may be advantageous to utilize survey research prior to experimentation, as the correlation between variables is a necessity but not sufficient condition for a causal relationship to exist. If a significant correlation does in fact exist between potential cause and effect variables, then the development of an experimental design to establish causal relationships is warranted. However, if a significant correlation does not exist between potential cause and effect variables, then there is no need to design and carry out an experiment.

4.2.4 Archival Designs: Content Analysis and the Analysis of Existing Statistics

Archival quantitative research may be in the form of content analysis and the analysis of existing statistics. Both methods are unobtrusive research procedures, which is a clear strength, as the process of collecting the data does not influence the data. Content analysis uses recorded communication in many forms including books, speeches, websites, photographs, letters, email, blogs, laws, and so on as the raw data. Once obtained, the communications are sampled and quantified using either manifest (concrete content) or latent (underlying meaning) coding. If communications are available for content analysis, then this can be a powerful design to use. However, if not, this design is not possible. The analysis of existing statistics involves the use of official or quasi-official statistical data sets to evaluate a hypothesis. Statistical data sets may be local, regional, national, or international and a researcher may use combinations of levels of statistics as well. For example, local statistics might involve arrests for violent crime in a local jurisdiction, regional statistics might pool the local data at the state or provincial level, national statistics might include the Uniform Crime Reports, and Interpol or the Central Intelligence Agency might gather international statistics. A concern whenever existing statistics are used is the reliability and validity of the data. If collected well, the analysis of existing statistics can be a very expedient design to use (Babbie, 2011).

Numerous examples of content analysis in peace psychology research exist in the literature. Ferguson et al. (2007) analyzed the media coverage of the IRA apology in 2002 using content analysis of the local and regional newspaper articles from Northern Ireland; local, regional, and national newspapers from England; and newspapers from 10 major cities in the USA with significant Irish American populations. Access to electronic versions of the print media made the comparisons

run smoothly in their analysis of differences between Northern Irish Catholics and Protestants and between the English and Americans. Generally, the closer the media and the group was to the victims of the violence, the more negative the reaction to the IRA apology. A second recent noteworthy example of content analysis was conducted by Nasie and Bar-Tal (2012) using youth newspapers of Palestinian children during three significant time periods. They examined the sociopsychological infrastructure depicted in the youth newspapers during peace process (1996–1997), the violence (2001–2002), and relative calm (2005–2007). Results shed important light on the impact of particular experiences of the Israel-Palestinian conflict on the Palestinian children and adolescents.

The analysis of existing statistics is another useful quantitative research design in peace psychology research. The increase in the number of peace psychology-related statistical databases now readily available on the Web undoubtedly will result in the proliferation of this research design in the future. Dozens of studies using the analysis of existing statistics have appeared in the *Journal of Peace Research* in the last 2 years alone. Databases like the Issues Correlates of War (ICOW) project, the Global Terrorism Database (GTD), the Terrorism in Western Europe: Events Data (TWEED) and the Categorically Disaggregated Conflict dataset (CDC) are being used more and more. MacNair (2002) utilized the National Vietnam Veteran Readjustment Study database to investigate the relationship between the incidence of Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) and the experience of killing in combat. PTSD scores were higher for those Vietnam veterans who had killed in combat. Fischer and Hanke (2009) utilized the Global Peace Index (GPI) to investigate the link between societal level values and the presence of peace across over 50 countries. Societal values of harmony (support for world peace and unity with nature) and intellectual autonomy (broadmindedness) were positively correlated with the GPI and hierarchy values (support for social power, authority, and wealth) were negative correlated.

4.3   Quantitative Designs Employed in Peace Psychology Research

Peace psychologists have been conducting quantitative research studies for decades. Peace psychology research can be found across a wide range of journals. Journals like *Political Psychology,* the *Journal of Peace Research,* and the *Journal of Conflict Resolution* were developed to directly report research relevant to peace psychology. The journal *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology* was initiated in 1995 as the official journal to the Division of Peace Psychology (Division 48 of the American Psychological Association) with the specific aim to publish manuscripts that report research on peace and conflict from interpersonal levels through international levels of analysis. While these journals publish peace psychology research, they also publish qualitative research, reviews of the research literature, commentaries, book reviews, etc.

What types of quantitative research designs are being employed to develop our understanding of peace psychology? In the next sections, we look at the types of quantitative research designs utilized in two journals with a focus on peace psychology, *Political Psychology* and *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology*.

4.3.1 Quantitative Designs Utilized in Political Psychology Articles

The designs employed in empirical articles published in the journal *Political Psychology* were tabulated from 1980 until April 2014. The decade of the 1980s represent the height of the Cold War era, the 1990s represent the time period after the end of the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact, and the 2000s represent the post 9/11 era. Our intention was to scrutinize and categorize each article published in *Political Psychology* as reporting quantitative research or not, and if so, to determine the specific quantitative design employed in the study. Whereas some quantitative studies were easy to classify, this process was not always a straightforward one and it required some subjective interpretation due to mixed designs and vague descriptions of methods and procedures in some cases. Because of this, we encourage the reader to interpret the general findings and trends and not to focus on exact numbers.

The types of quantitative research designs utilized in the journal, *Political Psychology,* are presented in Table 4.1. Several trends can be gleaned from this information. The total number of articles in *Political Psychology* has increased and the percentage of quantitative research articles has nearly doubled over the last few decades. Whereas 41.2 % of the articles reported quantitative research in the 1980s, by the 2000s about two-thirds of the articles were quantitative and by the 2010s three of four articles reported quantitative research. The most common type of quantitative research design was survey research through this time period, however, a marked increase in experimentation and the analysis of existing statistics has occurred. The 2010s has survey designs, experimental designs, and the analysis of existing statistics research making up about three quarters of all articles, with each appearing in about one in every four articles. These three designs were followed by content analysis and quasi-experimental designs in frequency. No studies utilizing single subject designs were found.

4.3.2 Quantitative Designs Utilized in Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology Articles

The designs employed in empirical articles published in the journal *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology* were tabulated from 1995 until February 2014. This journal only started publication in the post-Cold War era so the years analyzed are necessarily less. As was the case for the classification of articles in *Political*

Table 4.1 Frequencies/percentages[a] of quantitative research designs utilized in Journal *Political Psychology*

	1980s	1990s	2000s	2010s
Experiment	11	18	70	48
	4.9%	*5.8%*	*19.3%*	*25.7%*
Laboratory	9	14	54	42
Field	2	4	16	6
Quasi-experi-mental	2	7	4	2
	0.01%	*2.2%*	*1.1%*	*1.15%*
Small n designs	0	0	0	0
Survey	51	70	97	52
	22.6%	*22.4%*	*26.8%*	*27.8%*
Intact groups	26	38	47	28
Mail survey	8	15	7	1
Internet survey	0	0	8	14
Face-to-face interview	14	11	23	6
Telephone survey	3	6	12	3
Content analysis	14	18	30	13
	6.2%	*5.8%*	*8.3%*	*7.0%*
Analysis of exist-ing statistics	15	27	49	44
	6.6%	*8.7%*	*13.5%*	*23.5%*
Total quantitative research	*41.2%*	*43.9%*	*68.8%*	*78.6%*
"Other Articles or Essays"	133	175	113	40
Total articles	226	312	362	187

[a] Percentages reported are the percentage for the category in terms of the total number of published articles

Psychology, the process was not always straightforward and some subjective interpretation was used. Again, the focus should be on the general findings and trends and not on exact numbers.

The types of quantitative research designs utilized in articles published in *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology* are presented in Table 4.2. Although the number of articles appearing in this journal increased as well, the percentages of the articles that reported quantitative research stayed relatively stable over the time span of the publication. About one in five published articles utilized quantitative research designs. Most commonly these were survey research, followed by content analysis, experimentation, quasi-experimentation, and the analysis of existing statistics in frequency. Again, no single subject designs were reported in this journal.

Table 4.2 Frequencies/percentages[a] of quantitative research designs utilized in *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology*

	1990s	2000s	2010s
Experiment	4	4	5
	2.0%	1.1%	3.2%
Laboratory	3	4	5
Field	1	0	0
Quasi-experimental	6	10	5
	3.0%	2.7%	3.2%
Small n designs	0	0	0
Survey	18	48	15
	8.9%	13.0%	9.5%
Intact groups	12	33	10
Mail survey	3	1	0
Internet survey	0	3	2
Face-to-face interview	3	11	3
Telephone survey	0	0	0
Content analysis	4	9	7
	2.0%	2.4%	4.4%
Analysis of existing statistics	2	7	1
	1.0%	1.9%	0.6%
Total quantitative research	16.7%	22.3%	20.9%
"Other Articles or Essays"	169	286	125
Total articles	203	368	158

[a] Percentages reported are the percentage for the category in terms of the total number of published articles

As a side note, over the last decade, more and more qualitative designs were noted. Although it might appear from Table 4.2 as though the amount of total research reported in *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology* has remained rather flat, when qualitative designs and analyses are added into the number of research articles published, the total number of research articles has trended upwards.

4.4   Macro-Level Research in Peace Psychology

Several major macro-system or large-scale research projects have been conducted which are directly related to peace psychology. These include the Human Development Index, the Global Peace Index, and efforts to assess cultures of peace at the country level. Some other databases that also speak to the macro-level of analysis were already mentioned when examples of the analysis of existing statistics were discussed.

The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) has been posting a series of indices over the last two decades that are relevant to peace psychology research. These indices are intended to be alternatives or adjuncts to measures of GDP. The Human Developmental Index (HDI) incorporates data on health, education, and economic issues (see http://hdr.undp.org/). The UNDP also maintains an inequality-adjusted HDI (IHDI), the gender inequality index (GII) and the multi-dimension poverty index (MPI) and has reports and related resources to make the information more usable and even to disaggregate these indices for different analyses. Researchers can find downloadable summaries in a dozen languages; eBooks, research papers, updated statistical indicators, data visualization tools, interactive maps, profiles of all UN member states, and even an Excel too for calculating the indices at http://hdr.undp.org/en/content/excel-tool-calculating-indices.

The Institute for Economics and Peace (IEP) developed the Global Peace Index (GPI) within the last decade. The IEP is an independent, nonpartisan, nonprofit think tank working to shift the world's attention to positive peace. The GPI is derived from 22 indicators (i.e., Crime rate, incarceration rate, access to guns) drawn from the International Institute of Strategic Studies, the World Bank, various UN Agencies, peace institutes and the EIU. The GPI has been calculated to rank 162 countries. The IEP website (http://economicsandpeace.org/research/iep-indices-data/global-peace-index) provides access to GPI data, an interactive map, teaching materials, and a range of downloadable publications.

Efforts to assess cultures of peace at a country level have been one of the most intensive macro-level research efforts in peace psychology to date. De Rivera (2004a, 2004b, 2009) has written extensively on the efforts that he and his colleagues have used to assess the presence of the characteristics of a culture of peace at the country level. Their methodology uses a wide range of databases and statistics from national and international sources to determine how close a nation might be to having a culture of peace.

4.4.1   Encyclopedias, Handbooks, and Measurements in Peace Psychology Research

4.4.1.1   Encyclopedias and Handbooks

This section looks at resources for peace psychology researchers including several specialized encyclopedias, handbooks, and the peace psychology book series by Springer. Although these references are important for researchers conducting quantitative studies, they are also relevant for those conducting qualitative research as well. In addition, a wide range of psychological scales, tests, and measurements that have been employed to assess the fundamental variables in peace psychology are discussed.

The field of peace and peace psychology is fortunate to have three useful peace-oriented encyclopedias to obtain quick background information on most topics

relevant to peace psychology. The second edition *Encyclopedia of Violence, Peace, and Conflict*, edited by Lester Kurtz, was released in 2008 and now presents information and research gathered after the events of 9/11. This three-volume encyclopedia, that includes 225 multi-disciplinary articles on a wide range of peace and conflict resolution issues, including but not limited to reports of quantitative research. *The Oxford International Encyclopedia of Peace*, edited by Nigel Young, is an interdisciplinary encyclopedia published in 2010 and contains over 850 entries dealing with a comprehensive list of issues related to peace studies, again including but not limited to quantitative research. The *Encyclopedia of Peace Psychology*, edited by Dan Christie and published in 2011, is a three-volume encyclopedia taking a cross-disciplinary approach with over 300 entries by international scholars in peace psychology and conflict resolution. All three encyclopedias are available in both hardcopy and in online formats.

The peace psychology book series, of which this current volume is a part, edited by Dan Christie is an excellent source of research ideas, information, and exemplars. At present, there are 21 titles in this series with more in preparation. Some of the books in the series focus on specific aspects of peace (e.g., Mayton, 2009; Sims, Nelson, & Puopolo, 2013), some on regional issues (e.g., Bretherton & Balvin, 2012; Simić, Volčič, & Philpot, 2012), and others are handbooks (e.g., de Rivera, 2009; Malley-Morrison, McCarthy, & Hines, 2013). Among the excellent handbooks available are: Deutsch, Coleman, & Marcus's (2006) handbook on conflict resolution; Tropp's (2012) handbook on intergroup conflict; Salomon & Cairns' (2010) handbook on peace education; and Shackelford and Weekes-Shackelford's (2012) handbook on evolutionary perspectives on violence and war.

4.4.1.2   Measurements and Scales

As the amount of quantitative research in peace psychology has increased, the number of sound scales and measures to assess relevant variables has increased as well. Although it would be difficult to provide an overview of all measures relevant to peace psychology research, we do present a representative list of instruments that are being used and are psychometrically sound.

Robinson, Shaver, and Wrightsman (1991, 1999) edited two helpful reference books that are useful in locating a wide range of assessments relevant to quantitative peace psychology research. Their two volumes were sponsored by the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues (Division 9 of the APA) and describe dozens of scales and also providing supporting evidence of each scale's acceptability. Categories of scales that are reviewed include: self esteem, values, trust, alienation, depression, locus of control, sex roles, political ideology, political tolerance, political trust, and racial-ethnic identity.

Measures of nonviolence and attitudes toward nonviolence have been available since the *Nonviolence Test* (NVT) was published in the early 1980s (Kool & Sen, 1984; Kool, 2008). Mayton, Susnjic, Palmer, Peters, Gierth, and Caswell (2002) reviewed the NVT and other measures of nonviolence and determined only two at

that time to have good reliability and validity data to support their usage in quantitative research. These were the NVT found in Kool and Sen (1984) and the *Teenage Nonviolence Test* (TNT) that can be found in Mayton (2009). The TNT assesses nonviolence using Gandhi's philosophy of nonviolence as its framework. Since the Mayton et al. (2002) review, the *Diamond Scale of Nonviolence* (DSN & Mayton 2014) has emerged as another measure of nonviolence that is both reliable and valid. The DSN measures intrapersonal, interpersonal, societal, and world nonviolence.

Scales to assess human values have continued to be used in many quantitative peace psychology research studies (e.g., Boehnke & Schwartz, 1997; Cohrs et al., 2005; Mayton, Diessner, & Granby, 1996; Mayton & Furnham, 1994). Early research used the 36-item Rokeach Value Survey (RVS, Rokeach, 1973). More recently, researchers have been using the 56-item Schwartz Value Survey (SVS, Schwartz, 1992) or the 40-iten Portrait Values Questionnaire (PVQ, Schwartz, 2003). The RVE, SVS, and the PVQ are all psychometrically sound measures of values.

Several additional measures either have been used regularly in peace psychology research or have recently been published and show promise. Social Dominance Orientations (SDO, Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, & Malle, 1994) is a 14-item scale measuring preference for unequal relationships among categories of people. SDO has good reliability, good concurrent, and discriminant validity, and has been a useful scale in many peace psychology studies. Vail and Motyl (2010) developed the psychometrically sound 12-item Support for Diplomacy scale that assesses a single factor with a preference for peaceful diplomacy at one end of the continuum and a preference for militarism at the other. The Ethos of Conflict scale by Bar-Tal, Sharvit, Halperin, and Zafran (2012) is a recently developed and sound 16-item scale that assesses the worldview of society members involved in an intractable conflict. Other strong measures used in peace psychology research include the Right-wing Authoritarianism Scale (Altemeyer, 1981), Militaristic Attitudes Scale (Nelson & Milburn, 1999), and the Just Peacemaking Scale (Brown et al., 2008).

4.5   Trends and Future Directions for Quantitative Peace Psychology Research

Quantitative peace psychology research is a necessity if the field of peace psychology is to advance. It is an approach that would both resonate with the dominant methods of mainstream psychology and peace studies. This could lead to more acceptance of the field of peace psychology and to more research across sub disciplines in psychology (such as social psychology or counseling psychology). Quantitative research can also help to identify the necessary conditions for causal relationships and to identify or validate causal relationships posited in peace psychology theory.

Whereas the major journal for the discipline, *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology,* has published quantitative research studies since its inception in 1995, only one in five articles report original quantitative research and this has

remained a steady proportion through until today. Survey research was the most common type of quantitative design identified and it would be helpful if other types of designs were utilized more frequently. Determining associations among variables via survey research is important, but using more experimentation to identify causal relationships would help peace psychologists advance the field in a more dynamic way. Within the journal, *Political Psychology*, a notable increase in the number of quantitative research designs being published was noted. Vollhardt and Bilali (2008) have documented the considerable presence of peace psychology research within several social psychological journals and a sizable amount of the social psychological peace research was quantitative. So, while the number of quantitative research studies published within the major journal outlet of peace psychology is relatively low and stable, other journal outlets are publishing quantitative peace psychology research and the trend is moving in a positive direction.

Christie (2006) has pointed to the need for peace psychology research to be sensitive to the geopolitical context within which it is conducted. This context has shifted dramatically over the period from the Cold War, the decade after the breakup of the Soviet Union, and the time following 9/11. Peace psychology researchers need to be fully aware of continuing shifts in the geopolitical context that they are working in. Documenting the geopolitical context at the time quantitative research is being conducted is one way to deal with this continual challenge for peace researchers.

We have reviewed and described representative quantitative research using various designs to serve as exemplars for future peace psychology studies. The strengths and weaknesses of different quantitative research designs point to the need to conduct programs of research that employ a range of designs. This way the weaknesses of research with one type of design may be dealt with when a different design is employed with the same variables. Similarly, quantitative peace psychology research should exist in tandem with qualitative research so that the richness of human experience relative to peace and conflict resolution can be more fully understood. We have a long way to go to reduce direct and structural violence and achieve social justice in our world. Despite the time and effort needed to develop and carry out research programs to move us closer to positive peace, the movement in that direction is legitimate and will result in positive gains and a reduction in human suffering along the way. As Albert Einstein reminded us, "If we knew what it was we were doing, it would not be called research, would it?" (http://www.alberteinsteinsite.com/quotes/einsteinquotes.html) We may not know exactly what we are doing to get to the end of the quest for peace, but it is worthwhile to pursue the goal of positive peace at so many levels.

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Chapter 5
Qualitative Research Methods in Peace Psychology

Siew Fang Law and Diane Bretherton

> *Not everything that can be counted counts;Not everything that counts can be counted*
> *—Albert Einstein*

5.1   Introduction

Qualitative research is an approach to inquiry to "address questions concerned with developing an understanding of the meaning and experience of dimensions of humans' lives and social worlds" (Fossey, Harvey, MacDermott, & Davidson 2002, p. 717). The term "qualitative research" is a broad umbrella term used to refer to a variety of research methodologies that investigate and explain individuals' experiences, belief systems, perspectives, actions, interactions and contexts (Corbin & Strauss, 2008; Fossey et al. 2002). The main characteristic of qualitative research is its emphasis on texts, though recently more use has been made of multimedia data.

This chapter aims to provide an overview of qualitative research for peace psychology researchers and students who are not familiar with qualitative research and is structured into three main sections. The first section discusses some of the research worldviews and paradigms that inform psychological research in general. We argue that researchers need to be aware of and clarify their paradigms as they think about initiating research. We explore why and how research methods carry a set of assumptions based on the different paradigms of inquiry and provide an over-

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This quote has been attributed to Albert Einstein by various sources. For example, http://quoteinvestigator.com/2010/05/26/everything-counts-einstein/.

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view of meta-theoretical frameworks, concentrating on constructivism and transformative paradigms. We explore the ways in which the paradigms relate to each other and contribute to different systems of knowledge making. Examples of qualitative psychology studies are provided to demonstrate different research orientations and the ways in which they contribute to our understanding of peace and peace psychology. The analytical software tool *NVivo* will be briefly introduced as an example of software that could be useful when conducting literature reviews and analyzing qualitative data. Criteria that could be used by researchers, examiners, reviewers and editors when evaluating, assessing and reviewing qualitative research studies provide some guidelines that determine sound, rigorous and trustworthy qualitative research. The chapter ends with a discussion on aspects of qualitative research that could be categorized as less "peaceful". We will provide some strategies by which a qualitative approach could be more peaceful or more likely to yield peaceful outcomes.

5.2   Research Paradigms

Paradigms are the basic belief systems of a researcher and consisted of "certain philosophical assumptions that guide and direct thinking and action" (Mertens, 2015, p. 8). They define the "nature of the 'world,' the individual's place in it, and the range of possible relationships to that world and its parts…" (Guba & Lincoln, 1994, p. 107). A paradigm frames and shapes a researcher's thoughts and assumptions of what truth and reality are. It is therefore, fundamental for researchers to think about his or her research paradigm before embarking on a research project. This is not a once and for all decision. Researchers' worldviews might change over time and with the experience of different kinds of research participants and projects.

Mertens (2015) draws on Guba and Lincoln's work (1994, 2005) and develops three questions to help researchers to identify or clarify their research paradigm. The ontological question asks: "What is the nature of reality?" The epistemological question asks: "What is the nature of knowledge and the relationship between the knower and the would-be known?" The methodological question asks: "How can the knower go about obtaining the desired knowledge and understanding?" (Mertens, 2015, p. 10).

By way of illustration we can think about how different research paradigms have influenced the ways in which the concept of intelligence is understood. There is a worldview that posits biological and genetic determination of intelligence; another that believes intelligence is a form of natural, cultural and spiritual wisdom and a third worldview links intelligence to the politics of institutions, structure and systems of knowledge making. These different views of the ontology of intelligence will shape the design and implementation a research project. Much work in peace psychology has been within the dominant positivist paradigm, but has also

questioned the ways in which mainstream research marginalizes indigenous, spiritual and religious worldviews.

The second question, relating to epistemology is particularly helpful to further deconstruct and unpack the worldview through understanding the subjective relationship between the researcher ("the knower") and knowledge ("the would-be known") (Mertens, 2015, p. 11). This question implies that the worldview could be bound by the researcher's identity and sociocultural, political and educational background. The researcher's gender, ethnicity, upbringing, training and embodied life experience all contribute to the types of "truth"and "realities" that make sense to the individual researcher. 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.

Methodology, the way in which the researcher goes about obtaining the desired knowledge, is informed by the epistemology and ontology. Different meta-theoretical orientations can be grouped into: positivist, constructivist and transformative approaches. Positivism is associated with the use of quantitative and experimental methodologies. Constructivism is associated with qualitative, phenomenological, hermeneutic, ethnographic and narrative methods. Transformative and emancipatory methods include critical, Freirean and participatory methodologies, feminist theory and critical race theory.

Our aim in classifying the theories is heuristic. We acknowledge that the boundaries between the sets of theories are fuzzy and that the categorizes are clusters of meaning, rather than precise and mutually exclusive definitions. For example, positivism is contrasted with constructivist and transformative theories, but we note that the different approaches can be combined. In the next chapter, Nowuegbuzie and Tashakkori (Chapter 6) is critical of Mertens' (2015) categories, which contrast positivism/postpositivism with constructivist and transformative approaches and argues that all the theories are postpositivist. Nonetheless Table 5.1 provides a cognitive map that helps locate the different methodological approaches in relationship to one another.

Table 5.1 lists a range of transformative theories and methods. Specific methods have been clustered under these headings for the sake of brevity. The heading *Critical and Neo-Marxist Theories* includes Critical Theory (Geuss, 1981) and Critical Race Theory (Delgado Bernal, 1995). *Postcolonial Theories* include Indigenous Theory and Postcolonial Methodology (Mohanty, 2003). Critical Pedagogy/Freirean (Freire, 1972) and The Theatre of the Oppressed (Boal, 1979) are included under *Emancipatory Methods*. Participatory Action Research (Fals-Borda and Rahman, 1991) is categorized as *Participatory Methods*. *Narrative Theory* includes Narrative Inquiry and Narrative Analysis, Discursive Psychology (Potter, 2012) and Critical Discourse Analysis (Fairclough, 1992, 2003, 2010). *Feminist and Related Theories* include Feminist Theory (Creese & Frisby, 2011), Feminist Psychology (Gilligan, 1982), Queer Theory, Disability Theory and Humanistic approaches. The Table draws on the work of Fossey and colleagues (2002) and uses Mertens' (2015)

Table 5.1 Meta-Theoretical Research Orientations. (Source: modified from Fossey et al. 2002 and Mertens, 2015)

Basic Beliefs	Positivist	Constructivist	Transformative
Ontology (nature of reality)	Belief in one reality based on facts and statistics, knowable within probability	Belief in multiple, socially constructed realities.	Reject cultural relativism, recognise that various versions of realities are based on social and historical positioning. Conscious recognition of consequences of privileging some versions of reality.
Epistemology (relation between the knower and would-be known)	Objectivity is important, validity and reliability, to ensure objectivity, researcher manipulates design and maintains some distance from participants.	Interactive link between researcher and participants, values are made explicit, findings are created or emerge.	Interactive link between researcher and participants, knowledge is socially and historically situated, need to address issues of power and trust.
Methodology (approach to systemic inquiry)	Primarily quantitative, interventionist, decontextualized.	Primarily qualitative, hermeneutical, dialectical, contextual factors are described and sometimes analysed.	More emphasis on qualitative (dialogic) but quantitative design could be used, contextual and historical factors are described, especially as they relate to oppression.
Common descriptions, methods and theories found in each paradigm	Quantitative, experimental, quazi- experimental, correlational, causal, comparative, randomised control trial.	Qualitative, naturalistic, phenomenological (Amedeo, 2009; Langbridge, 2006) hermeneutic, symbolic, interaction, ethnographic, narrative inquiry, narrative analysis (Reissman, 2002) participatory action research.	Critical theories, neo-Marxist theories, postcolonial theories, emancipatory methods, participatory methods, narrative theory, feminist and related theories.
	Integrative approach		
	Integrate other paradigms and methodologies Mixed models, mixed methods and integrated research		

categories. It is important to note that Mertens (2015) has an additional category on Oxiology (nature of ethical behaviour) which is not included.

5.2.1 Positivism

Positivism has been the dominant meta-theoretical stance that has guided research in psychology. Positivism is an orientation that is based on the rational, empiricist and logical philosophies and assumptions that "the social world can be studied in the same way as the natural world, that there is a method for studying the social world that is value-free, and that explanations of a causal nature can be provided" (Mertens, 2015, p. 11). This logical, scientifically oriented philosophical position assumes that researcher and participant are independent of each other. Positivism was criticized in the 1940s and replaced by postpositivism in which researchers of this persuasion are more accepting of the idea that the background, knowledge and values of the researcher can influence what is being studied.

In contemporary psychology, there is a large representation of psychology as a discipline of science (Possamai-Inesedy, 2014). The idea of psychology as science has been promoted by influential institutions such as the American Psychology Association (Koch & Leary, 1992), psychology textbooks (Hergenhahn, 2005) and numerous research methods in psychology reference books (Yaremko, 2013). Psychologists who argue for advancing the scientific orientation advocate using quantitative and experimental methods to yield rigorous and refutable theories in psychology. Fields of psychology in which this type of empiricism has dominated include the study of sensory processes and perception, learning, motivation, emotion, cognition, development, personality and social psychology (Koch & Leary, 1992).

5.2.2 Constructivism

Constructivism is a theoretical framework that emphasizes the idea that reality is socially constructed. Other terms that are used to describe this type of approach are "interpretive" (Mertens, 2015), "hermeneutic" (i.e. the study of interpretive understanding or meaning; Eichelberger, 1989) and "phenomenological" approaches (i.e. the study of subjective experience; Amedeo, 2009; Langdridge, 2006). The researcher who adopts a constructivist approach to research believes that "research is a product of the values of researchers and cannot be independent of them" (Mertens, 2015, p. 16). Hence, researchers should be proactive in understanding the "complex world of lived experience from the point of view of those who live in it" (Schwandt, 1994, p. 118). In general, "constructivist researchers use the term more generally to interpret the meanings of something from a certain standpoint or situation" (Mertens, 2015, p. 16).

5.2.3   Transformative Paradigm

The transformative paradigm emerges from an increasing dissatisfaction with the mainstream research paradigms and practices and a belief that much of social science theory has been developed from the dominant perspective (i.e. white, able-bodied male, of higher middle class) and is based on the study of participants from similar backgrounds (Mertens, 2015). The transformative researchers criticize postpositivist and constructivist paradigms, in particular from a culturally relative perspective. They believe that thoughts and behaviours of sociocultural groups are framed by historical and political environments. Hence, historical relativism is crucial to understanding the stories of sociocultural minorities, and that power imbalance and sociocultural inequality are inherent and alive within the systems and structures of contemporary social groups. This group of researchers focuses on "the critique and transformation of current structures, relationships and conditions that shape and constrain the development of social practices in organizations and communities, through examining them within their historical, social, cultural and political contexts" (Fossey et al. 2002, p. 720). They are also self critical, reflecting on their own research positions and processes and try to be aware of the politics in most research where the powerful remains privileged while the oppressed remains marginalized. Therefore, research processes and findings usually go beyond the aim of "understanding" the marginalized groups, they are used as tools of activism and social transformation. The methodologies informed by this worldview aim to foster "self-reflection, mutual learning, participation and empowerment, rather than the acceptance of discoveries" (Fossey et al. 2002, p. 720). For example, in Table 5.2, Kirkwood, Liu, and Weatherall (2005) critically reflected on their privilege positionality as white, educated researchers when conducting research on topics of race and racism: "as nonindigenous researchers, we must carefully consider the appropriateness of such an undertaking" (p. 503).

There are a number of terminologies used to describe this theory: it is commonly referred as critical paradigm (Guba & Lincoln, 1994) or emancipatory paradigm (Mertens, 2015). Among others, this group of researchers include critical theorists, participatory action researchers, Marxists, feminists, ethnic minorities and persons with disabilities (Mertens, 2015). A critical paradigm has some limitations. Its predominant strength is critiquing concepts and ideas, so the development of practical, applied strategies for positive change is given less focus.

5.2.4   Integration

Some researchers use a mixture of methods to answer a research question. There are some challenges in combining methods and care needs to be taken to maintain theoretical coherence.

Table 5.2 Example of four peace psychology studies using qualitative methods

Studies	*Paradigm* and methodology	Research aims/questions	Sampling	Data collection methods	Analytic strategies	Types of findings	Quality of research
Cameron, Maslen and Zazie (2013)	*Constructivism* discursive approach	Emotional responses to terrorism, Muslims in UK	96 participants, Muslim and non-Muslim	Six focus groups in London where bombs exploded in 2005; Six in Leeds, home of three of the bombers. Use of a moderator	Applied linguistic analytic methods. Metaphorical analysis. Multilevel, nested discourse analysis	Identities/groups are fluid. People dialogically have multiple voices and positions, sometimes simultaneously	Attention to voice. Member check. Peer debriefing
Philpot, Balvin, Mellor, & Bretherton (2013)	*Constructivism* phenomelogical inquiry	Understand meaning of inter-group apologies for recipients	Ten Indigenous men and 22 Indigenous women from diverse geographic, cultural and occupational contexts across Australia	One-to-one interviews	Thematic analysis using NVivo	Different reactions to former Prime Minister Kevin Rudd's apology to Australia's Indigenous peoples	Confirmanity audit. Critical reflexivity

Table 5.2 (continued)

Studies	Paradigm and methodology	Research aims/questions	Sampling	Data collection methods	Analytic strategies	Types of findings	Quality of research
Lykes (2013)	*Transformative* PAR. Postcolonial methodology. Critical theory	Re-theorize trauma and resilience from the vantage points of Global South	Marginalized communities around the world	Six case studies of different geographical but similar socio-political context. Use of PhotoPAR workshops, photovoice and phototext, interviews and critical self-reflection	Analysis of multiple case studies	Documented understanding of creative contributions of marginalized communities	Multiple case studies. Psycho-political validity
Kirkwood, Liu and Weatherall (2005)	*Transformative* Critical Theory, discursive research	Analyze argumentative fabric that constitutes the dialectics of racism and anti-racism in New Zealand	Collected 2171 written submissions to government regarding the proposed foreshore and seabed legislation which affects Indigenous communities	Author read and sorted all submissions and analyzed selected sections	Discourse analysis	Findings were illustrative, constructive rather than representative. Findings demonstrated standard story and counter stories of racism and discrimination in contemporary New Zealand	Using existing data. Contribute to policy debate

5.2.5   *Examples of Qualitative Research in Peace Psychology*

Table 5.2 provides an overview of four qualitative research projects that adopt a variety of methodologies.

Cameron, Maslen and Zazie (2013) examined the dialogic construction of self and other in response to terrorism in the context of post-bombing in London. They conducted 12 focus-group interviews with Muslims and non-Muslims living in London (where the bomb incidents occurred in 2005) and Leeds (where three of the bombers reside) about their emotional responses to terrorism among Muslims in the UK. The researchers adopted a linguistic dialogic approach and used "talk" as data to analyze emotional responses toward terrorism and shifting social identities. According to the researchers, the "dialogic self is both real and imagined, and embodied self in space and a constructed self in the imagination" (p. 6). Hence, the researchers used the constructivist paradigm to understand the subjective nature of knowledge.

Another example of qualitative research of constructivist paradigm is Philpot, Balvin, Mellor and Bretherton's (2013) study. The researchers examined responses to the 2008 formal apology from the Prime Minister of Australia, at that time Kevin Rudd, to the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples for being forcibly removed from their families (the Stolen Generations) under previous governments between 1910s and 1970s. The research aimed to find out Indigenous people's responses to the first national and official apology. The researchers adopted a phenomenological approach in the study and interviewed 10 Indigenous men[1] and 22 women about their attitudes toward the apology and forgiveness.

An example of transformative research is Kirkwood and colleagues' (2005) study that focused on challenging the standard story of indigenous rights in Aotearoa/New Zealand. Aotearoa is the Maori name for New Zealand. They aimed to understand how history, identity and equality were used to legitimize positions on indigenous rights claims over the foreshore and seabed in Aotearoa/New Zealand. To achieve their research aim, they used a critical theoretical framework and conducted discourse analysis on 2171 written public submissions regarding the proposed foreshore and seabed legislation. They argued that, "discursive research on discrimination should approach texts as contributions to a dialectics of racism and antiracism. This is useful for gaining a better understanding of oppressive discourses, and developing arguments that actively challenge discrimination" (p. 493).

Lykes (2013)'s research provides another good example of transformative research. With the aim of re-theorizing trauma and resilience, she adopted a variety of qualitative methodologies and methods, including Participative Action Research, postcolonial methodologies and Photovoice, to engage marginalized communities to narrate their experiences and perspectives of trauma and resilience. Her carefully

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[1] The use of capitalization of "I" in Indigenous varies. "I" is capitalized where Indigenous is referring to people. E.g. Indigenous people, Indigenous research assistant, Indigenous children. Small letter "i" is used where indigenous is used as adjective of an inanimate object—indigenous method, indigenous policy and so on.

chosen methods not only yielded meaningful and in-depth research data, but also empowered research participants and fostered social change. As she wrote in one of her studies, "Mayan women in both sets of projects reported that performing narratives of pain and resistance offered possibilities for personal transformation through individual and small-group experiences". (p. 778).

5.3   Overview of Qualitative Research Methods

Many qualitative researchers believe that a scientific approach only contributes to a part of knowledge (e.g., Denzin & Lincoln, 2011; Possamai-Inesedy, 2014), much like the Indian metaphor of "a blind man and an elephant", where a range of facts and fallacies were based on the individual's perspective without encompassing a totality of truth. A conclusion that only depends on findings generated from empirical studies could be fragmented and incomplete. Hence, we do not argue for a dichotomous view which posits qualitative research as the opposite of quantitative research, rather, we highlight that qualitative approaches give much broader and wider perspectives of a multiplicity of truths and realities.

Qualitative research methods are not new and have origins within the disciplines of anthropology, sociology and psychology (Fossey et al. 2002). Qualitative research methods are useful in answering specific sets of research questions and needs. The key characteristics of qualitative methods are that they are largely concerned with the interpretation of subjective meanings, that they provide a thick description of sociocultural and political context, and that they privilege everyday knowledge (Popay et al. 1998).

Moreover, rather than testing of specific hypothesis, qualitative research questions are generally broad (Mertens, 2015). The words or terminologies used in research questions need to be carefully thought through, as a strong emphasis is focusing on language, context and interpretations of subjective meanings attributed to situations and actions. Hence, it would be useful to include clear narrative explanations of terminologies and conduct a literature review on keywords. The aim is to develop adequate understanding, and in some studies, proper working definitions, that match the scope, context and field of the study. At times, more refined and focused questions may emerge as the study progresses, which could contribute to more targeted sampling and information gathering (Fossey et al. 2002). Hence, qualitative research design is characterized as "emergent", flexible, responsive to situated place, space and people (Fossey et al. 2002, p. 723).

The choice of qualitative rather than quantitative methods depends on the types of research questions asked, as well as worldviews. Some questions might best be answered using quantitative methods. For example, if the researcher wanted to measure the percentage of university students who support the government sending troops to Iraq, a survey or poll would be appropriate. However, if the researcher wanted to find out about the experiences of university students who interacted with Iraqi refugees then one-on-one interviews or focus groups would be more likely to provide suitable data.

5.3.1   Sampling

Because qualitative research emphasizes the richness and depth of data, sample sizes, in the sense of numbers of participants, may be small. Qualitative research typically employs smaller sample sizes than are needed for a sound quantitative study because the focus is more on the depth and richness of the data analysis rather than the extent of representation of the population.

Qualitative research approaches may be more suitable when researching populations who are less mainstream, for instance, populations who have not been previously studied, marginalized groups and disadvantaged populations. For example, a conversation is likely to yield more information than a computer survey when dealing with people with low rates of literacy. Where there is a low level of trust of authority a researcher may gain more reliable data by meeting face to face and establishing some level of rapport. Qualitative researchers can be innovative when engaging with groups with unique needs, qualities and features, for example using drawing with child soldiers (e.g. Kostelny & Wessells, 2010), photography with illiterate people, and performative theatre with indigenous people (e.g. Cohen, Varea, & Waller, 2011).

Purposive sampling is often used. The researchers tend to have clear ideas of the specific populations they wish to involve in the study (for example, female Australian politician leaders who served between 2005 and 2014). Some qualitative researchers consider a snow-ball sampling method to recruit suitable participants (e.g. Noy, 2008). This method is used when there is difficulty in reaching out to participants who fit the research criteria, are available and are willing to take part in the research. Snow-balling involves inviting the participants who are committed to the project to recommend and suggest other contacts based on their social networks.

With the popularity of social media use, crowd sourcing methods and collecting data over the internet have been used by some qualitative researchers to seek personal opinions, ideas and responses over a particular topic over the internet (e.g. see Chapter 18 for an in-depth discussion of using social media in research). Researchers should consider the pros and cons of each sampling method and match them against the research aims. For example, gathering data over the Internet might improve anonymity of researcher and/or participants and therefore potentially improve the authenticity of participant responses. Nevertheless, crowd sourcing may jeopardize the opportunity to build relationships and trust between the researcher and participant through the research process, which could lead to a less transformative outcome. In reporting sampling techniques, the researcher should clearly articulate the sampling processes and relate them to the research aims and questions.

To answer the research question and to build a comprehensive description of the phenomenon being studied, qualitative researchers aim to achieve an adequate sampling of information sources. These sources are not limited to people and include places, events and the types and nature of data (Fossey et al. 2002). Examples of accessing qualitative data could be collecting front page headlines of government-owned newspapers 10 days pre and post 2014 federal election in Indonesia or photographing murals in Belfast for analysis. In these cases the sample size is the total

number of headlines or the number of murals rather than the number of people. So it is possible to have a smaller number of participants than would be required for a quantitative study, but nonetheless have a large amount of data.

5.3.2 Data Collection

A qualitative study might incorporate a variety of data types as well as data collection methods. For example interviews, field notes, observations and newspaper clippings may all form the data set. Interview and focus-group interview are two of the most commonly used data collection methods in qualitative research. Each of these methods is discussed in the following section.

Interviewing is a method used by the researcher to elicit the participant's views, perspectives, and opinions possibly of a particular event, issue, idea and/or social context. Interviews are most commonly used in phenomenological inquiry as the researcher aims to examine the first person's account of subjective experience. Interviews could be conducted in one-on-one and face-to-face approach, or over the phone or Internet (e.g. over Skype or FaceTime). The researcher usually chooses an interview venue that is suitable (e.g. location that has little background noise, is nonintimidating and convenient to the participants). Interview questions could be structured, semi-structured and unstructured. The latter two techniques are more commonly used as they offer greater flexibility and a more conversational style of interview process. Some interviews might be quite structured around the questions but the same questions might be answered less directly by encouraging a more narrative approach. For example, in the community resilience research, Ride and Bretherton (2011) started off interviews with some more general questions about personal experience of the disaster, such as "When did you know something was wrong?", "What did you do?" These questions encouraged people to tell their own stories without too much prompting from the interviewer. Specific research questions such as "What aid did you receive and how appropriate was it to your needs?" although of primary interest the researchers were not asked until the last part of the interview.

When conducting interviews with participants from less powerful and privileged backgrounds, the researcher should be aware, and be reflexive of, their own sociocultural positions and privileged identity. The interactions should be respectful, transparent, equal and fair to the participants. It can be helpful to conduct pilot interviews prior the actual interviews. Aspects to consider include: ways to introduce the nature and purposes of research project, the nature of "consent", the expectations of the participants when contributing their knowledge to the project, the ways the participants would be acknowledged and protected, the ways information will be used and participants' expectations of the researcher and the research process. The qualitative researcher should try out different peaceful ways to approach the participants, such as spend time "warming" the sessions or "melting the ice" before embarking on interview questions. Interviews can last from about 20 min up to

many hours (e.g. life stories) (Atkinson, 1998). There are many reference books available on how to conduct interviews (e.g. Oishi, 2002) and literature on how to conduct focus groups (e.g. Krueger & Casey, 2008).

Focus-group interviews usually involve gathering information from a group of participants who share similar backgrounds (e.g. ethnicities and gender), interests (e.g. pro-environment) or characteristics (e.g. speaking same language) at the same time and place. The researcher will need to have an understanding of group processes and possess sound moderation and facilitation skills to maximize the benefits of focus-group interviews. Successful focus-group interviews are those that have a free flow of conversation and are fair, with opportunities for all participants to speak. The process should be respectful and non-intimidating. The researcher needs to be sensitive to group and power dynamics throughout the whole process. Background research may be necessary to understand if there is conflict within the invited group participants. Although some disagreement could be useful for rich group discussion, in some contexts, careless group settings may result in poor communication (e.g. putting Arabs and Jews with strong political views together in a focus group to discuss the history of Palestine). Careful selection of interview location and good seating arrangement are recommended to ensure positive dynamics and discussions. Interview questions should be semi-structured and supported with prompts. This method of data collection usually yields collective perspectives on a particular topic, comments made at the session may trigger and recall other information from the other participants. Hence, an effective facilitation would contribute to rich and resourceful research data.

Researchers in qualitative research often use more than one method or technique of data gathering. Participant observations, participatory action research and other innovative approaches (using art, theatre, music and role plays) are often used with interviews and focus-group interviews.

Other techniques such as triangulation, or collecting data about the same phenomenon from sources and by different methods, are beneficial to ensure adequacy of information. As Fossey and colleagues (2002) asserted, triangulation "permits comparison and convergence of perspectives to identify corroborating and dissenting accounts, and so to examine as many aspects of the research issue as possible. Therefore, to evaluate the adequacy of data collection, readers should consider whether the chosen data collection methods have enabled the researcher to adequately explore the subjective meaning, actions and social context relevant to the research question" (p. 728).

5.3.3   Data Analysis

Data analysis in qualitative research involves an ongoing process. "It does not occur only at the end of the study as is typical in most quantitative studies" (Mertens, 2015, p. 437). Qualitative researchers can discover findings in a recursive manner. They should be able to draw on successive pieces of data, information gathered throughout the research process to inform the research process as it progresses.

Findings may emerge and then be systematically built upon, as part of the repetitive and continuing process of gathering information and then subjecting it to ongoing interpretation and analysis.

Raw research data usually needs to be "prepared" before being analyzed. Raw data could include field notes, reflective journals, audio recordings of interviews, photographs, brochures, newspaper articles or government reports. The researchers should think about whether, for example the audio-recorded interviews need to be translated (from another language into English language) and transcribed into texts. These processes usually raise a number of technical questions. For instance, how detailed should the transcription be? Should it include pauses, laughter and other nonverbal gestures? Who should do the transcription? Many qualitative researchers believe that researchers who conduct the interviews should do the transcriptions "because it is part of the data analysis process engendered by interacting with the data in an intensive and intimate way" (Mertens, 2015, p. 438).

Once data is "prepared", the researchers may move to the data exploration phase and data reduction phase. These two phases are synergistic (Mertens, 2015). The data exploration phase involve reviewing, thinking and making notes on the researchers' thoughts and interpretations. The researcher may generate new questions and ideas about meanings, relationships and connections between different points embedded in the data. The data reduction phase involves reducing the data to a manageable scope that can be used for reporting. Depending on the nature of research, this could be done by constantly referring back to the researcher's initial research objectives and questions. The researcher may focus on data that is relevant to their research questions. It is important for researchers to be open to alternative interpretations of the data taking care to not just gather data that bolsters the researchers ideas but also to gather the type of data which could refute them.

Coding is essentially labelling of data according to its themes or concepts. Coding could be done on words, sentences, paragraphs and sections of texts. Traditionally, coding involves using different coloured pens and highlighters, and/or sticky notes, to label and categorize the data. Contemporary researchers more frequently use computer software to assist in the coding process. Charmaz (2006) gives a detailed explanation of coding techniques and strategies.

There are many different analytical approaches to qualitative methods. The following section provides brief overviews of thematic analysis, grounded theory techniques, narrative analysis and discourse analysis and recommends readings for each of these methods.

Thematic analysis is identifying themes that emerge as being important and relevant to the description of the phenomenon (Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006; Daly, Kellehear, & Gliksman, 1997). The process may be deductive and use predetermined categories (Crabtree & Miller, 1999) or might be inductive and involve the identification of themes from data sets (Boyatzis, 1998). It is similar to a process of pattern recognition within data based on careful reading and re-reading of texts. The emerging themes could become useful categories for analysis (Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006). Readers are encouraged to read Fereday and Muir-Cochrane (2006) for a detailed explanation of a hybrid usage of both inductive and deductive processes of thematic analysis.

The main aim of grounded theory techniques for analyzing data is to inductively and explicitly develop theory from data (Fossey et al. 2002). It is the opposite of armchair theorizing. Grounded theory emphasizes the need to build theory from concepts derived, developed and integrated based on the actual data (Corbin & Strauss, 2014, p. 6). Theory developed from the data could be used to deconstruct, reconstruct or improve pre-existing theory. Readers are encouraged to refer to literature by Rice and Ezzy (1999) and Corbin and Strauss (2014), for further descriptions of grounded theory procedures.

There are multiple definitions for narrative analysis and discourse analysis. In this chapter, narrative analysis is about stories told verbally, in text or through performances. The researchers who use narrative analysis aim to identify the content, structure and form of stories. The analysis involves interpretations of personal experience, identity, storytelling, culture and social circumstances. When reporting research, narrative researchers need to carefully consider the positionality of the researcher in the story: That is, whose story will be told and how will the person's story be represented.

Discourse analysis aims to understand the implicit meanings of participants' language. Rather than simply hearing and documenting the words in the stories, the researchers try to read between the lines to make sense of deeper meanings of the ways the story was told. For example, the ways in which the participants identify themselves, their relationships with each other, or share meanings created through language. Roger, Malancharuvil-Berkes, Mosley, Hui and Joseph (2005) provide a detailed review of discourse analysis and critical discourse analysis. They also provide a number of examples of the application of critical discourse analysis in psychology research.

It is important to involve the entire research team as well as participants in data analysis (Mertens, 2015; and see Chapter 10). This process ensures participants' voices are accurately represented, the rigour of interpretation process is maintained, and analysis remains transparent.

5.3.4   Computer Tools Used in Qualitative Research

Most researchers have heard of SPSS for quantitative research, but fewer are familiar with computer tools for qualitative research. Since the 1990s, there have been numerous computer tools available for qualitative researchers (Weitzman, 1999), and the use of computer tools in qualitative analysis has increased in recent years (Mertens, 2015). Some of the more popular software packages are ATLAS/ti, The Ethnograph, HyperRESEARCH, and NVivo. Each software package has its unique features and functions as well as strengths and constraints in data analysis. Hence, researchers should familiarize themselves with the pros and cons of each software before choosing and using it for their research. Other things being equal it can be helpful to choose a package that is used by colleagues and fellow students so their experience can be drawn upon. This also makes it easier to communicate research

results to them. Due to the rapid changes and updates occurring in the field of technology, it is impossible to discuss in detail the feature of each computer system in this volume. We therefore decided to draw on one example with the aim to provide some insights into the ways in which it could assist in qualitative research.

NVivo was designed to assist researchers in sorting out and organising nonnumerical, unstructured text-based data and multimedia data (audio, videos and photographs). It can be used to conduct basic work such as grouping and coding data into themes and subthemes known as nodes, as well as higher-level processes such as combination analysis with linking and modelling to establish some relationships between the coded variables. There are search and query functions to assist researchers to identify relevant words from the data. NVivo can be used to store information from different sources. It was also developed with the theory building aim of qualitative work in mind. The aim is not just to categorize data into existing categories, but to develop a structure of categories which best fit the data. This then aids the development of theory.

Researchers who are less familiar with qualitative analysis may assume qualitative analysis is simply coding data. Developing a good understanding of qualitative data requires ongoing data analysis (Mertens, 2015), deep theoretical and conceptual understanding, active involvement of researchers' own thoughts, reflection and intuition in processing and exploring meanings, patterns or connections among data (Fossey et al. 2002). As researchers turn to computer systems for storing, sorting and retrieving information it is necessary to recognize the limitations of using technology in analyzing qualitative data. Computer software developers do bring a set of ontological and epistemological and sometimes even methodological and theoretical ideologies to the development of their products (Weitzman, 2009). These have important impacts on the process of analysis. Researchers need to carefully choose a tool that matches the research project, research questions, the structure of the data set, the style and mechanics of the analysis planned, and to the researcher's level of comfort with computers in general (Weitzman, 2009). Some qualitative researchers prefer not to use computer tools to assist in their data analysis as they are concerned that the software could potentially distance the data from the researchers and the participants (Fossey et al. 2002; Weitzman, 2009). Hence, many qualitative researchers retain the old fashioned practice of manually cutting and pasting and sorting out pieces of paper with codes in different colored pencils. These researchers spend time closely engaged with the data, and personally review, synthesize, interpret the implicit meanings and structure of text-based data and develop, describe and explain their findings (Fossey et al. 2002). However, a limitation of this approach is that the template that the researcher started with maybe reinforced rather than revised. An advantage of NVivo, for example, with its function of enabling multiple categories to be coded, facilitates the re-configuration of the structure of the categories. A category that started out as a minor twig on the tree may grow become the trunk, the main organizing idea. Another advantage of the use of the computer technology is that the research is replicable. Other researchers can ask for the data to be produced, and can ask for specific questions to be answered.

When writing up the research, it is advisable for researchers who use computer software to avoid simply dropping the name of the computer software in the method

section as it is insufficient to explain how findings were conceptualized and developed. It is essential to carefully describe and explain in detail the choice of method and tool used, and the processes involved in analysis of data, and the ways in which findings were discovered.

5.3.5   *Reporting of Research Findings*

The strong emphasis on the subjective interpretation of meaning will be reflected in the reporting of qualitative research. A sound literature review will articulate the scope of research, the aims of the study and research questions (Mertens, 2015; Fossey et al. 2002). The style of writing is less restricted than a quantitative research report. For example, qualitative researchers may use personal pronouns and use less technical language, more like a storytelling approach in reporting their studies. Researchers may express their perspectives, experience, assumptions, potential biases and draw out the lessons learnt. They are encouraged to include the "voices" of the participants, hence text-based quotes are commonly found in qualitative research reports. There are some debates on whether researchers should "edit" the "voice" of participants to make it more literate for readers. Depending on the research aims researchers try to keep the raw and unedited comments of participants in the report, so as not to lose authenticity.

Fossey and colleagues (2002) offer two useful criteria for good practice in reporting qualitative research. They suggest a sound qualitative research report should enable the readers to comprehend the purposes of the study. It should articulate the relationships between the research purposes and the choices made in research methods and analysis. Writing should be clear and accessible to readers. Readers would be benefited from researchers' explanations and evaluation of research options and decision making on major research difficulties and obstacles. The researchers are encouraged to write about their own assumptions and interpretations that have been influenced by their own worldviews, observations and information gathered. A sound qualitative research report should include key lessons learned from the research experiences.

Miles, Huberman and Saldana (2014) suggest the use of matrix and network displays in communicating lengthy, unreduced and cumbersome research findings. They emphasize the importance of communicating qualitative findings using effective and simple visual formats to readers. A matrix is essentially a tabular format with intersections of lists, set up as columns and rows. The lists must be clearly labelled and provided with only keywords or headings (e.g., Table 5.1 is an example of a matrix display). The matrix gives readers a one-page overview of key findings and allows researchers to elaborate each intersection in narrative form in the document. A network display is a collection of ideas or nodes connected by links that display relationships and processes. The display can communicate complex interrelationships between variables and concepts at a glance. For example, a summary of this chapter has already been outlined using a network display (see Fig. 5.1). One could also add Nvivo tree as a way of displaying findings.
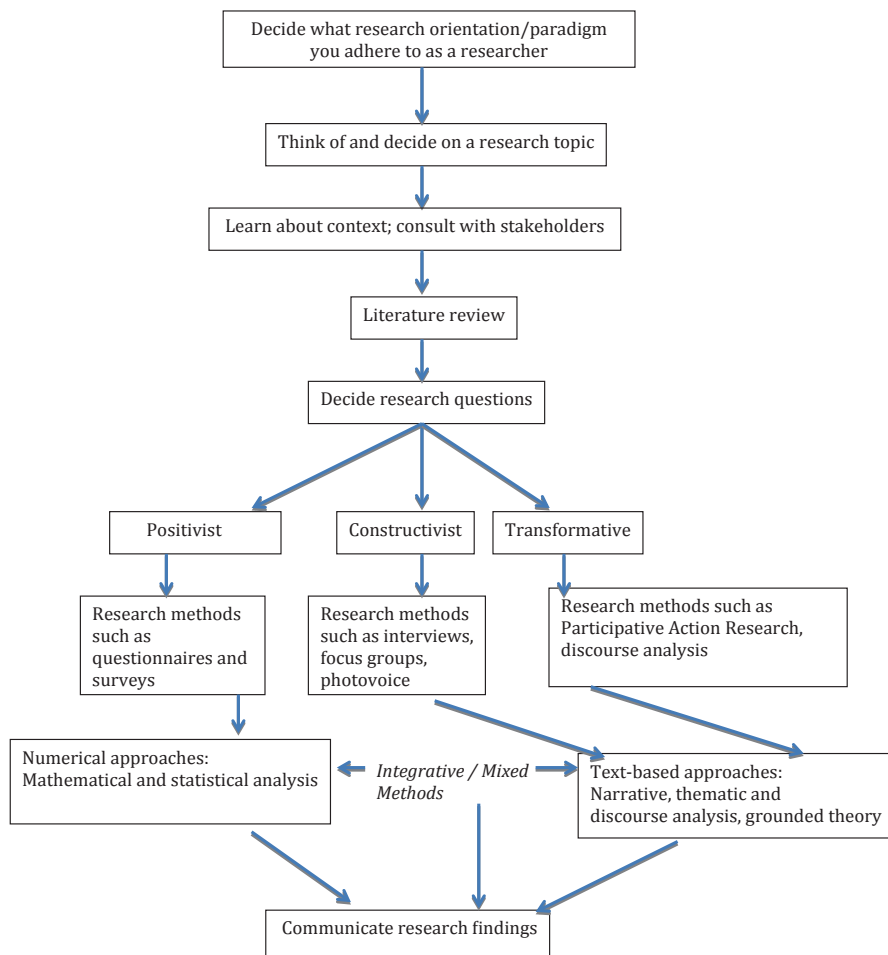
```
┌─────────────────────────────────────┐
│  Decide what research orientation/paradigm │
│       you adhere to as a researcher         │
└─────────────────────────────────────┘
                    │
                    ▼
┌─────────────────────────────────────┐
│   Think of and decide on a research topic   │
└─────────────────────────────────────┘
                    │
                    ▼
┌─────────────────────────────────────┐
│  Learn about context; consult with stakeholders │
└─────────────────────────────────────┘
                    │
                    ▼
┌─────────────────────────────────────┐
│            Literature review            │
└─────────────────────────────────────┘
                    │
                    ▼
┌─────────────────────────────────────┐
│         Decide research questions         │
└─────────────────────────────────────┘
```

Figure flow: Decide research questions branches to **Positivist**, **Constructivist**, and **Transformative**.

- **Positivist** → Research methods such as questionnaires and surveys → Numerical approaches: Mathematical and statistical analysis
- **Constructivist** → Research methods such as interviews, focus groups, photovoice
- **Transformative** → Research methods such as Participative Action Research, discourse analysis → Text-based approaches: Narrative, thematic and discourse analysis, grounded theory

Integrative / Mixed Methods connects Numerical approaches and Text-based approaches.

All lead to: Communicate research findings

Fig. 5.1 A network display of a research process

5.4 What Criteria Do We Use to Evaluate the Quality of a Qualitative Study?

One criticism that can be made of qualitative methods, especially by researchers of a positivist orientation can be a lack of rigor. Other common criticisms are that the samples are too small to be representative of the broader population so it is difficult to draw conclusion that generalize the results; there is high risk of researcher bias as it is difficult to tell how far the findings are biased by the researcher's own opinions (Brikci & Green, 2007). Some criteria for evaluating qualitative research on its own terms are noted by Mertens (2015). Reviewers of qualitative research should look at whether the authors have provided enough information about the context of

study; whether the authors are clear about their own positioning in the research, the processes used and the authors roles in interpreting research data, and the ways in which the voices and perspectives of the participants are being communicated and represented in text (Table 5.3).

These criteria, which include concepts drawn from Lincoln and Guba (1985), Fossey and colleagues (2002) and Mertens (2015) can be applied to all qualitative research irrespective of the different constructivist or transformative paradigms. To illustrate this further, we turn to Cameron and colleagues's (2013) work. The researchers gave great care to ensure interviewer corroboration. They ensured the whole research team was involved in the interview and coding process. They noted that "consensus on coding procedure was reached through shared work, training and

Table 5.3 Criteria for sound qualitative research

Criteria	Description	Suggested methods to ensure quality is met
Trustworthiness	Parallels internal validity.	Member check
		Interviewer corroboration
		Peer debriefing
		Prolonged and persistent engagement
		Negative case analysis
		Progressive subjectivity
		Triangulation
		Auditability
		Bracketing
Transferability	Parallels external validity	Thick descriptions
		Multiple cases
Dependability	Parallels reliability	Dependability audit
Confirmability	Parallels objectivity	Chain of evidence
	If we do have hypotheses, look for data that do not confirm the hypotheses as well as data that confirm hypotheses	Confirmability audit
	Exploring other possible conclusions	
Transformative	Has social change as a goal	Critical reflexivity (positionality or standpoint)
		Fairness in process
		Ontological authenticity
		Community
		Attention to voice
		Reciprocity (sharing of privilege)
		Catalytic authenticity/praxis or social change

were checked through double-blind coding of samples and discussions to resolve disagreements" (p. 7).

Similarly, Philpot et al. (2013) established a confirmability audit. For instance, "as new themes emerged, they were checked against existing themes" (p. 40). Their study also demonstrated critical reflection of researchers' privilege positionality. As narrated in the article: "as nonIndigenous Australians, however, we also represented the oppressor, colonizer outgroup, and, at times, we encountered the mistrust reserved for this group" (p. 40). Conscious and active actions were taken to redress their power imbalance between the researchers and participants:

As a White researcher from elsewhere, Philpot was understood to be ignorant of many of these laws, and participants therefore made allowances for her in her interactions with people from the community. At the same time, because Philpot had a connection in the community—she was introduced to her Indigenous conversation partners by her mother's sister (her second mother in this cultural context), who had lived there for 20 years—participants trusted her more quickly than they would have a complete outsider. (p. 40).

5.4.1 Publication

Qualitative researchers may find they have more difficulty in getting published in mainstream psychology journals than would quantitative researchers (Possamai-Inesedy, 2014). As well as the traditional preference for quantitative approaches to psychology one of the challenges for qualitative research to be "accepted" for publication is the word limit. Standard journals set restrictions on word limit that may disadvantage qualitative articles, which need more space to explain the research context, and include sufficient quotes from the participants.

Examples of psychological journals that accept qualitative research include:

Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology (American Psychological Association)

Journal of Social and Political Psychology (open source)

American Psychologists (American Psychological Associations)

Qualitative Research in Psychology (Taylor and Francis Online)

Journal of Community and Applied Social Psychology (Wiley Online)

Journal of Social Issues (Wiley, official journal of the Society for the Psychological Studies of Social Issues)

Due to the paucity of psychology journals that accept and publish qualitative research, many qualitative psychology researchers have submitted their work to interdisciplinary journals. Examples interdisciplinary journals that accept qualitative research include:

Cross-cultural Research: Journal of Comparative Social Sciences (Sage, Official journal of the "Society for Cross-cultural Research")

Cultural Studies—Critical Methodologies (Sage)

Discourse Processes (Taylor and Frances, official journal of the Society for Text and Discourse)

Discourse Studies: An Interdisciplinary Journal for the Study of Text and Talk (Sage)

The Journal of Social and Personal Relationships (Sage)

Qualitative Inquiry (Sage)

Qualitative Research (Sage)

International Journal of Qualitative Methods (open source)

5.4.2   Are Qualitative Research Methods More Peaceful Than Quantitative Methods?

In this volume of we acknowledge that the history of the field of psychology is less than peaceful. Certain influential psychological theories have been used to justify inequality, racism and violence. For example, in the 1800s, Sir Francis Galton, an English scientist and psychologist initiated the eugenics movement based on the beliefs that humanity could be improved through selective breeding. Using tests of cognitive abilities, Galton proposed a system of improving the general intelligence of people by advocating the reproduction of only gifted individuals. In the 1850s, many psychologists adhered to the theory of Social Darwinism, which argued for the survival of the fittest in society. The theory sought to justify the domination of strong individuals, races and societies over the weak. In the 1910, psychologists in the USA introduced the first wave of large-scale intelligence testing to promote racial segregation in the US, and research results were used to identify "undesirable races" that should be excluded from migrating to the US. In the same period, Porteus introduced intelligence testing movement in Australia to advocate for oppressive educational, vocational and social policies for Aboriginal people of Australia. In the contemporary context, we see a number of psychologists being recruited by the US Army, Defence Forces and military (APA, 2009; Augoustinos, 2013). With lucrative remuneration, some of these psychologists draw on their expertize to design methods of torture and interrogation of terrorist suspects (ABC, 2014; the Senate Intelligence Committee report, 2014).

This does not mean to imply that dominant psychological research is inappropriate or less peaceful. Nor is it meant to suggest there are "paradigm wars" (Guba & Lincoln, 1994) or that qualitative research could solve all the world's problems. What is important is that, psychologists need to aware of the way our work could contribute to the complex structures and systems that intersect peace, conflict and violence. Psychology researchers as knowledge producers need to find ways in which our research could be more peaceful in terms of its processes and outcomes.

5.4.3 How Do We Ensure How Qualitative Research Could Be More Peaceful?

As John Paul Lederach (1997) asserted, to address structural violence, we need multilevel peacebuilding and peacemaking initiatives, collective efforts and a careful consideration of long-term change. In this chapter, we propose a number of small and simple actions that all researchers may consider to produce more peaceful qualitative research processes and outcomes.

Peaceful actions are underpinned by peaceful values. Starting from the individual, personal level, we have to be prepared to develop *dialectical thinking* – an understanding that there are multiple ways of looking at things. Many Noble Peace laureates and peacemakers who battled systemic injustice have demonstrated this quality of dialectical thinking (Bretherton & Bornstein, 2003). Peace psychology researchers who *recognize and acknowledge* that there are more than one way to answer a question are more likely consider broader research paradigms. They are prepared to *question assumptions* of their own and *learn* from others. Peaceful research encourages *fair* and *equal* processes. This includes using research methods that are less intrusive, not imposing on or exploiting research participants. Researchers should be more aware of their own privileged social positioning and subsequently, more proactive in addressing power imbalance between researchers and participants before, during and after research is conducted. Research should benefit the participants, not just the researchers and the institutions that support research project (Possamai-Inesedy, 2014). When writing up the research report, researchers need to critically consider whose stories and whose voices they are representing (Law & Mackenzie, upcoming). As effective learners, researchers could actively tune in to diversity and *respect* differences. Rather than treating differences as "irrelevant" to the study, peaceful researchers *actively listen* to voices and stories that may not be immediately available to the researchers. This could be achieved through careful and respectful *consultative* process with participants. For example, when identifying ideas that are different from the researchers, rather than just using their quotes to support the researchers' own positions, researchers may need to put their own ideas aside to take in what the participants are saying.

Researchers should be very careful about claiming to have a local perspective or gaining legitimacy from such a claim. If the subjects are not truly representative, the research may not be very peaceful. For example, research conducted with undergraduate psychology students of a diaspora background (e.g. African Australians) should not claim legitimacy of voices from the population of a particular world region (i.e. all of Africa). Though there is nothing wrong with conducting research with diaspora populations, it is important to acknowledge and clarify in the report, who this sample represents, as the finding do not necessarily represent the perspective of the population from that particular world region.

Another example could be the researcher who only speaks English and fails to acknowledge their reliance on other local researchers or assistants to collect non-English language research data. While it is common to use intermediaries to navi-

gate local systems and cultural dynamics in research projects, it is important to carefully consider the relationships between researchers and intermediaries, and the relationships between the intermediaries and the participants. Some of the intermediaries may become gatekeepers as they influence, process and filter raw research data and give researchers what they want the researchers to hear. Often, these intermediaries are those who are easily accessible to the principle researchers, speak very good English and are well educated. Without conscious intention, the intermediaries may contaminate the processes and voices of the participants due to their privileged upper class ontology, epistemology and approaches. This is not to argue against the use of local researchers, rather to emphasize the importance of carefully establishing collaborative research relationships with intermediaries, establishing good understanding of research principles and aims, and acknowledging this all in the report. "Unpeaceful" research is work that has poor authenticity but claims strong legitimacy (Arnett, 2008).

5.5   Conclusion

This chapter provides a brief overview of qualitative research in the context of peace psychology. It looks at the main paradigms and situates qualitative research not as simply the dichotomous opposite of quantitative work, but as a broader approach, which can give voice to the hitherto neglected populations around the world. In choosing to do qualitative work, the researcher may find obstacles arise from the existing systems in psychology. Underlying these obstacles is the knowledge economy in which quantitative research is the default option. But the positives of doing good qualitative research far outweigh the obstacles because qualitative research is a journey into the unknown where we enter into the lives of others to reap unexpected rewards and build new relationships. Building relationships across difficult divides (languages, cultures, political orientations, life circumstances) is the basis of peacebuilding. The researcher and the research become both the means and the ends of peace.

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Chapter 6
Utilizing Mixed Research and Evaluation Methodology in Peace Psychology and Beyond

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6.1 Researchers' Beliefs About Methodology in the Context of Dichotomy

Not unlike others, researchers in peace psychology, by and large, have subscribed to a dichotomous representation of research methods (Neufeldt, 2011). In that arbitrarily dichotomous representation, the term *quantitative* (i.e., QUAN) is used as a proxy for "positivistic" (an unfortunate mislabeling, since almost all such studies fall within a postpositivist worldview; cf. Phillips & Burbules, 2000), "objective," "large scale," and, sometimes, "experimental." On the other side of the spectrum, the term *qualitative* (i.e., QUAL) is used to denote "subjective," "in-depth," "small scale," and clearly "value-laden."

Scholars with firm footing in the first side of the spectrum use statistical generalization and probabilistic prediction, sometimes based on larger scale (controlled or natural) intervention studies, in order to make policy and practice recommendations. Often, they consider the research conducted by members of the other camp as representing conjecture, subject to personal opinions of the investigator rather than on the "realities on the ground," and lacking systematic audits for quality/rigor. To the point of being a truism (i.e., a belief statement that is taken for granted as "true" and is not challenged often), they deem these studies as being exploratory, small scale, and unworthy to guide policy and practice.

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In contrast, scholars who are firmly anchored in the other side of the spectrum subscribe to comparable truism about the research by the "other side." Such research is represented as a means of maintaining the sociopolitical status quo, presumably due to an unequal power relationship rooted in the researcher's role as an "outsider" to the context (i.e., etic viewpoint) and process of social interactions/relationships. The researcher is often depicted as someone who is mainly interested in statistical generalizations (i.e., universalistic generalizability) rather than in a deep understanding of complex sociopolitical phenomena. A second part of that truism assumes that qualitative approaches to research level, or at least reduce, the power differential between the researcher and participants in research[1].

In our view, construing two competing perspectives, each with its own proponents and assumed in-group and out-group designations for members of communities of scholars, provides identifiable "positions" to occupy within these communities and makes the academic world cognitively meaningful and predictable. Despite this over-simplicity and presumed predictability, dichotomization of communities of researchers *and* their modes of operation have their own drawbacks for at least three reasons. First, this dichotomization creates an assumed in-group/out-group identity for researchers ("tribalism," Vogt, 2008, p. 18), what the peace psychology proponents inherently are striving to dilute in the world as a strategy toward peace.

Second, the sociopolitical world itself does not abide by a dichotomy of subjectivity–objectivity of inferences, insider–outsider role of the researcher, and value-free versus value-laden nature of research. Human decision-making and problem-solving are often based on multiple dimensions of experience and information, each consisting of a sort of a continuum anchored by the presumed extremes of each dichotomy. Perceptions, decisions, and justifications for war, suppression, peace, and reconciliation are based on highly complex cognitive and sociopolitical information processing. In peace research, in general, and peace psychology in particular, constructs are highly complex as a result of the complexity in the definitions of conflict and violence. These constructs can be overt and/or covert and represent contexts in which "… the *quantitative and qualitative life expectancies* (measured, for instance, through the Human Security Index) of a particular group or groups within a community, a state, a region, or the world are significantly lower than those of other groups" (Reychler, 2006, p. 2).

The complexity is also rooted in the fact that sources and/or means of conflict and violence are multifaceted (physical, structural, psychological, and/or cultural; see Reychler, 2006). Consequently, a third drawback of the dichotomy is that it deprives peace researchers of a full arsenal of tools that match the level of complexity of the issues they study and that might be necessary for answering multifaceted, multilayered, and highly complex questions about conflict, coexistence, and peace.

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[1] Mertens (2005) pushes this argument to a different level by suggesting that even the "Constructivist Researchers still consist of a relatively small group of powerful experts doing work on a larger number of relatively powerless research subjects" (p. 16), suggesting that a "transformative paradigm" is needed for reversing these power differentials.

Importantly, peace research represents both multidisciplinary and applied science (Jutila, Pehkonen & Väyrynen, 2008), thereby lending itself to mixed methods research, which is often conducted by teams of multidisciplinary scholars using some form of pragmatist lens (cf. Biesta, 2010; Greene & Hall, 2010; Johnson & Gray, 2010). Indeed, according to the website of the Journal of Mixed Methods Research (2014)—the flagship journal for mixed methods researchers:

> …Of primary importance will be building an *international* and *multidisciplinary* community of mixed methods researchers… JMMR invites articles from a wide variety of international perspectives, including academics and practitioners from psychology, sociology, education, evaluation, health sciences, geography, communication, management, family studies, marketing, social work, and other related disciplines across the social, behavioral, and human sciences. (p. 1) [emphasis added]

Therefore, it is surprising how rarely mixed methods techniques tend to be used by peace researchers. For example, our analysis of all research articles and special data feature articles published in the first four issues of 2014 in one of the two mainstream and gatekeeping journals in peace research, namely, *Journal of Peace Research*, revealed that none of the 38 articles involved the explicit use of integrated/mixed methods research[2]. Yet, integrating quantitative and qualitative research approaches within the same study allows peace researchers to combine or to mix findings from quantitative analyses (e.g., inferential analysis of large-scale quantitative data) and findings from qualitative analyses (e.g., policy analysis, historical analysis, and discourse analysis), yielding integrated (meta-) inferences that might potentially enhance the understanding of the phenomena that are investigated by peace researchers.

Mixed approaches to research bridge or incorporate these (fuzzy) dichotomies and allow multiple perspectives in conceptualizing research questions/problems in a more humanistic (i.e., humanlike) manner. The humanistic (and/or humanlike) approach assumes a high degree of similarity between the scientist and the everyday problem solver (Biesta, 2010; Gorard, 2010; Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2010), and puts "great faith in human reason" (Lewis-Beck, Bryman & Liao, 2004) by allowing for the adoption of multiple modes of enquiry (i.e., "methodological pluralism", see http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Humanistic_psychology) toward meaningful inferences.

At the technical/design level, mixed approaches to research provide opportunities to ask multifaceted research questions, use multiple methods of collecting data, multiple research designs, and more comprehensive data analysis strategies. Also, this level provides an opportunity for a diverse team of researchers, especially those operating at both ends of the methodological spectrum—to work together toward a common goal of addressing complex research questions that necessitate a diverse set

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[2] We believe that the phrase *integrated research* (and integrated methodology) might be more appropriate than the term *mixed methods research* (or mixed methodology) because it emphasizes integration beyond using multiple approaches or methods. However, to maintain consistency, as much as possible, we have remained faithful to the current and historical utilization of the latter term (mixed methods, mixed methodology).

of research methods. At the level of inferences and explanations, they make it possible for the researcher to utilize the perspectives of multiple stakeholders. Mixed approaches apply more comprehensive quality assessment audits for inferences by engaging the stakeholders in asking and answering questions, making inferences/interpretations, and providing realistic policy and practice recommendations. At the point of implementation, they provide the opportunity for participants to become partners and stakeholders in the conduct of research and its consequences.

6.2   Toward a Framework for Mixed Peace Research

The dichotomy between quantitative and qualitative research has prevailed in peace research during its approximately 50-year history. Indeed, this lack of integration of research approaches has led some authors to declare that, for the most part, peace research has had an identity crisis (e.g., Wiberg, 2005) and needs resuscitation (Jutila et al., 2008). Yet, there is general agreement among peace researchers that research in this field is value oriented and policy oriented (Wiberg, 2005). It follows, then, that what is needed is an identity for peace research that is also maximally value oriented and policy oriented. Such identity should involve the prioritization of reflexive (Reychler, 2006) and critical examinations of current issues and search for new pathways to problem-solving (Jutila et al., 2008)—that is, an identity wherein critical theorizing among peace researchers routinely takes place.

   Although more than a decade old, the words of Heikki Patomäki, Professor of World Politics at the University of Helsinki, Finland, are still apt: "What is needed is a partial redefinition of the task of peace research and, in particular, new theoretical ideas which take into account the methodological and ethico-political lessons learned in past decades" (Patomäki, 2001, p. 723). Similarly, Reychler (2006) concluded that "Peace research should involve not only classical *empirical–analytical* research (searching for the causal explanations) and *interpretative research* (investigating how people perceive their experiences), but also participatory *peace action research*" (p. 9).

   To this end, we applaud the emerging research movements that encourage a critical stance toward peace research such as critical peace research, which involves examination of the lived experiences of parties on all sides of political violence under the assumption that the concepts of peace and war are disputed concepts that vary from one context to the next (Jutila et al., 2008). However, these research movements still promote the false dichotomy of quantitative-based and qualitative-based peace research. Thus, for the remainder of this chapter, we introduce a meta-framework that provides a critical contribution to peace research, namely, what we call *critical integrated research and evaluation*.

6.3   Critical Integrated Research and Evaluation (CIRE)

Before we outline our critical integrated research and evaluation approach, it is important for us to point out some similarities and differences between *research* and *evaluation*. Broadly speaking, research and evaluation can be viewed as lying on a continuum, classifying the extent to which an empirical study represents research versus evaluation. At one end of the continuum are research studies, the primary purpose of which is to answer specific research questions of importance and value, with the general intention of adding knowledge to a field or discipline (e.g., peace research) that potentially leads to the development of theory. At the other end of the continuum are evaluation studies. Although evaluation studies are also centered around defined questions, their primary purpose is to help stakeholders and/or policymakers make evidence-based judgments or decisions by determining the worth, quality, or value of a program, treatment, intervention, or policy. Simply put, research in its purest form is conducted for generating knowledge, whereas evaluation in its purest form is conducted to guide immediate policies/actions. However, depending on the questions of interest, a given study can represent *both* research and evaluation to various degrees, lying somewhere in between these two end points.

Despite this simplistic distinction, we believe that peace research represents both research and evaluation, as is reflected in journals such as *Journal of Peace Research*, *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology,* and *Journal of Conflict Resolution* that primarily represent research on one hand*,* as well as other publications such as *Peace and Conflict Impact Assessment; cf. Berghof Handbook for Conflict Transformation* (2014) that predominantly represent evaluation on the other hand. Therefore, in subsequent discussions, we use what we call a *critical integrated research and evaluation* (CIRE) lens to discuss and to describe approaches to research and evaluation in studying the field of peace psychology.

Consistent with Vollhardt and Bilali's (2008) call for a more pluralistic methodological approach to social psychological peace research, a CIRE lens represents an integrated approach that privileges methodologies, methods, techniques, concepts, language, and, above all, philosophies (e.g., worldviews and mental models) that help to promote and sustain an egalitarian society. Although this approach can be applied to virtually any field or discipline that represents the social, behavioral, or health sciences, it particularly lends itself to peace research.

In fact, in the context of peace research, CIRE privileges approaches that problematize constructs such as war, conflict, violence, and peace. For example, critical integrated researchers and evaluators conceptualize peace as representing a multidimensional construct, wherein *negative peace*, which is defined as the absence of war and violence (Galtung, 1964), is distinguished from *positive peace*, which Galtung (1964) defined as the "integration of human science (p. 1)," or, the absence of structural violence that yields an (adequately) egalitarian distribution of power and resources (Jutila et al., 2008). However, unlike many peace researchers who treat the concepts of negative peace and positive peace as representing a false dichotomy (cf. Gleditsch, Nordkvelle & Strand, 2014), critical integrated researchers and

Negative Peace   Positive Peace

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  ┌──────────┐         ┌──────────────────────┐         ┌──────────┐
  │ Maximum  │         │                      │         │ Maximum  │
  │ social   │ ──────▶ │ Point of equilibrium │ ──────▶ │ social   │
  │ injustice│         │                      │         │ justice  │
  └──────────┘         └──────────────────────┘         └──────────┘
```
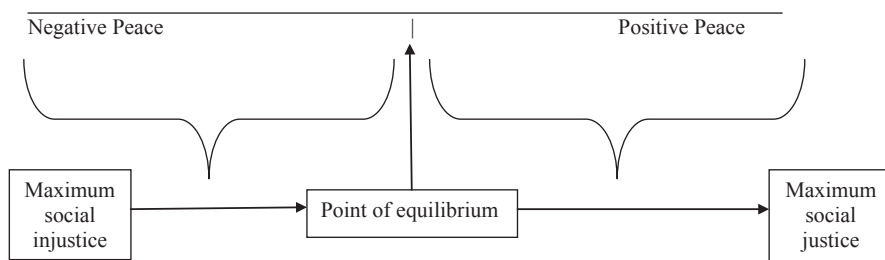
Fig. 6.1 The interactive continuum of peace

evaluators—who promote what Peirce (1892/1923) referred to as *synechism* (i.e., an anti-dualistic stance wherein dichotomies are considered to be, at best, overly simplistic and, at worst, false; representing the tendency to treat concepts as being continuous)—treat peace as lying on an interactive continuum that are anchored by negative peace and positive peace (cf. Fig. 6.1).

6.4 Characteristics of Critical Integrated Research and Evaluation (CIRE)

The most distinguishing characteristic of CIRE is the promotion of mixing or combining quantitative and qualitative research approaches in ways that yield integrated research, hence the word *integrated*. At the ontological level, critically integrated (CI) researchers and evaluators operate under the assumption that there are multiple realities that include subjective, objective, and intersubjective realities. Moreover, in the context of peace research, CIRE yields a metanarrative that represents a dialectical, dialogical, hermeneutical, and, above all, humanistic approach to understanding peace phenomena. Further, explaining the word *critical* in its name, critical integrated researchers and evaluators privilege research philosophies that promote and sustain an egalitarian society, such as the following: *critical theory* (Morrow & Brown, 1994), *critical race theory* (Delgado and Stefancic, 2012), *critical ethnography* (Thomas, 1993), and *feminist theory* (Hesse-Biber, 2010). However, critical integrated researchers and evaluators go further than do researchers who utilize such traditional critical lenses by using integrated research approaches. As such, in the context of peace research, at a less direct peace research level, CIRE involves the use of mixed research-based approaches to traditional critical lenses (e.g., mixed research-based critical theory, mixed research-based feminist theory).

At a more direct peace research level, CIRE involves the use of critical lenses that naturally incorporate mixed approaches such as *transformative–emancipatory* (Mertens, Bledsoe, Sullivan & Wilson, 2010, representing studies that are emancipatory, participatory, and anti-discriminatory, focusing directly on the lived experiences of underrepresented and marginalized persons or groups) and *critical dialectical pluralism* (Onwuegbuzie & Frels, 2013, advocating for a culturally progres-

sive research that is characterized by participants serving as participant-researchers taking an active role in decision-making at every stage of the research process). It provides the opportunity to create both universalistic theoretical knowledge and local practical knowledge, with the goal of advancing and sustaining an egalitarian society. CIRE advocates the application of mixed, humanistic, research-based approaches to critical lenses that have emerged specifically for peace research, such as peace and conflict transformation research (Berghof Foundation, 2012), critical peace research (Jutila et al., 2008), and elicitive conflict transformation research (Taylor, 2013).

Peace and conflict transformation research represents a particular approach to peace and conflict research in which the major goal is to facilitate conditions for practical progress in peacebuilding among conflicting parties (Berghof Foundation, 2012). More specifically, peace and conflict transformation involve examining conditions, strategies, pathways, and policies for sustaining nonviolent behaviors among warring factions and supporting these factions in developing, rebuilding, and maintaining positive and socially just relationships such that violence is no longer used by any party (Berghof Foundation, 2012). An important assumption of peace and conflict researchers is that every conflict is unique and, thus, every solution is unique. According to Berghof Foundation (2012), conflict transformation research leads to the development of theory that emanates from field research and the relevant practitioners, as well as from close interaction with all conflicting factions themselves. Of primary importance is that the utilization of numerous disciplines (e.g., political science, peace and conflict studies, sociology, social psychology, history, anthropology, law, communication, peace education), under the assumption that theory "must evolve in a continuous, reflexive, and critical exchange with practice, which requires putting concepts to test in concrete settings and debating their validity with practitioners from many backgrounds and in many localities" (Berghof Foundation, 2012, p. 66).

Whatever CIRE lens is used, consistent with the tenet of critical dialectical pluralism (Onwuegbuzie & Frels, 2013) and humanistic research methodology (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2010), it is essential that it includes the active participation as coresearchers (i.e., participant-researchers) of both stakeholders (e.g., representatives of all conflicting parties; practitioners) and policymakers (e.g., politicians; politico-economic unions such as the European Union; intergovernmental organizations [IGOs] such as the United Nations, World Trade Organization, International Monetary Fund, Arab League, African Union, and Latin Union; [international] nongovernmental organizations [NGOs] such as Human Rights Watch; international humanitarian movements such as International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement). And, optimally, this active participation should occur at all phases of the research and evaluation process: problem/intervention conceptualization to meaning making and dissemination of findings (i.e., research/evaluation outcomes and implementation).

Alternatively stated, this active participation should occur with respect to the "four domains of issues and assumptions" that underlie a methodology (Greene, 2006, p. 93), namely: (a) Domain 1: *Philosophical assumptions and stances*, which

provides a philosophical and theoretical lens that yields a justification for the approach used; (b) Domain 2: *Inquiry logics*, which guides the inquirer's lens such that the questions of interest (as defined in Domain 1) are addressed in a justifiable manner; (c) Domain 3: *Guidelines for research practice*, which details specific strategies for the inquiry; and (d) Domain 4: *Sociopolitical commitments*, which involves determination and justification of how the inquiry is situated in society (Greene, 2007).

Indeed, at its most interactional level, CIRE should involve both stakeholders and gatekeepers being afforded an active role in decision-making at every stage of the research process (i.e., from research conceptualization to research dissemination). It is at this optimal interactional level that critical integrated researchers and evaluators can address all five of Guba and Lincoln's (1989) authenticity criteria that exemplify constructionist understanding and assist in increasing legitimation: (a) fairness (i.e., the extent to which the researcher[s]/evaluator[s] values the process of evaluation), (b) ontological authenticity (i.e., the extent to which the researcher[s]/evaluator[s] assesses how the stakeholders and policymakers have become more informed and aware), (c) educative authenticity (i.e., the criteria by which stakeholders and policymakers have become more understanding of others), (d) catalytic authenticity (i.e., the extent to which actions are facilitated and stimulated by stakeholders and policymakers), and (e) tactical authenticity (i.e., the extent to which stakeholders and policymakers are empowered to act on the ensuing findings and subsequent understandings that emerge).

Further, such collaboration among critical integrated researchers/evaluators, stakeholders, and policymakers can help to narrow the research-to-practice gap and theory-to-practice gap that prevail in peace research (Lepgold & Nincic, 2002). In particular, this collaboration has the potential to increase understanding of how different members of the research team (i.e., researchers, stakeholders, and policymakers), (infra) structures, processes, and products contribute/do not contribute to peacebuilding processes (Jutila et al., 2008).

Another key feature of CIRE is that it is characterized by criticality and reflexivity. These two elements are enhanced via the use of feedback loops. Figure 6.2 displays the CIRE process. This figure reflects the important role that criticality and reflexivity play in the CIRE process. This figure also shows the active involvement of stakeholders and policymakers in this process. Also presented in this figure are the major phases of the CIRE process—from problem/intervention conceptualization and definition to disseminating findings and meaning. As can be seen from Fig. 6.2, these phases are not linear; rather, they represent a continuous, iterative, interactive, synergistic, and holistic process. By *continuous*, we mean that each phase flows directly into the next phase. By *iterative*, we mean that the phases are recursive (as can be seen by the two-sided arrows in Fig. 6.2). By *interactive*, we mean that each phase is dependent on all the other phases. By *synergistic*, we mean that these phases are consistent with Hall and Howard's (2008) four core principles for synergistic approaches:
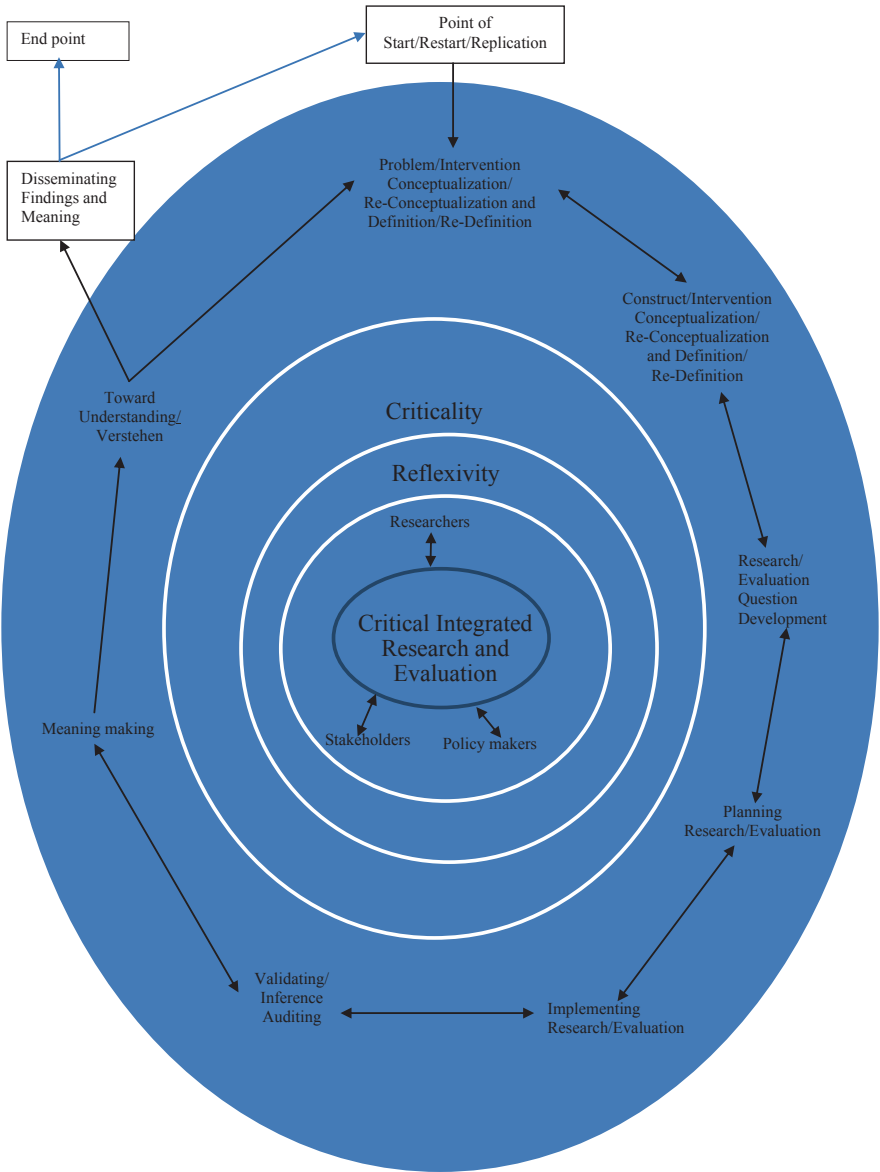
Fig. 6.2 Critical integrated research and evaluation process

- Synthesizing information obtained from the multiple phases yields meaning to a greater extent than would have been the case otherwise
- Using a dialectic CIRE approach wherein multiple philosophical assumptions and stances are integrated
- Considering of equal importance findings and interpretations that emerge from all elements and integrating these findings and interpretations into meta-inferences
- Balancing the multiple roles of the CIRE team

Finally, by *holistic*, we mean that each CIRE team member should integrate her/his experiences, expertise, lens, and the like into the CIRE process that will result in an outcome that is greater than the outcome that would represent the sum of its parts.

6.5 Planning Research/Evaluation

The planning phase of CIRE studies comprises three main interactive and recursive steps: (a) Formulating research and evaluation questions and a general mixed research/evaluation approach to guide the quest for finding answers, (b) developing a mixed research/evaluation design and its components, and (c) planning for data analysis and meaning making on the basis of the results.

6.5.1 Formulation of Research/Evaluation Question(s)

As noted previously, the most unique feature of CIRE is the use of a mixed methodological approach at every phase of the research or evaluation study. Mixed research questions are often questions of *what* and *why/how*. Often, an overarching question includes multiple aspects that have traditionally been asked separately by scholars with qualitative or quantitative orientations. Such umbrella questions are then followed by more specific sub-questions that require different methodological or paradigmatic approaches to answer (also, see Plano Clark & Badiee, 2010). Formulation of the umbrella research/evaluation questions, and the subsequent sub-questions, paves the way for identifying a general approach for answering them, before a research design may be developed. Figure 6.3 presents several potential CIRE approaches (by no means an exhaustive list), further simplified by presenting research and evaluation approaches. Interestingly, with one exception (i.e., Ross & Rothman, 1999), all of these elements represent expansion of approaches that were conceptualized within the last few years.

All the research elements in Fig. 6.3 represent a mixed methodology approach that has been mapped into the CIRE process by adding formalized criticality and reflexive components. For example, with respect to research approaches, Johnson, McGowan and Turner (2010) conceptualized a mixed methodology approach to grounded theory (i.e., an approach that involves the use of rigorous qualitative
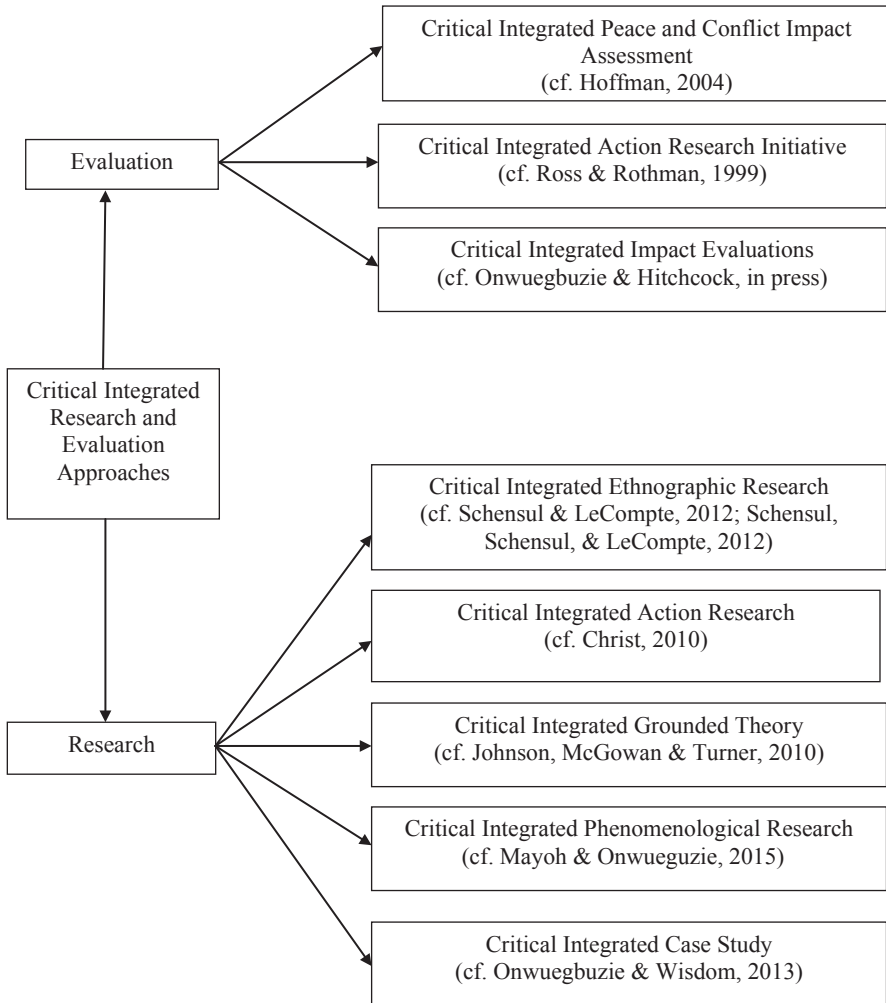
Fig. 6.3 Examples of critical integrated research and evaluation approaches

research techniques to produce substantive theory of social phenomena; Glaser & Strauss, 1967), which they labeled as mixed methods grounded theory. However, to make it maximally suitable for peace research, we recommend the use of a criticalized form of mixed methods grounded theory that we call *critical integrated grounded theory*, which is characterized by a commitment to research that helps to promote and sustain social justice for all conflicting parties. By criticalized, we are referring to using some form of critical social theory coupled with reflexivity.

Rothman's (1998) action research initiative (ARIA) is an example of such mixed evaluation approach. The purpose of an ARIA project is to develop "contextually appropriate means for the evaluation of conflict resolution activities" (p. 119). Inter-

estingly, Rothman (1998) contended that the ARIA project necessitates new methodologies that are compatible with the core values and goals of conflict resolution. Rather than Ross and Rothman's (1999) version of ARIA that utilizes "Western conceptions of the individual, of rationality and the nature of communication and dialogue that may be at odds with non-Western societies" (Hoffman, 2004, p. 16), we advocate a greater cultural sensitive ARIA in a way that explicitly avoids stereotyping cultures or societies by using dichotomous categories such as masculine/feminine, active/passive, collectivist/individualist, us/them, or even terrorist/nonterrorist. These dichotomies not only obfuscate understanding of cultures but also force researchers/evaluators to make good/bad or right/wrong comparisons (Kim, 2012). Indeed, every evaluation of peacebuilding is unique (Scharbatke-Church, 2011).

6.5.2   Critically Mixed Research/Evaluation Designs

Once the research/evaluation approach has been selected, the critical mixed researcher or evaluator would identify the best (most suitable, most potentially fruitful) strategy to maximize the possibility of finding credible answers—which involves selecting the methods that are adequately suitable for responding to the research question, and are aligned with the purpose of conducting a mixed study. Within this decision process, it is also important to pay attention to the consistency of the components of selected designs (i.e., making sure the sampling and data collection strategies fit together in a seamless manner).

As mentioned above, questions addressed in peace research are highly complex and multilayered (e.g., Church & Shouldice, 2003), often requiring equally complex and elaborated research designs beyond the traditional qualitative or quantitative prototypes. Contextual constraints (i.e., realities of the field) impose restrictions and inflexibilities in the research/evaluation design that are needed to answer these questions. Sometimes, it is possible (or necessary) to plan the entire research/evaluation design and process. At other times, additional questions and/or strands of the study emerge as the research/evaluation project proceeds. CIRE is highly flexible in responding to this aspect of the research/evaluation question by providing a multitude of options within four broad families of designs: parallel, sequential, and conversion designs, leading to the fourth family (fully integrated) when combined (Tashakkori, Teddlie & Sines, 2013). Within each of these four design families, variations can occur on the basis of data sources and/or units of study (individuals, natural collections of units, or both) and the emergent versus preplanned nature of questions/purposes.

Parallel mixed methods include relatively independent strands (mini-studies) of data collection, analysis, and interpretation either simultaneously (concurrently), or with some time lag (Tashakkori et al., 2013). The order and timing of implementation of strands are flexible, partly depending on the practical logistics of the study. For example, field observations may be conducted in the Spring, while stakeholder

interviews might be conducted in Summer, or vice versa, depending on the nature of the questions and the context of the study. The findings are integrated at some later point in order to find a comprehensive answer to the initial multifaceted research/ evaluation questions. Often, different strands involve different sub-samples of the same population, or different levels of the social/political system.

In the *sequential family of mixed designs*, the data and/or the findings of an earlier strand are required from latter strands of the study (Tashakkori et al., 2013). The investigator might know this in advance, or the need for follow-ups might emerge as the study progresses. For example, in a randomized controlled/clinical trial (RCT), the investigators are aware of the fact that some of the participants in the study will not respond to the treatment in ways that are initially predicted. Obviously, it is not possible to predict which individuals will behave in this manner, and the researcher's/evaluator's hope is that only a very small proportion will be in these sub-groups. Follow-up case studies or other methods of in-depth study of these individuals provide invaluable information regarding the effectiveness of the intervention or lack thereof. Such in-depth follow-up studies might also suggest questions and provide additional data for future studies. Preplanned sequential designs predict certain outcomes (e.g., certain categories of responses, identification of certain subgroups based on the findings) to occur that will be necessary before the next phase of the study is implemented.

Alternatively, the need for subsequent strand(s) of a *sequential mixed methods research study* might emerge as a result of unexpected findings of an earlier strand (Tashakkori et al., 2013). Unexpected findings lead to new questions about the phenomenon or behavior under study, needing new data or data analysis techniques to find answers. The data might be collected in the entire sample used in the previous strand, a subset of that sample, a different sample, or a different level of the social system or organization.

As mentioned above, the difference between parallel and sequential designs is that with the latter, the data sources, data, procedures, instruments for data collection, or even data analysis strategies of a later strand are dependent on the results obtained from a previous one.

In the third (*conversion*) family of mixed methods designs, the data are collected and analyzed either qualitatively or quantitatively, and conclusions are made as answers to research/evaluation questions (Tashakkori et al., 2013). The entire data or portions of it are then converted from narrative to numeric (i.e., quantitized), or from numeric to narrative descriptors/profiles (i.e., qualitized), analyzed again, and inferences are made as new answers to the umbrella question(s) of the study. The two sets of conclusions/answers are then integrated toward a comprehensive set of answers. For example, starting with a set of qualitative data, themes are developed via content analysis, leading to detailed and deliberate inferences to find answers to initial research questions. In the next strand of the study, codes are assigned to the themes (or other aspects of narrative data) in the earlier strand, are analyzed quantitatively (e.g., correlations, regression), and new conclusions are made as answers to the initial research questions. The two sets of inferences/answers are then integrated (e.g., infused, compared, and contrasted).

A flexible and highly dynamic combination of the three prototype families of designs (parallel, sequential, and conversion) provides the ultimate opportunity to answer highly complex and continuously evolving research/evaluation questions about peace and conflict in the form of a *fully integrated mixed design* (Tashakkori et al., 2013). Variations in the type of questions (e.g., preplanned or emergent), data sources, data collection techniques, and data analysis procedures that were just described for the simpler families of designs (i.e., parallel, sequential, conversion) make fully integrated mixed designs the most dynamic and advanced tool for answering questions. As also discussed within each family of mixed designs, critical integrated investigators need to develop tentative plans for selecting their units of study. For example, they must make decisions as to whether all the sample members represent the same level (e.g., all civilians) or different levels (e.g., civilians and politicians), accessible population and the needed sample/sub-sample size(s), and the degree to which it might become necessary to let some sampling strategies "emerge" as the study progresses.

6.6   Implementing Research/Evaluation

The implementation phase includes a seamless set of steps to collect, validate, and analyze data in a recursive manner. For example, an attempt to validate data that have been collected, and perhaps even analyzed, might necessitate further data collection, which would then have to be analyzed. During that process, both quantitative and qualitative data may be collected at the micro, meso, exo and macro levels. Thus, critical integrated researchers and evaluators should decide which of these levels are applicable in their studies.

Because peace research represents a multidisciplinary, interdisciplinary, and transdisciplinary field that involves numerous disciplines (e.g., psychology, sociology, political science, international relations, economics, geography, history, anthropology, religious studies, gender studies, and health), multiple sources of data can be utilized in virtually any given study. These sources may involve the use of measurement tools such as standardized tests, rating scales, self-reports, symptom checklists, or personality inventories that typically generate numbers (i.e., quantitative data) that are used to quantify certain attributes. Choice and use of measurement tools should both be influenced by and influence criticality and reflexivity, which are central elements of CIRE.

Alternatively, data may be narrative outcomes/records of interviews, focus groups, direct observations, social and medical histories, analyses of permanent products, or various informal strategies—yielding data that could be characterized as being primarily qualitative in nature. Indeed, it is only by collecting both types of data that a critical mixed researcher/evaluator can obtain both emic viewpoints (i.e., "enter[ing] into the lifeworlds of the groups she or he studies before venturing to write about them"; Jutila et al., 2008, p. 628) and etic viewpoints (e.g., from the perspective of neighboring nations) that facilitate the practical evaluation of the

infinite array of biological, cognitive, social, and interpersonal factors affecting the behavior of an individual or a group. Choice and use of instruments should both be influenced by and influence criticality and reflexivity.

As data are collected, validation should occur. That is, all data should be fact checked for validity/reliability/trustworthiness. These validation techniques include checking the accuracy and adequacy of all interview data collected (i.e., member checking) by asking each person interviewed, whenever possible, to verify the interview transcripts that are provided to them either in writing or read to them orally, depending on the literacy level of the interviewee. As part of this member checking, whenever statements made during interviews are translated to another language, the translated statements should be translated back into the original language to make sure that the words of the original language were translated correctly.

Another useful validation technique is the use of multiple sources (i.e., triangulating data). These sources should comprise as many stakeholder groups and levels as possible from all conflicting parties, including triangulating data via individuals, family members, friends, representatives of helping professions (e.g., health workers, counselors, educators, and bomb disposal agents), and community leaders, as well as from stakeholders who do not represent any of the conflicting parties but are directly affected by the conflict (e.g., from neighboring nations who have taken in refugees from the conflict), policymakers (e.g., politicians, politico-economic unions, IGOs, NGOs), and media organizations. During the data validation process, critical mixed methods researchers and evaluators should ask stakeholders who are on the ground about their reactions to the collected data before such data are analyzed.

6.7   Data Analysis and the Process of Making Meaning

The data analysis phase is potentially more complex in CIRE studies because of the array of data that are available for analysis, as mentioned previously. And when both quantitative and qualitative data are collected—as is the hallmark of CIRE studies, the ensuing data analysis is called a mixed analysis. In conducting such analysis, critical mixed researchers and evaluators need to make numerous decisions either in a preplanned or emergent manner, including the rationale/purpose for conducting mixed data analysis (e.g., seek convergence of findings from different data sources); philosophy underpinning the analysis (e.g., some form of critical social theory); number of data types that will be analyzed; number of data analysis types that will be used; and time sequence of the mixed analysis (i.e., quantitative and qualitative analyses conducted concurrently or sequentially).

CIRE analysts should avoid conducting quantitative analyses in isolation of qualitative analyses. Rather, whenever possible, CIRE analysts should integrate quantitative and qualitative analyses as much as possible. For example, a mixed analysis approach that is particularly pertinent for mixed research, in general, and peace research, in particular, is geographic information systems (GIS) applications

(cf. Fielding & Cisneros-Puebla, 2009). Broadly speaking, GIS applications can help CIRE analysts to position quantitative and qualitative data on a map to identify patterns and to address questions such as where, why, and how, from a spatial per-spective—leading to the incorporation of critical geopolitics (cf. Megoran, 2011). CIRE analysts can explore spatial data (i.e., visualization) that help to contextualize the quantitative data. In particular, spatial data (i.e., visualization) can be used to contextualize the quantitative data. Conversely, qualitative data (e.g., digital pho-tographs, text, and sounds) can be linked with maps to yield rich, contextual data (Knigge & Cope, 2006). Thus, using GIS allows CIE analysts better to conceptual-ize peace by mapping its multiple and diverse relationships to violence (Megoran, 2011). Indeed, in using GIS applications, we recommend that instead of focusing on the geography of war, which remains the current, albeit very narrow practice, CIRE analysts should focus on the geography of peace (Megoran, 2011).

Once the data have been analyzed (or even during data analysis), interpretation of the findings begin. It is important that all interpretations are assessed for quality/trustworthiness. In particular, CIRE analysts should assess the extent to which their interpretations (1) stem directly from the findings, (2) are more plausible than all other rival explanations, (3) incorporate all the findings that emerged, (4) reflect all contradictory findings, and (5) address the research/evaluation question(s). Thus, one of the most important and effective strategies for CI analysts is to ask stake-holders from all sides of the conflict, gatekeepers, and policymakers about their reactions to their interpretations. The ultimate goal of interpretations is that they represent those that would be made by all conflicting parties given the findings.

Where appropriate, CIRE analysts should consider using as many of the follow-ing four types of quantitative- or qualitative-based significance as possible: *statisti-cal significance* (e.g., via *p* values, confidence intervals, and quantitative index), *practical significance* (e.g., via effect sizes, quantitative index), *clinical signifi-cance* (i.e., assessing difference to the quality of life of members of the conflicting parties via the reliable change index that signifies the amount of change and the normative comparisons that indicate how different individuals of interest are from a normative sample, qualitative index), and/or *economic significance* (e.g., of aid to the victims of conflict or of a conflict resolution/peacebuilding intervention via cost-effectiveness ratio, cost-benefit ratio, cost-utility ratio, cost-feasibility ratio, cost-sensitivity ratio; quantitative index). Indeed, interpreting multiple types of sig-nificance within the same research/evaluation study helps to increase the quality of integrated inferences made. It should be noted that interpretation of each of these types of significance should both be influenced by and influence criticality and reflexivity, which are hallmarks of CIRE.

As indicated in Fig. 6.2, meaning making is an iterative, interactive, synergistic, and holistic process that continues until verstehen (i.e., understanding) is reached. However, this verstehen should occur not only on the part of the CIRE analyst but also, even more importantly, ultimately, it also should occur among the stakeholders (e.g., conflicting parties) and policymakers. Alongside verstehen, ideally, educative authenticity, catalytic authenticity, and tactical authenticity should ensue among the conflicting parties such that it yields what Megoran (2011) refers to as "collective engagement" (p. 186).

6.8 The Integrated Nature of CIRE

Among the community of mixed methods researchers/evaluators, one may find at least three broad categories of beliefs about the methodological components of their work: mixed methods as a multidimensional continuum (with QUAL and QUAN orientations at the poles); mixed methods as bridge between a dichotomy of qualitative and quantitative orientations; and mixed methods as an encompassing orientation that incorporates multiple perspectives and sets of methods without the need for identifying a dichotomy of methodological approaches.

The first set of beliefs is centered around the understanding that a research/evaluation project represents an attempt to answer a set of interrelated research questions via a combination of qualitative and quantitative approaches, each with a defined scope/intensity/priority. Some scholars with strong advertence to this belief system insist on defining the dominance of their perspective explicitly (e.g., qual-QUAN, QUAL-QUAN, QUAL-quan[3]), and even ahead of formulating their research/evaluation questions. Consequently, design typologies have been constructed on the basis of such a priority. Within this belief system, mixed methods research/evaluation projects involve the employment of two or more strands/phases of data collection and analysis in a parallel or sequential manner. Each of these strands is conducted separately within one of the two broad methodological grounds that are linked at any stage of the research process, especially during analysis and inference.

Conceptualizing mixed methods as a bridge between two poles of a dichotomy (qualitative and quantitative), explicitly or implicitly assumes that there are two identifiable and distinct approaches to research, each with its own assumptions, methodology, and quality audits. Integration consists of linking the findings of two or more strands of a study by complementing, comparing, contrasting, developing, or expanding one set on the basis of another. Each strand of the study is often considered an alternative approach (separate but equal!—not ranked by a hierarchy) providing equally trustworthy data and understanding of the phenomenon under study.

The third set of beliefs is based on the assumption that a dichotomy of methodological approaches does not exist or is irrelevant. This belief system includes the feasibility and desirability of taking multiple perspectives, formulating questions with multiple components (that may or may not be identifiable as qualitative or quantitative in approach), employing multiple methods of data collection and analysis, and making integrated inferences that incorporate all outcomes of such a study. This integrative belief system is deeply rooted in the thinking and methodology of prominent researchers in social sciences in early and mid-twentieth century (cf. Brewer & Hunter, 2006; Waszack & Sines, 2003). At the core of this community is the belief that the research question (not the paradigm) dictates all aspects of

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[3] Uppercase (e.g., QUAN) represents the researchers' acknowledgement that an approach (e.g., quantitative) component or strand is more pronounced than the lowercase approach, (e.g., qual, for qualitative) in their designs. We do not find this practice particularly useful or even feasible for complex studies.

the research inquiry. Pragmatism, in its various forms, has emerged over time as a philosophical anchor for this rather, large subset of the community of mixed methods scholars (Biesta, 2010).

A combination of the three sets of beliefs may be found in the writing of almost all mixed methods scholars, both simultaneously and historically (e.g., changing over time). The current authors are, increasingly, anchored in the third belief system. We think that recognition of the three belief systems should be at the heart of every (mixed methods) researcher's reflexive practice ("*reflexive scientific attitude*," Gough & Madill, 2012). It is important to know why one needs or chooses to utilize mixed methods and what are the possible effects of these reasons/purposes on one's choice of design. It is also important to reflect on the possible impacts of the expectations that follow these choices on the way the outcomes are integrated to make inferences and/or recommendations for policy and practice.

6.9   The Warranted and Transparent Nature of CIRE

The seminal document developed by the Task Force on Reporting of Research Methods in American Educational Research Association (AERA) Publications and adopted by the AERA Council in 2006 provides a useful framework for critically mixed researchers and evaluators. According to AERA (2006), reports of empirical research studies should be both *warranted* and *transparent*. *Warranted* implies that sufficient evidence (findings and results) is documented to justify the inferences and policy/practice recommendations that ensue. *Transparent* implies that sufficient information regarding the research process should be included. According to AERA (2006), an empirical report that is both warranted and transparent "permits scholars to understand one another's work, prepares that work for public scrutiny, and enables others to use that work" (p. 33). Thus, throughout the CIRE process, critically mixed methods researchers and evaluators should be cognizant of the importance of being warranted and transparent.

6.10   Conclusions

At the time of writing, numerous conflicts prevail worldwide, including conflicts in Gaza, Iraq, Syria, Afghanistan, and Ukraine. Thus, there is plenty of work for peace researchers. However, as lamented by Jutila et al. (2008), peace research is in need of resuscitation. To address Jutila et al.'s call, we have introduced a meta-framework that provides a critical contribution to peace research via what we call CIRE, which represents a mixed methodology approach to peace research and evaluation that it is characterized by criticality and reflexivity and includes the active participation of both stakeholders (e.g., representatives of all conflicting parties) and policymakers, as coresearchers.

CIRE teams likely will contain diverse members, involving researchers/evaluators who are quantitatively oriented, qualitatively oriented, and integrative. In conducting multidisciplinary, interdisciplinary, or transdisciplinary research/evaluations, these CIRE teams likely will necessitate the inclusion of team members who represent different fields/disciplines. As a result of this diversity, many CIRE teams might have to negotiate tensions that stem from the power dynamics and differences in values and perspectives among team members. These tensions, in turn, might lead to differences, contradictions, and paradoxes among team members that impact the teams' meaning making.

As such, CIRE team leaders should consider using peacebuilding techniques to ensure a maximally collaborative and cooperative research/evaluation team. For example, CIRE team leaders can incorporate Reychler's (2006) five peacebuilding blocks, by implementing:

1. An effective and efficient process of communication, cooperation, consultation, and negotiation. For example, this can be accomplished by a lead researcher—preferably who is a mixed methods researcher/evaluator—debriefing all team members by interviewing them at various phases of the research/evaluation process to ensure that all members are treated fairly and respectfully by their team members (cf. Collins, Onwuegbuzie, Johnson & Frels, 2013)
2. Integration-friendly structures and institutions. This can be accomplished by creating outlets for CIRE studies and methodological works such as a journal that is devoted to publishing these works and conferences and websites devoted to these works
3. An integrative culturally responsive team climate. Again, the lead researcher and/or the most experienced mixed methods researcher/evaluator can adopt a *radical middle* stance (Onwuegbuzie, 2012) to ensure that an integrative climate is sustained
4. A critical mass of team leadership. Here, integrative leaders are needed from all the fields/disciplines that represent peace research
5. A supportive research/evaluation environment. This can be accomplished by the research team including stakeholders and policy makers at every step of the research/evaluation process

It is only by creating and maintaining research teams that are cohesive, collaborative, cooperative, and, above all, methodologically integrative, that they can provide a model of peace to stakeholders and policy makers. Further, under these circumstances, peace researchers will be in a position to facilitate communication and interaction among stakeholders, policy makers, and the research community, thereby maintaining a bridging role and, as recommended by Reychler (2006), providing instrumental knowledge (e.g., how to prevent negotiations that end in stalemate), contextual knowledge (e.g., specifying the minimal conditions for sustainable peacebuilding), policy-relevant knowledge (e.g., specifying the details of a policy), and consequential knowledge (e.g., determining the cost-effectiveness ratio, cost-benefit ratio, cost-utility ratio, cost-feasibility ratio, and/or cost-sensitivity ratio of policy options).

Reychler (2006) also proposed a set of interrelated goals for optimizing the utilization of research in peacebuilding and prevention of violence. Among them, are "making use of different forms of scientific inquiry, … [and] providing space for transdisciplinary research (p. 9)." In its optimum form, the proposed CIRE approach addresses these and other related goals. It is a humanistic methodology, representing a paradigm shift. With conflicts around the world becoming increasingly more complex due to being multilayered (e.g., levels of organizations, global/local society), multidimensional (e.g., multiple aspects of lives, economy, and politics), and high-stakes (e.g., many lives involved, much suffering, and large financial costs), such a paradigm shift appears to be needed.

Note:
1. Because peace psychology is a subfield of peace research, rather than focus solely on peace psychology, in this chapter, we have decided to focus on the field of peace research in general—consistent with our title (i.e., "peace psychology and beyond").
2. We believe that the phrase *integrated research* (and integrated methodology) might be more appropriate than the term *mixed methods research* (or mixed methodology) because it emphasize integration beyond using multiple approaches or methods. However, to maintain consistency, as much as possible, we have remained faithful to the current and historical utilization of the later term (mixed methods, mixed methodology).

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Chapter 7
Ethical Objectives and Values in Peace Psychology and Social Justice Research

Marc Pilisuk, Melissa Anderson-Hinn and Gianina Pellegrini

7.1 Introduction

The overriding ethic for the healing professions is *do no harm.* Professionals are responsible for the competent use of their particular knowledge. Yet, the work itself carries dangers of doing unintentional harm. These include exploiting or re-traumatizing clients and their communities, training in special skills that can be used for deliberate cruelty such as torture, and forgoing professional oaths in favor of orders from an employer to suspend ordinary protections due to every human. This can surely apply to settings where peace psychologists may have key roles: education, law, government, military, business organizations, nongovernmental organizations, and social service professionals, all consult with psychologists at times on issues of ethics, human behavior, communications processes, conflict resolution, disputes, and outside pressures to reform their image. Peace psychologists, in particular, are often directly tasked with applying psychosocial skills to reduce violence and suffering in communities torn by war, other divisive conflicts, poverty, and natural disasters. Entry into the fields of already existing harm and social disruption, whether by direct intervention or research, brings with it extraordinary, and often obscure challenges to those who profess both to care deeply and to do no harm.

In this chapter, we illustrate some of the pitfalls and suggest amendments to customary standards for ethical participation. We start with a description of values inherent in peace psychology and ethical considerations that flow from these val-

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ues. From these we move to special macro-level considerations related to structural violence and its relevance to work on research and intervention studies in particular cases. Structural differences in power, wealth, and availability of resources typically determine what voices of policy and research are heard. Thus, we move into a discussion of possibilities to include hidden voices through postmodern research efforts to capture and enhance concealed narratives. Finally, we discuss the implications of broader ethical mandates for the identity of the peace psychologist and for the field itself.

7.2   Values of Peace Psychology

The basic values of peace psychology are about preventing violence, promoting peace, creating social justice, and sustaining positive transformations. These values are not unique to psychology but also apply to peace research and initiatives in other disciplines, all of which relate to the perceptions, beliefs, experiences, needs, and actions of all people connected to and impacted by the research or interventions. Based on these values and the nature of peace work, the principle of *do no harm* has become important in peace psychology and related fields. The reality is that our work carries the danger that we might unintentionally do harm; even well-intended interventions can cause harm. Harm may be due to unforeseen complexities in the situations at hand, including forces resisting a humane solution, or it may be part of a deliberate calculation of costs considered justifiable in a conflict (Long, 2011a). Wessells' (2009) detailed review of problematic developments in international emergencies noted the potential for harm and the importance of addressing issues such as cultural, structural, and political aspects of an emergency, and dedicating sufficient attention to resilient elements of a population and culture.

Psychology is, or should be, a part of all research related to peace and social justice. Behind the frameworks of economies, governments, institutions, and ideological divides are the needs and experiences of people; therefore, we address peace research generally. Like research in other areas intended for betterment of the human condition, peace research takes upon itself special ethical concerns. One topic of ethical concern would be the selection of research questions whose answers hold promise for humane and constructive applications. A second would be the attention to larger parts of the system that provide essential context to the topic being studied. A third would be the inclusion of voices of those most directly affected. A fourth is the issue of who owns and directs the formation, conduct, and applications of the research. The application of such standards is subtle and exacting. The authors have themselves worked on research that may have fallen short.

For years, controlled studies have demonstrated the path to cooperative resolutions of two-party conflicts in nonzero sum situations. The research conclusively demonstrates that strategies can be used to de-escalate conflicts of distrust and steer adversaries to mutually beneficial outcomes (Pilisuk, 1984). The ethical contribution appears obvious, but that same research could readily be confined to

purely scholarly discourse or even to show just what moves should be avoided if one wished to perpetuate a destructive, costly conflict. No single research agenda accomplishes everything. But, the work discussed lacked something more serious than whether the participants had signed forms to indicate their understanding of informed consent. However well intentioned and well designed, research intended for beneficial outcomes requires a depth of ethical scrutiny that goes beyond traditional research requirements and expectations. Without this deeper scrutiny, there are high risks of generating knowledge that is disconnected from real-life applications and instead enables opposite and potentially destructive consequences.

7.3   Ethical Implications of Structural Factors

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. This requires a macro view of the context, including a deeper historical analysis, to create a more prudent ethical perspective. In doing so, we seek to identify who has the power to use the research and emphasize such economic factors as the stakes of those who might be in a position to apply the work. For example, assistance to developing countries is seen as providing aid and research has documented specific outcomes of different aid programs: Increments in education, disease control, and food distribution are apparent benefits of assistance to developing countries. Yet, such documentation may inadvertently contribute to acceptance of the systematic deprivations that continue even while some individuals may benefit.

A related problem area is the cost imposed by recommendations or requirements of strategies to be adopted. The World Bank collects detailed data on development outcomes among the myriad of nations struggling with malnutrition and dire poverty. Such data on per capita calorie consumption, gross national product, and infrastructure development are indeed useful in program assessment. They do not, however, include sufficient context for understanding the ethical requirements of the researcher (Pilisuk, 2000).

Development assistance calls for austerity measures to repay loans. Such measures have resulted in the suspension of disease prevention and health services, educational programs, and environmental protection. Everywhere, austerity is driving many to suicide or depression and leading to soaring rates of drug use, HIV, and infectious diseases. Austerity has reduced access to medicines and health care in Europe and the USA, where 10,000 suicides and a million depression cases can be blamed on austerity. In Greece, HIV rates increased 200 % since 2011 because of cuts in the budget for prevention. Greece had its first malaria outbreak in decades due to cuts in mosquito spraying. In Britain, 10,000 families are now homeless because of an austerity budget (Pilisuk & Pellegrini, in press). Furthermore, studies directed only towards amelioration have often neglected the fact that poverty has a relative component beyond the absence of money. It is a psychological experience of internalized scorn and despair, of failure in a world pressured by media, and in

which affluence is considered the sign of personal success. It also ignores the need of people and local communities to experience a measure of control over decisions that affect the resources of the commons and the options for their lives (Pilisuk, 2000; Pilisuk & Pellegrini, in press).

7.4   Epistemology

In order to appreciate the broadened set of ethical concerns we suggest peace research, as it is helpful to consider the often unquestioned cultural context in which social research became a part of the modern age. Social inquiry and research always take place within a historical and social context in which a researcher can find himself or herself at the center of a larger process (Bentz & Shapiro, 1998). As researchers, we enter into every study or assessment with a preexisting worldview, assumptions, rationales, purposes, and strategies. We also deal with a phenomenon fraught with challenges, conflicts, and limitations. Such contexts are integrated into an effort to contribute, successfully and uniquely, to the wider realm of knowledge (Anderson-Hinn, 2013). Robert Kegan (1994) suggests, "we are in over our heads" with reference to both living and researching in today's (postmodern) world, where knowledge is simultaneously infinite and fleeting as well as consistently critiqued and often rejected as inconclusive. This assessment by Kegan is likely true for many researchers who expect to rely on the rationality, authority and certainty that defined modernism. However, the influence of postmodernism on research is striking for researchers with goals to generate knowledge that directly affects community development and the creation of social change strategies.

Postmodernism is a reality of contemporary culture exemplified by the deconstruction of "objective truth" and the inherent skepticism of a prevailing meta-narrative. Conversely, it values narrative discourse and calls for appreciation of the role of social construction in convincing us of what is real and what is important (Anderson-Hinn, 2013). Bentz and Shapiro (1998) assert that postmodernism as a movement not only calls into question the ideals of science and rationality that ruled the modern period but also creates "an array of diverse and divergent conceptions of knowledge" (p. 1). They involve epistemological paradigms, or models of how valid knowledge is produced; how it is organized and circulated beyond the constraints of recognized disciplines; how knowledge is stored, shared, and made retrievable; and how cultural voices and social perspectives are represented within the public arena (Anderson-Hinn, 2013). The effect of postmodernism on research derives from its inherent questioning of both the legitimacy and validity of "knowledge" and appreciation for both diversity and innovation (Bentz & Shapiro, 1998). This emerging orientation can actually enhance ethical requirements to be relevant by removing strict boundaries to what may be studied. The current reality, with its new aspects of knowledge creation and appreciation, is providing justification for deeper attention to human experience (Diaz-Laplante, 2007). This can be frustrating for many modernists and, by contrast, exciting for others.

The newer models promise creative roles for the researcher, new technologies, and even new interdisciplinary relationships (Anderson-Hinn, 2013; Bentz & Shapiro, 1998). Research may also become more valuable in its significance and its direct impact potential. Whether formally conducted by trained professional researchers or by affected populations, the knowledge produced may prove indispensable in building a sustainable, more compassionate, and peaceful future.

Peace psychologists can help people who have been silenced, such as those who have been victims of violence, to be elevated and empowered to participate in discovering new ways to thrive. To achieve this quality of intervention, it is our approach to research that lays the foundation. Our methodologies still need to be rigorously defined and sufficient while remaining open and flexible. The work of testing and developing theories (or hypotheses) is more integrated and our methods support a highly empowering and participatory process. Research becomes an iterative process where the data collected are used to understand the phenomenon in question while simultaneously assisting participants in taking, and even leading, the next steps towards transforming their situation.

7.5   Goals of Research with a Broader Ethical Mandate

Designing our research goals with a broader and more prudent ethical mandate is one of the most powerful ways to ensure our intentions to advance the values of peace psychology and ultimately create sustainable, positive transformations in dire situations. No matter where we ground ourselves in our work as peace study professionals, we are responsible for uncovering and elevating the voices of the marginalized, as well as identifying and addressing the power structures and dynamics that create the foundation for violence and all forms of injustice. The details of the stories of oppression and victimization, as well as the needs for healing and transformation, will vary between contexts, but the mandate will remain the same.

Phenomenology and other qualitative methods can add rigor to this task in which we pursue a pure analysis of true voices, in their own settings, as critical to our understanding. An essential caveat to the value of hearing silenced voices comes with the need to respect individual fears of re-traumatization or unintended exploitation. Important as it may be for long-term healing, the immediate recall of traumatic happenings can be disturbing to victimized groups. This is seen often among victims of combat trauma (Paulson & Krippner, 2010), military sexual trauma (Turchik & Wilson, 2010), child soldiers (Anderson-Hinn, 2011; Wessells, 2011), people rescued from slavery and human trafficking (Anderson-Hinn, 2013), and survivors of genocide (Staub & Ryono, 2011). Respect for individuals unready to speak out and the responsibility for the safety of those who do speak out as part of a research endeavor is essential. Yet, finding safe venues for such voices can prove therapeutic and empowering to people just as it adds essential value to the researcher's understanding.

The inclusion of context adds a look at questions of systems of power and wealth, the gatekeepers of what research is funded and what attention it receives.

Media imagery and financial sponsorship of research both restrict the definition of research problems and their interrelationships with other problems. Why should research on soldier options for war trauma, for example, not include study of whether their distress was caused by a war that should never have been fought? For soldiers who decide that they were being called upon to commit unjust and brutal actions, why should their restorative options not include release from the military to civilian life (Pilisuk & Mahr, 2013)? Why should decision-makers whose decisions result in the perpetration of atrocities by others far removed not be studied and/or prosecuted for their activities?

The ethical research agenda, we suggest, needs to be informed by participatory action research (PAR; Alkire, 2005; Fals-Borda & Rahman, 1991; Freire, 1970; Homan, 2004; Stringer, 2007; see Chapter 12). People with unmet needs add significantly to the knowledge needed for change. PAR builds a mechanism by which the research task becomes less concerned with testing the validity of hypotheses and more part of an iterative process in which data collected are used immediately in assisting participants to take the next steps to bring about change while leaving them with control over the process and the use of data.

Methodological flexibility can be a key to ethical intervention as well as to knowledge in peace psychology. One study addressed the issue of rape crisis intervention in South Africa. What the author found was a highly successful program that had developed without professional assistance, beginning as a gathering place beneath a tree to provide safety for victims. Its source lay in a spiritual belief in Ubuntu, an African belief that our very existence lies in our interconnections with one another. It evolved into a women-led clinic using stuffed animals to help child victims talk about what happened and to work on restorative and preventive work with perpetrators. From the base of safety provided, it was able to work with medical and police authorities. The research was crafted using grounded theory strategy. It collected and analyzed data from three different sources: archival evidence, participant observation, and in-depth interviews. But openness to indigenous voices revealed that a process of PAR had already been occurring among a group that had never heard of the term (Schlottman, 2010).

An example from Kenya employing the study of indigenously organized "peace caravans" helps to show that the ethical guideline of participant control can open possibilities for effective peacemaking. Much of Kenya remains a tribal society with an economic base in cattle herding. Like many parts of the world, Kenyan statehood arose through the machinations of Western nations. Kenya's central government offers few resources to the tribes and commands little allegiance from them. Periodic water challenges have exacerbated cattle theft and intertribal violence. Top–down efforts to mitigate the fighting have been unproductive. The Peace Caravan approach is being studied as one that builds both its theory and practices from the level of indigenous tribal leaders. The study designed by a member of an NGO concerned with reducing violence, begins with the consent of tribal chiefs who gather together in caravans crossing over the areas controlled by rival tribes and allowing the emergent peacekeeping to generate from the experience. To date, the caravans have accomplished successful agreements among several tribes (Caravan for Peace

with Justice and Dignity, 2012; Dahir, 2011; Hancock & Mitchell, 2012; Okumu, n.d.). The approach of looking upon national conflicts through the context of local tribal relationships and the views of their participants has been developed (Hancock & Mitchell, 2012).

The approach we describe does not replace traditional empirical research and does respect the contribution of those things that can be studied by numbers. It adds, however, a set of opportunities and ethical mandates. The voices of child soldiers and of trafficked slaves can now be studied and analyzed with authenticity. The experience of survivors of violence from military attack can be heard over the accounts from numerical assessments of collateral damage.

Moreover, the ethical peace researcher challenges the assumptions of the prevailing system that soldiers are a different order of people and therefore their lives are more legitimately lost; that decisions by global corporate bodies, financial institutions, and nation states may remain unnoticed parts of the subject matter on poverty, even while their decisions result in massive malnutrition (Pilisuk, 2013).

The hidden hand of power and nuances of diverse voices point to aspects of movements for peace and justice that are sometimes lacking. The world does not lack activists, social impact entrepreneurs, or promoters of peace and justice, and other forms of social change. Their protests and efforts to retake the commons are a marvel of human determination and compassion. Many scholars and students in the peace research community have marched and planted seeds with them. But our special contribution as researchers is in the realm of knowledge. Particularly with the contemporary benefits of digital/social media technology, this knowledge component to the change process might make us more collectively inspired, equipped, and empowered to remake the world than ever before. However, even making it easier for us to collaborate in supporting and promoting these ideals is not sufficient to create effective strategies and sustain the impacts that are established by them. In some cases, making it easier to get involved in the wide array of dissenting activities, from producing healthy food locally to boycotting destructive corporations and blocking weapons transfers, has left the movements for peace and justice without the level of knowledge and skill needed to assess fully the unique communities and the lived experiences of those impacted by our "solutions." Through absence of this task of assessment we risk burning out in our repeated efforts to just "go out and do it." Effective and ethical research often takes time, patience, and a fully human-centered design.

7.6 An Example of Ethical Issues in Research: Use of Social Impact Assessment (SIA)

For the past 2 years, co-author, Melissa Anderson-Hinn has worked on designing and piloting a novel and comprehensive methodology called social impact assessment (SIA). The model illustrates the level of diligent planning and execution that is needed for research that incorporates the voices and experiences of a group in need

as well as all existing and potential stakeholders. The goal of SIA is to create a meta-assessment tool that would meet the needs of any organization seeking to establish and sustain effective social impact strategies pursuing all forms of transformative social change in human-centered communities and systems.

This tool is designed to be adaptable for research and program development in many settings. It includes visual/graphic data, descriptive phenomenological structures, creating a database for longitudinal research, and narratives that illuminate the uniquely constructed social contexts and goals that define each community.

The design of an SIA typically relies heavily on Yin's (2009) model for developing effective case study research, and Giorgi's (2009) model for a descriptive, phenomenological, psychological method as well as the linear and iterative process contained in PAR. The six phases of development are to think critically, imagine and design, create and prepare, observe and gather, analyze, and share or report. These elements might apply to any well-designed impact evaluation. But the openings provided by in-depth interviews for corrective changes along the process contribute to ethical accountability. This model effectively represents the need to acknowledge the whole while developing the project through each of the phases and expecting results that lead to direct impact.

In general, organizations seeking an SIA would be asking questions that focus on assessing where to plant the roots for their anticipated impacts, how to measure their progression and the effectiveness of their impacts, and how to scale future impacts. In other words, the SIA provides a baseline for creating and evaluating an organization's (or any collective's) social–psychological, pedagogical, and practical approaches. The approach is consistent with comprehensive models suggested elsewhere (Lederach, Neufeldt & Culbertson, 2007). The complexity of problems such as human trafficking calls for such a comprehensive and innovative approach.

A second pilot study is being conducted through the SIA model on behalf of *The Sold Project* in the rural village of Chiang Rai in Northern Thailand where young girls and boys are being trafficked into cities and across borders as sex and labor slaves. Primarily affected by this exploitation are the adolescents for whom there is little precedent for education beyond primary school. Though poverty is a primary factor with respect to young girls being exploited, it is also true that for many parents and community leaders in rural Thailand, there is no established precedent for empowering young girls to continue with education beyond primary school. One reason that adolescent boys in poverty are also at risk of exploitation is because they cannot afford to continue their education beyond primary school. Instead, they are expected to begin helping to support their families. The situation is incredibly complex and the need to be aware of and sensitive to a variety of factors is crucial to designing approaches to re-story the future for young people in this village. However, the SIA holds promise for dealing with the problem in ways that include the voices of the children, community leaders, and even traffickers. It looks also at the legal and economic drivers of the problem and at larger system players, many beyond the Thai borders, who affect the demand for slaves. Finally, it also considers the important influences of historical narrative, religion, and cultural traditions.

The ethical need for researchers to incorporate participatory research designs that include the voices of all stakeholders, no matter how poor, young, or underserved they have been, emerges clearly in countries that deal with devastating poverty. One illustrative project designed to develop educational opportunities and resources in Belize is the faith-based organization, Pathlight International (Pathlight International, nd). It brings great vision to the tasks of sponsoring students who might otherwise never get to school, training teachers with seemingly insurmountable challenges in their classrooms, and mounting a volunteer service program to be directly engaged with the real needs of rural Belizeans and active in the support of grassroots-led development. A brief review of the SIA process employed illustrates the potential for gathering voices and weaving them into a credible and sustainable transformation process.

In 2013, an SIA was conducted to assess Pathlight International's impact (past, present, and potential) on education in rural Belize (Pathlight International, nd). This SIA provided a baseline for evaluating Pathlight's psychological, pedagogical, and practical impacts since 2007 and a plan for measuring future impacts more consistently. The research design was specific to the following purposes:

1. Explore and describe (qualitatively and quantitatively) the social impacts being experienced by the stakeholders and constituents of Pathlight International since its inception
2. Explain how-and-why the work of Pathlight is having such impacts
3. Identify and describe unmet needs and unsustainable impacts that exist within their strategies
4. Explore and identify new opportunities for expanding their impacts on both the education system and the life of communities in rural Belize
5. Make key recommendations for meeting unmet needs and the future scaling of Pathlight's impacts
6. Create both a foundation for longitudinal research and a structure for ongoing (annual) assessment

For this Pathlight SIA, Anderson-Hinn (2014) established these five "most important" skill sets: the art and skill to conduct open-ended interviews; expertise in the use of descriptive phenomenology; the ability to be adaptable and innovative within the preestablished design; the ability to grasp the cultural nuances and complexities of the lived experiences of participants as well as the underlying issues and concepts; and, finally, the ability and willingness to check one's own biases and preconceptions.

In the Pathlight SIA, the analysis phase consisted of multiple approaches designed to provide (1) deeper understanding of Pathlight's qualitative impacts; (2) identifying Pathlight's quantitative impact and measurable outcomes; and (3) reliable projection or impact potential. The data analysis phase relies heavily on the design to ensure that research questions are answered, objectives are achieved, purpose is fulfilled, and potential for future work is identified. Within the scope of these objectives is the assurance that stakeholders are sufficiently elevated, equipped, and empowered to participate.

Full details of the SIA model and of its application in Belize lie beyond the scope of this chapter. Its spirit, however, recognizes and contains the same special components that Yin (2009) defines as "guides" for an "exemplary" case study. These components are (1) questions, (2) propositions (if any), (3) unit(s) of analysis; (4) logic linking the data to the propositions, and (5)criteria for interpreting the findings. Theory development is also an essential part of Anderson-Hinn's SIA design. Overall, this research design provides the necessary and logical structure and specific, purposeful direction that not only connects the component subunits of an SIA but also unites the whole. Each phase of the design provides feedback from the lived experience of individuals for a larger contextualized analysis. We believe that the SIA offers a most promising model of how to plan the study of a change process in a way that keeps the richness of the voices of participants foremost.

7.7   Ethical Limitations and Corrective Follow-up in Peace Research

Despite its comprehensive framework and dedication to capture unique attributes of the problem in Belize, the project also is useful in demonstrating an ethical limitation common for much of peace research. At least in its initial phase, the Belize project ignores or minimizes an aspect of historical context and power analysis that is part of the ethical mandate but is sometimes more difficult to study. The initial phase of this study, and of similar approaches, is that it did not include attention to the causes of inequality and to the evidence that inequality itself is a major contribution to the destitution found in poor communities (Wilkinson & Pickett, 2009). The depth of the problem of poverty in Belize, as in many poor countries, comes not from a paucity of resources but rather from patterns of exploitation that have existed for many years and continue to grow stronger. Belize has some of the world's most diverse resources found within its rainforests. It is also home to a diverse population of Guatemalan and El Salvadoran refugees who fled the violence. The USA supported regimes and the poverty and gang violence left in their wake. These primarily rural Mayan immigrants merged into an environmentally ravaged land adding to the number of people in deep poverty.

For many generations, rubber tappers living in sparse tribes in the rainforests of Belize maintained a stable economy. However, foreign investors working through wealthy elite reduced the options for a local economy. Residents found their forests being cut. Some of them protested the clearing of the forest that sustained them and police were hired to drive them from their native habitat. The new proprietor was already planning to replace the rainforests with orange groves (Blanding, 2005). The Belize rainforests are one of the world's most species diverse places. They are a part of the ecological lungs of the planet, as well as home to the rubber tappers. The new owner, the Minute Maid division of Coca Cola, had sold its orange groves to developers in order to take advantage of rising real estate prices in the sunshine state. The corporate hand was merely making investments to assure its continued

growth and profitability. Violence against the people of the forest was an uncalculated by-product of the decision process. Due to the public outcry and organized activity by Earth First and the Rainforest Action Network, Coca Cola accepted a compromise measure that preserved a portion of the indigenous rainforest (Rainforest Action Network, 1986, 1987).

The international expansion of large corporations like Coca Cola has led to a systematic exploitation of people who try to organize a union to assure living wages and safe working conditions (Blanding, 2005). Coca Cola has been charged with aiding the intimidation, and indeed murder, of union leaders by government soldiers or paramilitary groups in countries as diverse as India, Colombia, and Ireland. A number of universities in the USA have been pressured by student groups to suspend their contracts with Coca Cola in an effort to discourage this activity (Lederman, 2005; see e.g., killercoke.org/campus_activism.php).

There are, however, no laws protecting ancestral rights of the Mayans of Belize. Atlantic Industries, a corporation that has devastated the forests of Malaysia, has been buying out 200,000 acres (for 60 cents per acre) in Belize, in order to cut mahogany. A Mayan leader Julian Co noted that if the investors are allowed a free hand in the Mayan communities, "the principle stewardship over our natural resources will inevitably be overrun by the 'use and run' philosophy of land speculators and other commercial interests." Since 1992, Belize has repeatedly made concessions to foreign companies, and in 1996, "after a closed-door meeting, the Belizean government revoked the protected status of a nature reserve in Mayan territory in order to grant logging rights to Atlantic Industries" (Litterer, 1997). The "use and run" philosophy extends to people.

The situation in Belize is repeated in Nigeria where a Hong Kong-based logging company, with Nigerian governmental assistance, bypassed the country's own environmental laws to allow mahogany forests to be cut down. The project threatened drinking water in more than 300 communities with over two million people. Residents of the Cross River villages were lured with promises of schools and jobs, while the habitat on which they depend was being destroyed. The universality of considering corporate control as part of the context of studies of indirect violence may be seen in the devastated remains of major US cities following plant closures, as well as in poor countries where big corporations remove their facilities in favor of still poorer places.

In summary, there can be little doubt that some of Belize's children will be found to have succeeded in school as a result of the Pathlight program. There can be little doubt that some will become leaders returning to the development of peaceful and healthy communities in Belize and that their efforts can be documented using the postmodern research tool of SIA. It is one among several tools to make research a part of the change it purports to address (Cavallo, 2000; Chambers, 1994). Yet another ethical obstacle remains untouched unless the research also spotlights, and points to how to change portions of the system benefitting from the exploitation of Belize and ensures that interventions are not sending Belizeans down a different path of exploitation. The ethical challenge is to spotlight both the unheard voices of

victimized persons and the concealed structures of power and wealth that continue their oppression (Pilisuk & Rountree, 2008).

Anderson-Hinn has in fact taken on the challenge of incorporating the ethical limitation that emerged from analysis of the first study in Belize. This new study aims at spotlighting not only the unheard voices of primary stakeholders but also revealing concealed structures of power and wealth as well as historical and cultural influences upon current trends in exploitation. The final analysis promises a more comprehensive and informative study to empower the community towards self-determination and change. This evolution of the research illustrates that studies in the field of peace research may begin with allegiance to ethical mandates for working with people in need and may move on to additional mandates to reveal the sources of their distress.

7.8   Professional Implications for Psychology

Professions, by definition, differ from other vocations by their mandates for knowledge of the field and by their allegiance to a code of ethical standards (APA, 2012; APS, 2007; BPS, 2009; CPA, 2000). The standard of including contextual consequences that may include harmful consequences is new. But failure to consider context has had certain egregious implications for professional psychology. One neglected context is the unwarranted influence of military and national security connections in the American Psychological Association (APA). This connection between national security and the largest organization of professional psychologists helps to explain why certain projects are extensively funded while other topics are not studied. In the USA, military and national security agencies are the largest employers of psychologists (Finnerty, 2013) and the most generous provider of research funding and this influences the nature of studies undertaken (or avoided). This is not necessarily true of other nations. For example, in China and Australia, most psychologists are employed by government education departments, and in Malaysia and Singapore, most psychologists are employed by business organizations. Yet, other nations are in turn strongly influenced by American psychology (Arnett, 2008).

Despite massive efforts to avoid publicity for civilian casualties in which one's own side is culpable, research on the consequences of violent conflict typically serves well to count the immediate consequences of military actions (Dougherty, 2007). However, such research often ignores the long-term effects of Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) and Traumatic Brain Injury (TBI) on soldiers, their families, and communities. It gives little attention to military sexual trauma, suicide increases, or to future victims of land mines or radiation, bombed out communities, and displaced people.

The war on terror has encouraged a great deal of research on the profile or characteristics of a terrorist. Studies have focused on those individuals who use a bomb or a gun to kill vulnerable adults or children at a school and to images of a jihadist

terrorist. Such studies dismiss the evidence that situations more than individual proclivities are what bring about violent acts of terror (Zimbardo, 2007). For the ethical peace researcher the neglect of attention to situations that promote violence lets society off the hook. The study of the perpetrators of the far greater number of terrorist acts, who remain undeterred and unpunished, should be a matter of concern. Nation states are the primary perpetrators of terrorism, at times reaching genocidal proportions, far greater than the tragic loss at the World Trade Center (Pilisuk & Wong, 2002).

These topics of relative neglect have drawn some attention; however, the entire psychology profession has been tainted by its association with military sponsors, contractors, and funding. The Coalition for an Ethical Psychology has called to our attention that "Human rights advocates, and increasingly the general public, have come to view our profession as home to the architects, abettors, and practitioners of abusive interrogations—even torture—and other ethical violations as part of a national security apparatus run amok" (Coalition for an Ethical Psychology, 2013, n.p.n.). The group has compiled an extensive record of the subterfuges used by the APA to avoid ethical censuring of psychologists whose activities for federal agencies facilitated practices of torture. Unlike other professional associations in anthropology and psychiatry, the APA refused to censure members for their participation in the government-supported program to use coercive interrogation techniques that have been internationally recognized as torture (Long, 2011b).

In one striking example, the APA had to answer to questions about why it stood alone among professional associations who unequivocally declared participation in activities of enhanced interrogation of detainees, widely recognized as torture, as sufficient grounds for censure. The special nine-member APA Task Force created to investigate and report upon this issue included a majority who were on the payroll of the US military or intelligence agencies and had served in locations where the alleged violations took place. The report has been criticized as inadequate and self-serving by the Coalition for Ethical Psychology (Eidelson, 2015).

The reasons for such reluctance to act may be presented in legalistic and semantic terms. However, the more compelling explanations are revealed in the extent of connections between the APA and military and intelligence organizations. A large program to build resilience among soldiers in Iraq—so that they might reduce the risks of PTSD, suicide, depression, and substance abuse through positive psychological exercises—typifies these connections between the APA and military or intelligence organizations (Seligman & Fowler, 2011). A massive intervention was begun without a pilot study to test efficacy, without public review and without informed consent. It offered no opportunities for soldiers to voice their disdain over differences between the war they saw and what they had been told. The project has been criticized as one making soldiers better able to kill without remorse and able to serve another tour of combat (Eidelson, Pilisuk & Soldz, 2011; Pilisuk & Mahr, 2013).

For peace psychology, one ethical challenge is to reveal the sources of funding and show how this affects the study of peace, conflict, and those who suffer its consequences. The illustrations above have implications for the ethics of peace

research. With full acknowledgment of the values of directing traditional empirical research towards issues of peace and justice, it may be important to raise the bar on what fully ethical research requires. Such discussion can benefit from an understanding of knowledge in the postmodern world.

7.9   Conclusion

Conventional standards for ethical research are important. They fail, however, to highlight a potential for harm that may be occurring if one was to examine the broader context of each study. The portions of context often neglected are the history, explaining why the problem exists, and power relations that threaten the assumptions of inequality among the gatekeepers of funded research, publication, and intervention. It is also important that we understand our own professional context more fully. Participatory methods can raise the voices of those who have not been heard and also ensure participants benefit from the data collected. The aim of peace psychologists is to be helpful but the doctrine *do no harm* requires us to stop and reflect carefully on the wider repercussions of our actions. This more reflective approach may also help us personally, as continual intervention and pushing for change in a re-active way often leads to "burn out" or to acceptance of the self-fulfilling prophesy that larger transformative changes are not possible.

Research creates what is recognized as knowledge and knowledge is our most powerful resource for fueling participation and action. In peace psychology, particularly, it is crucial that our methodologies are designed with an understanding of the ethical challenges that emerge across research generally and within each unique context. Thus, we are able to scale our research approaches appropriately and uniquely to what drives peacemaking and transformative social change in many contexts. Moreover, we are building a process that enables the primary stakeholders to become valuable participants in the creation of knowledge. Hence, they are more likely to feel empowered to participate in using the knowledge to promote peace and sustain social change.

Note

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Part II
Extending the Range of Methodologies

Chapter 8
Indigenous Paradigm Research

Polly O. Walker

8.1   Introduction

Tsitsalagi. Nvwhtohiyada idehesdi. In the language of my ancestors: "I am Cherokee. May we live together in balance and harmony." I am also of Anglo–European descent, having grown up in the traditional lands of the Mescalero Apache, sites of wounded places (Rose, 1997) where indigenous people face the ragged choices colonization has forced on them. The legacies of colonization have shaped a great deal of formal academic research in ways which have appropriated indigenous knowledge, misrepresented indigenous people and damaged indigenous communities. Thus, my call for living in balance and harmony includes building relationships of respect, relationship and reciprocity[1] between indigenous and nonindigenous scholars, researchers, and knowledge holders. This chapter builds on my experience in conducting indigenous paradigm research, and my collaboration with a number of indigenous elders and knowledge holders in Australia, Canada, and the USA.[2] In the following sections, I first outline ways in which dominant research paradigms have negatively impacted indigenous people, and explore the ways in which indigenous people are decolonizing research by honoring and re-centering indigenous paradigms and the people who work within indigenous worldviews. In the latter section,

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[1] Auntie Joan Hendricks, of Minjerribah, has many times explained these three principles as key tenets of Aboriginal Australian worldview.

[2] I developed a research methodology based on dialogue across multiple paradigms that created processes of building on resonances between indigenous and emergent western paradigms. This would not have been possible without the support of the indigenous elders, senior people, and knowledge holders who supported my process of "becoming researcher" (Walker, 2013).

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I discuss ways in which indigenous and nonindigenous people are transforming epistemic violence through collaborative and respectful engagement across differing worldviews and paradigms.

8.2   Decolonizing Research: Re-centering Indigenous People and Their Paradigms

As Maori scholar Linda Tuwhai Smith (1999) points out in her seminal work on decolonizing research, the term "research" itself has often been an epithet to many indigenous people. The impacts of Western research on indigenous people have in many ways been negative: researchers have appropriated and misused indigenous knowledge (Battiste, 2008; Smith, 1999) drawing on research findings in ways that further dispossess and marginalize indigenous people. In an unfortunate number of cases research findings have even supported practices that justify direct violence toward indigenous people, such as the forced sterilization of Native American women that occurred in the USA through the 1970s (Smith, 2005).

Cultural and structural violence toward indigenous people was also evident in policies and practices based on research findings of the colonial era, which made claims regarding who was human (Stanfield, 1993, p. 17) with many indigenous people being classified as nonhuman (Deloria, 1969; Smith, 1999, p. 69). Although blatantly dehumanizing strategies are now curtailed through research ethics boards, governmental and institutional policies to a large extent regulate who is officially identified as indigenous and who therefore is entitled to or excluded from certain rights or privileges (Deloria, 1999; Smith, 1999). The academy continues to be a place of structural violence for many indigenous people, forcibly reshaping their ways of knowing, and being, and contributing to their internal oppression by reifying Western paradigms and marginalizing indigenous knowledge systems (Hart, 2010, p. 11).

Partly in resistance to these ongoing injustices, indigenous people around the world are working to re-center their own paradigms, languages and methodologies, facilitating research that is beneficial to their communities, and extended relational networks (Meyer, 2008; Smith, 1999; Wilson, 2001). This resistance is both *against* epistemic violence[3] and *for* a revitalization of indigenous paradigms. Marilou Awiakta (1997, p. 777), Cherokee scholar, shares an evocative example of these two types of resistance:

> I was centered and happy in my heritage until I went to college and began Western education in earnest. Everywhere I turned I found a "squared world," a society so compartmentalized that life, including my own, had no room to move around, to breathe. For twenty years I struggled against the Square World, but I unwittingly internalized it-tore my life web and

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[3] Spivak (1988) used Foucault's terminology of epistemic violence to indicate the hegemony of western worldview and the resulting marginalization and suppression of non-western ways of knowing and being.

stuffed the broken strands into the "boxes"…One quiet line marked the beginning of my healing: "No more will I follow any rule that splits my soul." Not for society or for government or for education or for any power whatsoever would I depart from the traditional teaching of my elders: "All of creation is one family, sacred."

Unfortunately, Awiakta's experience is not unique, and indigenous scholars are often expected to "strain their experiences" through Western paradigms in ways that distort their worldviews and disrupt their relationships with their communities (see Hart, 2010). Thus, indigenous reclamation of space in the academy often requires "dealing with multiple levels of colonization and social inequality" (Smith, 2005, p. 90).

Given these ongoing injustices, many indigenous scholars are calling for a "sovereign research agenda" (Smith, 2005, p. 90) which centers on indigenous peoples' needs and aspirations. Indigenous scholars around the world are drawing on their own paradigms and articulating research methodologies designed to be of value to their communities (Smith, 1999; Battiste, 2008) and the cosmos (Hart, 2010; Meyer, 2008). Other approaches to decolonizing research are termed *Indigenist*, based in indigenous worldviews, privileging indigenous voices, resisting marginalization and appropriation yet integrating aspects of both indigenous epistemologies and Western paradigms in ways that serve the needs of indigenous people (Rigney, 1998; Denzin & Lincoln, 2008). Wilson (2001) points out that decolonizing methodologies must move from indigenous perspectives on research to indigenous research paradigms that fully articulate indigenous ontologies, epistemologies, methodologies, and axiologies. Wilson (2001, pp. 176–177) describes an indigenous research paradigm as one in which knowledge is shared in relationship among humans and between humans and the cosmos, and which requires *relational accountability,* with researchers meeting a number of responsibilities to an extended relational network that includes humans, the natural world, and the spirit world.

8.3   Reducing Epistemic Violence toward Indigenous People

In this section, I explore some ways that researchers are engaging in peacebuilding by decreasing epistemic violence toward indigenous people. These processes involve symmetrical worldview analyses, implementation of indigenous research principles, and inter-paradigmatic dialogue.

It is widely accepted in decolonizing research that indigenous researchers and their communities should be able to decide if, when, and how to engage nonindigenous researchers in research endeavors. Thus, a number of scholars interested in addressing epistemic violence and the colonial legacies of research are collaborating with indigenous people in ways that demonstrate respectful engagement with indigenous paradigms. A critical aspect of this preparation is developing a deeper understanding of indigenous worldviews and the ways in which dominant research paradigms have marginalized indigenous people and their worldviews. Nonindigenous researchers will find it very difficult to develop meaningful relationships with,

and understandings of, Indigenous people if they are working solely from within nonindigenous worldviews, which may blind them to ontologies, epistemologies, and axiologies that are in some ways radically different to their own. Native American psychologists Edward and Bonnie Duran (1995, p. 25) take an even stronger stance, arguing that, "to assume that phenomena from another worldview can be adequately explained from a totally foreign worldview is the essence of psychological and philosophical imperialism."

In beginning to develop a deeper understanding of, and ways of redressing, the imposition of Western research frameworks, a number of researchers are engaging with symmetrical worldview analyses (Docherty, 2001), examining their own worldview and developing an understanding of the worldviews of the people they are working with. Symmetrical worldview analyses both enhance understanding of one's own out of awareness aspects of culture (which usually simply appear as the normal way of doing business), as well as the visible and less visible aspects of others' cultures (Docherty, 2001). A worldview analysis, according to Docherty (2001) also includes an understanding of how people from a particular cultural group would describe what is real, how the real is organized, what is important, how one comes to know, and how one should we act. Nevertheless, worldviews are neither static nor created in isolation, and Docherty also emphasizes the role of intersubjectivity in shaping, communicating, and understanding worldviews: "Worldviewing activities take place in dialogue with the *context* within which people live" (Docherty, 2001, p. 51).

There are a number of issues that hinder respectful, accurate, and effective worldviewing involving indigenous people. Unfortunately, many nonindigenous researchers seek to understand indigenous peoples' worldviews solely by using scholarly texts or detached observation. Furthermore, many researchers working within dominant Western paradigms are reluctant to analyze their own worldviews, considering their frameworks to be scientific rather than culturally based (Docherty, 2001). Eliding a symmetrical worldview analysis may exacerbate structural violence: lack of reflective understanding of one's own worldview results in a type of blindness in which critical aspects of others' ways of knowing and being may be unwittingly rejected and marginalized, and concepts which are of central importance being obscured (Goldberg, 2009).

There are a number of extant symmetrical worldview analyses that illuminate the ontology, epistemology, and axiology of indigenous and Western worldviews and which may serve as reference points for developing worldview analyses with specific indigenous people. A brief excerpt of one of these can be seen in the following table drawn from Eileen Moreton-Robinson's (2009) research. Moreton-Robinson has provided a fuller worldview analysis in her work: this section is intended to point you toward her research, and that of other indigenous scholars (see, for example, Graham's (2008) essay on Aboriginal worldview), and to raise awareness of the implications of worldview differences in research involving indigenous people (Table 8.1).

It is evident from these brief examples that indigenous and Western worldviews can be starkly different in a number of ways. The relevance of these differences has

Table 8.1 Characteristics of indigenous and Western worldview. (Source: Moreton-Robinson and Walter, 2009, pp. 4–5. Permission to use table granted)

Aspect of worldview	Characteristics of indigenous worldview	Characteristics of Western worldview
Ontology	Realities are predicated on being embodied and connected. Reality is not immutable and there are different layers of reality that are contextual and related to being a knowledge holder	Reality is perceived as immutable and the Western framing of reality is invisible to the perceiver
Epistemology	Legitimacy is based on connectivity, physical, and spiritual nature of life, knowledge, and existence	Legitimacy is based on objectivity of rational knowledge, and other ways of knowing are dismissed
Axiology	Valued knowledge comes from many sources including dreams, the ancestors, stories and experience, and is embedded in the land	Valued knowledge comes from disembodied theories rationally considered

largely been ignored within dominant Western research paradigms. In my doctoral thesis examining conflict transformation between Aboriginal and nonindigenous Australians, I drew on a comparative analysis of Western and indigenous worldviews, highlighting differences, and power imbalances which have implications for conflict transformation. In this analysis, the central characteristics of the dominant Western worldview were seen to include:

- A unilinear, present-centered conception of time
- An analytic rather than holistic conception of epistemology
- A human-over-human conception of human relations
- A human-over-nature conception of relations to nature (Galtung, 1990, p. 313).

In contrast, central characteristics of a number of American Indian/First Nations, Native Hawaiian, and Aboriginal worldviews include:

- A circular (or spiral) conception of time (Bopp, Bopp, Brown & Lane, 1989; Meyer, 1998a; Stanner, 1979).
- An holistic conception of epistemology (Bopp et al., 1989; Meyer, 1998a; Stanner, 1979).
- A less hierarchical conception of human relations (Bopp et al., 1989; Meyer, 1998a; Rose, 1984).
- Humans in relationship of care and responsibility with nature (Bopp et al., 1989; Meyer, 1998a; Rose, 1992) .

These dichotomous cultural analyses contribute to decreasing epistemic violence only if they are used as, or considered to be, "starting points" (Pillay, 2006) for a more fluid, relational, and context based cocreation of understanding. Docherty (2001) uses the term "worldviewing" for the ongoing creation of meaning between individuals and collectives. Thus, rigorous worldview analyses cannot be conducted outside of relationship with people holding those worldviews. One may make a start

from extant texts, which can be beneficial in decreasing the pressure on indigenous people to assume the bulk of the responsibility for teaching nonindigenous people about their culture and history.[4] There are a number of published works that will assist researchers in developing a deeper understanding of indigenous peoples' worldviews, which differ among indigenous people yet retain similar underlying patterns. Nevertheless, to effect a fuller understanding of, and respectful engagement with, the worldviews of a people requires building relationships. In many indigenous communities, respectful and ethical worldviewing involves learning through the reciprocity of sharing meals, participating in rituals and community events, listening to the stories and explanations of elders, and giving back to the community.

Symmetrical worldviewing in some ways involves what John Paul Lederach terms paradoxical curiosity (2005), the process of holding in relation seemingly opposite energies, in this case: 1. constant change with 2. recognizable patterns. There are continuing fluxes, similarities, and convergences, as well as differences, among indigenous and nonindigenous peoples' worldviews (Hart, 2010; Christie, 1992; Goldberg, 2009). Nevertheless, the differences in patterns that can be seen in a range of indigenous worldviews and the dominant Western worldviews are significant enough to present challenges to research collaborations between indigenous and nonindigenous researchers.

Michael Anthony Hart (2010) has articulated a Cree worldview analysis that provides an example of thorough, relational and grounded work that could inform a symmetrical analysis. Hart explains that an indigenous research paradigm is characterized by:

- An ontology that emphasizes spirituality and reciprocity.
- An epistemology of fluid, emplaced learning and the expression of experiential insight through stories, dreams, elders, ancestors and the natural world.
- A methodology based in relational accountability to collectivities and the cosmos.
- An axiology that values indigenous control of research, respect, reciprocity, safety, non-obtrusiveness, deep listening, nonjudgmental reflection, responsibility, holistic logic, self-awareness, and subjectivity (Hart, 2010, pp. 1–16).

There are a number of indigenous scholars, such as Wilson (2001), Hart (2010), Meyer (2008) and Smith (1999, 2005) who have articulated principles that shape indigenous research. As one voice among many researchers working within indigenous paradigms, I would like to share the following principles, arising from my understanding developed in relationship with the natural world, indigenous elders, knowledge holders, scientists, and scholars, and collaboratively conducting research with indigenous and nonindigenous people.

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[4] A number of senior indigenous women in Australia maintain that is the responsibility the nonindigenous people to educate themselves as deeply and widely as possible about indigenous issues and indigenous settler power relations, rather than relying solely on Aboriginal people to educate them (Graham, 1998; Huggins, 1998; Holt, 2000).

8.3.1   Relationship is Key in all Aspects of Research

"Here is an epistemological category that deepens all other categories: Existing in relationship triggers *everything;* with people, with ideas, with the natural world" (Meyer, 2008, p. 221). Relationships are integral in indigenous paradigm research, including among humans, between humans and the natural world/cosmos, and between researcher, data and participants. Interrelatedness is a central tenet of indigenous worldviews and to function effectively, researchers are expected to build on existing relationships as well as create and sustain new ones (Smith, 2005).

Research relationships extend beyond those with other humans, to include the natural world. Mary Graham (2010), senior Aboriginal woman of the Kombumerri people in Australia, articulates a place-based research methodology in which "Indigenous research methods stress the moral nature of physicality (especially land) and the need for relationality and interconnectedness with all life forces…" in which "balance and re-balance is achieved when Place is used like an ontological compass." Graham maintains that "…Place precedes inquiry. Place defines and supersedes inquiry. Place is a living thing, whether it is geographically located or located as an event in time. Place does not hamper, confuse or attenuate inquiry, rather Place both enhances and clarifies inquiry…It informs us of 'where' we are at any time, thereby, at the same time informing us of 'who' we are" (Graham, 2010, p. x). Other indigenous scholars, such as Hart (2010) and Meyer (2008) describe reciprocal relationships with the living, natural world/cosmos as an integral part of their research paradigms. Skillful data interpretation takes place in relation between the researcher and the research participants rather than being done solely by the researcher (Cajete 2000, p. 66; Begay & Maryboy 1998, pp. 50–55; Smith 1999, p. 148). In Native Hawaiian epistemology, for example, intelligence outside of the relationship is considered to be impossible (Meyer 1998a, p. 135) and knowledge that breaks the awareness of interconnectedness with others is considered to be worthless or harmful.

8.3.2   There are More than Five Senses that Inform Research

In indigenous paradigm research, empirical data includes many senses (Meyer, 2008) not included in Western research paradigms where empirical data is restricted to seeing, hearing, touching, tasting, and smelling. Many indigenous peoples' epistemologies also include senses of intuition, dream, visions, and receiving signs from the natural world; thus knowledge arises out of, and resides in mind, body, emotion, and spirit, and connection with the natural world (Begay & Maryboy, 1998, p. 203; Cajete, 2000, pp. 75, 84–85; Duran & Duran, 1995; Ghostkeeper, 2001). Knowledge is thus holistic; intellect is valued, but not given priority above other ways of knowing. For example, in Native Hawaiian philosophy humans "are not simply 'head thinkers'" but rather are directed by their "bodies…larger sense of otherness" (Meyer, 1997, p. x).

8.3.3   Research is Based in Reciprocity

Interconnectedness calls forth reciprocity. Knowledge and understanding shared by research participants evokes a responsibility on the part of the researcher to use that information in ways that support group aspirations and values. In many indigenous paradigms, knowledge is considered to be a gift and the recipients are expected to respond in ways that demonstrate respect for the collective in how that gift is used on behalf of the collective (Meyer, 1998a, p. 116; Whitt, 1997).

Indigenous paradigm researchers seek ways in which both data and findings are shared with participants (Begay & Maryboy, 1998; Smith, 1999). At the end of the research project, the participants continue to be involved in discussions on how the research findings are to be utilized. A failure to include participants in these ways is considered by many indigenous people to be "stealing knowledge," and such perceptions fuel continued indigenous resistance to formal research (Smith, 1999, p. 176).

This reciprocity extends beyond the human realm. Indigenous paradigm researchers are expected to fulfill their relationships to their extended network of relationships (Hart, 2010). This includes ancestors, generations to come, and all aspects of the natural world, as Wilson (2001, p. 177) describes: "…it is a relationship with all of creation. It is with the cosmos; it is with the animals, with the plants, with the earth that we share this knowledge. It goes beyond the idea of individual knowledge to the concept of relational knowledge ….you are answerable to all your relations when you are doing research."

8.3.4   Methodologies are Characterized by Movement and Flux

Indigenous paradigm research is characterized by flux rather than time-bound implementation of techniques (Begay & Maryboy, 1998, p. 69; Cajete 2000; Duran & Duran, 1995; Peat, 1994; Smith, 1999, p. 182), and is based in a paradigm of creative, ever-changing processes rather than absolute truth (Little Bear, 2000). Thus the methodologies involve "process thinking as opposed to the content thinking found in the [dominant] Western worldview" (Duran & Duran, 1995, p. 15).

This flux can also be seen in Native American concepts of behaving "in a good way" in research which means, in part, being responsive to the needs of indigenous people, communities and all one's relations. Rather than rigid research methods being employed, flexible approaches are considered to be more rigorous, reliable, and ethical. For example, the creative flux of indigenous paradigm research is evidenced in indigenous conceptualizations of time, which include *right time*, the time at which all factors indicate the situation is ready to support the action being contemplated. Rather than base research decisions solely upon calendar or clock

deadlines, choices are made with regard to relationships with others and the natural world (Peat, 1994, pp. 202–203; Tripcony, 1997).

8.3.5   Spirituality Is Integral to Research

Whereas dominant Western research paradigms are primarily secular, indigenous paradigm research is "inherently spiritual" (Begay & Maryboy, 1998, p. 93). It is important to note that spirituality is not equated with religion; it is instead a participative, receptive awareness of, and dialogue with, the extended relational network (ancestors, generations to come, and the cosmos). Within this networked relationality, receiving advice or council from a relative who has died is considered valuable information to many indigenous scholars (Meyer, 1998b, p. 40). In contrast, in mainstream Western worldview seeing and hearing deceased people is often pathologized as drug induced psychosis or mental illness. In very few cases, would information from deceased ancestors be considered acceptable research data within dominant Western research methodologies (Stanfield, 1998, p. 352).

Many indigenous research paradigm methodologies acknowledge the fundamental role of spirituality in formal research (Duran & Duran, 1995, p. 44; Whelshula, 1999). For example, Meyer (1998a, pp. 99–100) claims that "the theme of spirituality was by far the largest" of all of her research categories, explaining that " Inevitably, *every* mentor spoke and lingered within the arena of how knowledge is affected, acquired and shaped by spiritual forces."

8.3.6   Relationship with the Natural World Informs Research

Concepts of relationship with the natural world as a living system are reflected in indigenous paradigm research (Deloria 1995, p. 55; Little Bear, 2000, p. xi) and many examples of decolonizing research involve articulation of live participation with the natural world (Cajete, 2000, p. 2). I have written elsewhere (Walker, 2013) about how relationship with the natural world shapes my awareness, thinking, and relationships related to research. Sometimes the natural world calls me to slow down, pay attention, and learn from a particular place; at times it strengthens me to continue the research process; and at other times informs.

In many indigenous paradigms there is no hierarchy of humans over nature, and information shared by the natural world is considered equally valid as data from other humans. For example, Deborah Bird Rose (1992, p. 225) describes the worldview of the Yarralin people of Australia in which listening to the natural world is an integral part of their epistemology. Many indigenous peoples' epistemologies incorporate conceptualizations of land and other living creatures involved in the cocreation of meaning with humans (see Meyer 1998a; Peat 1994).

8.3.7   Meaningful Evaluation of Research is Based in Relationship and Takes Place at Many Levels

Meaningful evaluations of research must include its verisimilitude and persuasiveness to the indigenous communities who have collaborated in the research. The validity of findings may be indicated through "formal, informal, cultural and spiritual means… In accordance with the traditional dimension, reliability can be acquired experientially, intuitively and ultimately spiritually. The integrity of this kind of knowledge is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to analyze or validate by outside western research methods" (Begay & Maryboy, 1998, pp. 133–134).

Both indigenous communities and indigenous researchers measure rigor in terms of the complexity and soundness of the findings, and also in relation to the research project's ability to maintain and strengthen interrelatedness among humans, humans, natural, and spirit worlds. They also evaluate the effects of the findings on the community in relation to creating positive social change that responds to the needs of many in the indigenous community (Meyer, 1998a; Smith, 1999, pp. 172–175).

There are a number of principles of indigenous paradigm research which differ depending on the indigenous people/community/group involved in the research. The seven principles I outline in this chapter are the central ones that shape my work in indigenous paradigm research. I have explored them for purposes of reflection and consideration of how engagement with principles of indigenous research might assist in decreasing epistemic violence in the academy.

8.3.7.1   Inter-paradigmatic Dialogue

Dialogue across paradigms has brought some measures of balance to research collaborations between indigenous and nonindigenous people. One of the Cherokee words that relates to indigenous concepts of peace and wellbeing is *nvwati*, roughly translated as balance and harmony, or conceptualizing and engaging with seemingly oppositional energies as a whole. In Cherokee worldview, the dominant Western research paradigms are largely out of balance, separating the knowing of mind, body and spirit, and the natural world, as well as fragmenting knowledge into tightly bound disciplines. However, there are Western emergent paradigm[5] researchers who are also exploring conceptual frameworks that resonate with those of indigenous people, and a number of these emergent paradigm researchers are working in respectful and ethical collaboration with indigenous people. I would like to briefly explore some of the inter-paradigmatic dialogues I have been involved in: first, face-to-face dialogues involving indigenous scholars, elders and knowledge holders, and Western quantum theorists. Then, I will turn to an exploration some of the work from my doctoral thesis that explores resonances between indigenous and Western emergent paradigms.

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[5] Emergent paradigm research is innovative, paradigm shifting research that lacks sufficiently sustained scholarship for the Academy to define it as a paradigm.

For over a decade I participated in a series of dialogues, hosted by the SEED Institute in New Mexico, that brought together quantum theorists with Native scholars, elders and knowledge holders to explore interconnections between indigenous and Western science. The dialogues were initiated and facilitated by Leroy Little Bear, Blackfoot scholar, who earlier had invited David Bohm, seminal scholar in quantum physics, to explore similarities in their paradigms. Building both on Bohmian (Bohm, 1999) and Blackfoot forms of dialogue, participants explored indigenous paradigms based in "ideas of constant motion and flux, existence consisting of energy waves, interrelationships, all things being animate, space/place, renewal and all things being imbued with spirit" (Little Bear, 2000). Part of the intent of the dialogues was to increase the understanding of, and respect for, indigenous science and worldview. I remember vividly sitting beside Nobel Prize winning physicist Brian Josephson, and hearing him build on a quote from John Horgan's book *The End of Science,* stating: "'Our civilization is now facing barriers to the acquisition of knowledge so fundamental that the golden age of science must be thought of as over… we are now witnessing a transition from a science of the past…. to a study of complex adaptive matter. We must hope for providing a jumping off-point for new discoveries, new concepts, and new wisdom.' Well, I think that's very closely connected to what we're doing, and shows the two (Quantum theory and Native Science) can be united in this sense" (SEED Transcipt, 2001).

Based on my experience of indigenous paradigms, and my intent to conduct research within those paradigms, I sought out supervisors at the University of Queensland who were receptive to my doing research in that manner. Colin Peile became one of my advisors, based in part on my interest in his book on the Creative Research Paradigm, which drew on Bohm's and other physicists' work in quantum theory. Using his work and that of a range of scholars articulating indigenous paradigms, I engaged in inter-paradigmatic dialogue, seeking to learn more about how these frameworks could inform the methodology I was developing. As can be seen in the table on the following page, the Creative paradigm, Native American paradigm, and Australian Aboriginal paradigm have similar ontological, epistemological, political, and spiritual characteristics (Table 8.2).

This table is not a full symmetrical worldview analysis; it represents only a few characteristics of these paradigms. It is intended to indicate that emergent paradigm research reflects many of the central principles of indigenous paradigm research: interconnectedness, a focus on relationships, cocreative process, and expanded conceptualizations of epistemology.

Peile's methodology is based in the concepts of interconnectedness, building on the quantum theory concept of a *holomovement* (Bohm, 1980), within which knowledge develops through a flowing, constantly cycling movement between implicit and explicit experience (Peile, 1994). A number of other Western scholars of emergent paradigm research also stress the importance of interconnectedness in epistemology, as seen in the work of Barbara McClintock, Nobel Prize winning biologist (cited in Keller, 1983, pp. 204), who maintains, "Basically everything is one. There is no way in which you draw a line between things. What we [normally] do is full of subdivisions that are artificial, that shouldn't be there." Likewise, Peile (1994,

Table 8.2 Assumptions of creative, Native American and Aboriginal Australian paradigms

Paradigmatic assumptions	The creative paradigm	Native American paradigm	Aboriginal Australian paradigm
Ontological	Everything is part of an undivided inseparable whole. The whole is holographically enfolded within every part and each part enfolds every other part. Creativity is the fundamental process of all reality…Mind and body, matter and consciousness, are inseparable aspects of an individual whole which holographically enfold each other (Peile, 1994, p. 279)	All things are inter-related. Everything in the universe is part of a single whole… All of creation is in a state of constant change. Nothing stays the same except the presence of cycle upon cycle of change. (Bopp et al., 1989, pp. 26–27)	Each part is both part of the total system and a system in itself (Rose, 1984, p. 221).…all parts of the cosmos are related to other parts (Rose 1984, p. 29)
Epistemological	Knowledge arises via synthetic insight where this knowledge forms an inseparable creative aspect of reality (Peile, 1994, p. 279)	Everything is connected in some way to everything else. It is therefore possible to understand something only if we can understand how it is connected to everything else. (Bopp et al., 1989, p. 26)	…knowledge originates in the complex unbounded web of metaphors, drawn from the land, animals, and the body, and handed down by the ancestors…. Knowledge making can be posited as a negotiation of metaphors, which will help us to share and understand our… partial perspectives (Christie, 1992, p. 22)
Political	The aim of relationships with others is creative mutual dialogue. It seeks to challenge the processes of fragmentation and the self-deceptive perception of control through a process of synthesis, insight and mutual dialogue (Peile, 1994, p. 279)	All the races and the tribes in the world are like the different colored flowers of one meadow. All are beautiful. As children of the Creator they must all be respected (Bopp et al., 1989, p. 80)	All perspectives are valid and reasonable (Graham, cited in Graham, Brigg & Walker, 2010). No part of the system is subservient to, or dominated by, any other part… each part of the system must pay attention, and respond, to other parts (Rose, 1984, p. 30)

Table 8.2 (continued)

Paradigmatic assumptions	The creative paradigm	Native American paradigm	Aboriginal Australian paradigm
Spiritual	It has been suggested that God could be equated with the implicate whole and is therefore enfolded in everything (Peile, 1994, p. 279)	The spiritual dimension of human development may be understood in terms of the capacity to respond to realities that exist in a non-material way such as dreams, visions and spiritual teachings (Bopp et al., 1989, p. 30)	Spiritual existence is not divorced from the material world, but embedded in it. People and nature are one… (Tripcony, 1997)

pp. 273–274) explains, "Everything is part of an inseparable undivided whole… The whole is holographically enfolded or implicit within every part."

Emergent paradigm research also stresses reciprocal relationships between researchers and research data, describing research processes in which the researcher's formal study and personal experience shape the data, and in turn are shaped by the data. These scholars maintain that open acknowledgment of interconnections between the researcher's experience and the data provides a more accurate representation of research processes (Lincoln & Denzin, 1998). For example, when asked how she was able to develop her prizewinning research into genetics, McClintock (cited in Keller, 1983, p. 117) described a relational approach with the nuclei of the corn plants she was studying: "…when I was really working with them I wasn't outside, I was down there. I was part of the system. I was right down there with them, and everything got big. I even was able to see the internal parts of the chromosomes-actually everything was there. It surprised me because I actually felt as if I were right down there and these were my friends."

In emergent paradigm research, the relationship between researcher and research data might be described as a cocreative process through which both the researcher and the data are changed. This cocreative process has been described as "dancing with the data," as the researcher seems to lead the research process at times, and at other times the data seems to direct the process (Peile, 1994). Research experiences in which the data directs the process have led to creative integration of data, as McClintock (cited in Keller, 1983, p. 125) describes: "You let the material tell you where to go, and it tells you at every step what the next has to be because you're integrating with an overall brand new pattern in mind. You're not following an old one; you are convinced of a new one. And you let everything you do focus on that. You can't help it because it all integrates." In his seminal text *Blackfoot Physics*, theoretical physicist F. David Peat (1994), explains that in both indigenous and emergent paradigms, knowledge is defined as an integrated *process* of "coming-to-knowing" that occurs through holistic relationships with all things in the universe (Peat, 1994, p. 174).

In emergent paradigm research, truth is also expressed as *process*, as the researcher's understanding at a particular time. For example, "In the creative approach, truth is a constant process of creative change…. Ideas generated within the creative approach need to be seen as equivalent to a proposition or a proposal which is put forward as a guide to action and is tested out in action" (Peile, 1994, pp. 181, 161). No claims are made for universal, absolute truth, although claims are made for collective truths in flux that incorporate both the researcher's understanding and that of the wider community and are open to change.

Emergent paradigm research also engages many aspects of human experience, drawing on "tacit, intuitive, emotional and historical aspects" (Lincoln & Denzin, 1998, p. 422). Emergent paradigm researchers call for engagement with spirituality, seeing the process as "ensouling the world" (McClintock, cited in Keller, 1983), defining spirituality as the awareness of the interconnectedness of all things in a web of meaning and thus central to research (Capra, 1982). Physicist F. David Peat (1994, p. 7) conceptualizes the flux of the cosmos as spirituality: "In modern physics the essential stuff of the universe cannot be reduced to billiard-ball atoms, but exists as relationships and fluctuations at the boundary of what we call matter and energy. indigenous science teaches us that all that exists is an expression of relationships, alliances, and balances between what, for lack of better words, we could call energies, powers, or spirits." Other scholars name the explicit inclusion of spiritual aspects in research as one of the six crucial issues facing qualitative researchers: "…concerns of the spirit are already returning to the human disciplines, and will be more important in the future" (Lincoln & Denzin, 1998, p. 424).

Emergent paradigm researchers often define empirical research data as involving more than five senses, including data obtained from intuition, dreams, meditative states, and communication with the natural world. Peile (1994, p. 225) acknowledges sensory experiences in research in which information is processed at "… the unconscious level, for example when dreaming or daydreaming, (in which) all sorts of other differences, processes and associations may be intuitively explored." Likewise, McClintock (cited in Keller, 1983, p. 103) describes the central role of intuition in her research, "Without being able to know what it was I was integrating, I *understood* the phenotype. When you suddenly see the problem, something happens that you have the answer-before you are able to put it into words. It is all done subconsciously. This has happened too many times to me, and I know when to take it seriously." None of these scholars advocates an abandonment of intellectual analysis, rather a more balanced approach that integrates intellect and other ways of knowing. Indeed, untested information that comes through intuition can be as incomplete as information that is processed solely through intellectual analysis (Peile, 1994, pp. 226–227).

Emergent paradigm researchers Peile (1994) and Polanyi (1962) also emphasize the research role of unconscious, bodily knowing that is not directly perceived by the five senses, but embedded in holistic ways in human experience. Michael Polanyi (1962) states that all sensory knowing is based on a foundation of tacit, bodily knowing that is not analyzed through individual sensory input, but is experienced in an unconscious, holistic manner. indigenous epistemology shares similarities with

Polanyi's (1962) concept of *tacit knowing*, "In both cases the knowledge is acquired through experience and relationship with the thing to be known. In both cases the knowledge is not so much stored in the brain but is absorbed into the whole person" (Peat, 1994, pp. 55–66).

As evidenced in the previous section, Western emergent paradigm research shares many of the central characteristics of indigenous paradigm research: an emphasis on interconnectedness and process, inclusion of spiritual experience, and expanded conceptualizations of empirical data. There is a great deal of potential for both indigenous paradigm researchers and emergent paradigm scholars to develop collaborations, sharing, and learning from each other, without attempting to assimilate one another's approach. This principle of diversity in balance is central to indigenous epistemologies. Graham (cited in Graham et al., 2010) explains that in Aboriginal worldviews "all perspectives are valid and reasonable." Likewise Meyer (2008, p. 218) explains how engaging with difference in epistemologies leads to a greater truth: "How I experience the world is different from how you experience the world, and both our interpretations matter," thus encouraging engagement with knowledge as "vast, limitless, and *completely subjective*."

8.4   Conclusion

A number of indigenous elders around the world tell of their ancestors foreseeing the arrival of White people in their lands: some warned that disaster trailed in their wake, and others explained that there was both danger and powerful potential for what could arise through respectful sharing between indigenous and nonindigenous people. I have often reflected on what our world might be like in this era if indigenous knowledge and worldviews had been engaged respectfully by outsiders rather than being demonized, disrupted, and dismissed. Nevertheless, the potential for indigenous and nonindigenous people collaborating with integrity has not been destroyed by colonial encounters. Although academic research around the world is still marked by epistemic violence toward indigenous people, a number of indigenous and nonindigenous researchers and people are engaging with each other in respectful and ethical research collaborations. There is much to learn from indigenous research paradigms about reinvigorating relational ways of knowing and collaborations of integrity.

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Chapter 9
Approaches to Post-colonial Research

David Mellor

9.1 Introduction

In 1883, Polish writer and founding European sociologist Ludwig Gumplowicz introduced the concept of ethnocentrism to describe the tendency to use one's own standards, values, and beliefs to make judgments about others whose standards, values, and beliefs are assumed to be inferior, morally incorrect, or simply wrong. He noted that social scientists are not immune to this colonial tendency, and commented: "So far most writing of history is dominated by limited ethnocentric viewpoints… One can comfortably say that the largest part of historical writing so far actually has only sprung from this subjective need of human beings to glorify their own and nearest and at the same time humiliate and sully what is foreign and distant" (Gumplowicz, 1883, cited by Bizumic, 2014, pp. 252–253). According to Bizumic, who analyzed translations of Gumplowicz's work, Gumplowicz criticized his contemporaries for these biases and argued that social scientists need to transcend them in order to develop better and more objective social science.

Gumplowicz gave many examples of ethnocentrism, including the ancient Greeks' belief that all other groups are barbarian, Aristotle's claim that positive qualities are perfectly balanced only in Greeks, Hegel's argument that Germans represent the objective spirit and are therefore godlike, and the belief of the French that they are more civilized than other groups (Bizumic, 2014).

Interestingly, Bizumic notes that in most modern day discussions of ethnocentrism Sumner (1906) is credited with coining the term. Ironically, ethnocentrism itself may be the reason for this error; there may be a tendency among English-speaking social scientists, even those who have extensively studied ethnocentrism and can read German (Sumner included), to ignore the work of authors such as

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Gumplowicz (who published mostly in German), because almost all of his publications were written in languages other than English! This ethnocentrism may have had both pragmatic and attitudinal components, or may be simply due to authors reporting what they have previously read in English.

In the modern world, ethnocentrism is evident in all types of cultural, social, and even personal evaluations when we devalue the customs, ideas, behaviours, values, and beliefs of others because they are different from our own. One particular variant of ethnocentrism which Pfifferling (1980) called a "professional offspring" of ethnocentrism is medicocentrism. Pfifferling, a medical anthropologist, used this term to describe how the tenets of Western science and medicine are considered—in a colonial way—to be natural and universally applicable truths. There are two problems with medicocentrism. First, sometimes some medical truths have been found to have been false as science has advanced. For example, for many years in the Western world, stress and lifestyle were considered to be the major causes of stomach and intestinal ulcer, and sufferers were counselled to adapt their work and personal lives accordingly. However, in 2005 two Australian scientists, Robin Warren and Barry Marshall, were awarded the Nobel Prize for medicine for their discovery that a bacterial infection (*Helicobacter pylori*) plays a key role in the development of both stomach and intestinal ulcers which can now be cured with a short-term course of antibiotics. One truth was thereby replaced by another, but from within the same positivist scientific paradigm. The second problem with medicocentrism is that the understanding of the physical body and its problems is culture bound. An example of this is a research/intervention programme aiming to reduce the prevalence of malaria in Tanzania through the introduction of insecticide-treated mosquito nets, described by Winch (1999). Progress required two different logics about disease to be navigated. On the one hand was the Western knowledge of malaria as a disease entity with symptoms, transmission paths, prevention possibilities, and treatment approaches. On the other hand was a different local understanding of fevers and their origins, as well as treatment responses by traditional healers. A major challenge highlighted by Winch was overcoming the project team members' view that the local ways of labelling, diagnosing, and treating illness were wrong, and for the team members to appreciate that the local knowledge had its own internal logic. Fortunately, this process was managed by a team of medical anthropologists in a sensitive manner, but nevertheless, at its heart was the imposition of one set of truths, established by Western science, over another based on traditional cultural understandings.

Does another "professional offspring" of ethnocentrism which I will call "ethnocentric psychology" exist? As a psychologist, who has conducted research across cultures within Australia and in various international contexts, I have had to ask this question of myself and my research. If it does exist, how can we come to terms with it and ameliorate it? This is an important issue because the essence of ethnocentrism, including any of its professional offspring, is that it has the potential to disenfranchise and disempower others in our increasingly globalized, Euro-American dominated world, as will be elaborated below.

9.2 Ethnocentric Psychology

The ultimate goal of psychological research is to identify and understand psychological phenomena in human behaviour and the way humans behave together. One question that constantly arises in psychological research is "how far can we generalise about what we find in our studies?" A consistent limitation identified in most reported studies is the uncertainty in generalizing findings beyond, for example the school in which data were collected, or the socioeconomic group or gender of those who participated in the study. These issues become further complicated when research is conducted across cultures, where the question becomes "can we generalise findings from these cultural contexts to other or all cultural contexts?"

Indeed, questions as to whether or not various psychological phenomena are universally have prompted much debate. Some theorists have suggested they are, and that, for example similar personality traits or psychopathology can be observed in all population groups. This *etic* endeavour attempts to take an objective, outsider perspective to find universal patterns across cultures and establish absolute truths in regards to human behaviour and its manifestations. Researchers with this orientation thus seek to build knowledge paradigms that generalize across cultures (Goodenough, 1970; Harris, 1976), and any cultural variation is seen to be insubstantial. Given that most of this research is derived from Euro-American contexts and is reliant on theories, constructs, methods, and measures assumed to be appropriate and applicable everywhere (Hartmann, Kim, Kim, Nguyen, Wendt, Nagata & Gone 2013), this can be described as a "colonial" approach to generate knowledge about people. Researchers, like others, are prone to being encapsulated by their own culture as well as the particular paradigms that have guided their training. They are, therefore, at risk of ethnocentric research and reasoning.

Etic approaches were used early on in psychological research to investigate variables among dominant Western populations, and then investigate the degree to which the same variables could be observed in another location or racial/ethnic group. The fact that in one location there was more or less of these variables than in another was of interest in itself. Two examples of this approach exemplify this. One was the investigation of the intelligence of white and black people in the USA (Jensen, 1969, 1998). Having identified differences in scores on Western tests, conclusions were drawn about the genetic superiority of whites over blacks. The explanatory model was thus embedded in dominant Western biological science. In the case of the race and intelligence debate, Jensen's findings rapidly influenced policy discussions, and, even though the arguments made were proved wrong, this influence was lasting (Konner, 2002). Rather than simply providing data on how groups are different and attributing this difference to genetics, it would be less colonial to seek insight into how sociocultural factors determine the interests, opportunities, and functioning of the group that has been identified as being "deficient" (Sullivan & Cottone, 2010).

In Australia, psychological research with indigenous Australians has an ethnocentric history. The early work conducted by researchers drawn almost exclu-

sively from the dominant White population on indigenous people could also be characterized as "deficit colonial psychology". It was concerned with problems that were presumed to be associated with indigenous people and conducted within the Western frameworks that provided explanations for these problems. For example, according to Davidson, Sanson and Gridley (2000), genetics and cultural inferiority were used to explain educational and employment difficulties experienced by indigenous people, and motivational theories were used to explain educational underperformance. Even when research was more culturally sensitive (e.g. assessing performance on familiar tasks rather than Western tests) the findings were couched in terms of genetics and cultural problems, with the solution to the "problem" being a radical cultural reconditioning (Davidson, Sanson and Gridley, 2000).

Another particularly contentious area in cross-cultural research focuses on psychopathology. In this research, theorists have aimed to develop etic theories of psychopathology that can be applied across social and cultural contexts (Gone & Kirmayer, 2010). The quest has often been to determine the degree to which various disorders that are described in the Western nosological systems such as the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of the American Psychiatric Association (DSM 5, American Psychiatric Association, 2013) or the International Classification of Diseases (ICD 10, World Health Organization, 2010) are evident in Eastern or developing and third world countries. Imposing these systems across populations risks what Kleinman (1987) termed the *category fallacy*, or the erroneous assumption that a diagnostic construct developed in one cultural context is meaningful in a different cultural context simply because the symptoms that constitute it can be identified in both settings.

Despite these warnings, various large cross-cultural epidemiological studies of psychological disorders that have been conducted may be of little use largely because they come from a colonial, etic perspective. These studies are international and intranational. One of these is the World Mental Health Organization World Mental Health Survey Initiative (WHO-WMH), which spans 28 sites in 27 nations in Europe, North and South America, Asia, Africa, and New Zealand and is expanding. In each site, community-dwelling participants are administered the Composite International Diagnostic Instrument (CIDI, World Health Organization, 1990) which is translated according to cross-cultural research protocols and adapted to make it meaningful for the particular context. Prevalence rates of various disorders in the countries in which the survey is conducted are then ascertained (see The WHO World Mental Health Survey Consortium, 2004). They vary wildly across countries but the USA seems to have the world's worst mental health. Is this useful? Rosenman (2012) likened this survey to the missionary movements of the last two centuries: "like the missionaries, the organisers are committed, selfless people of extraordinary goodwill who have come to poor countries from cultures at the apogee of their wealth, prestige and intellectual power. They bring an evolved and highly developed system of thought. They set about delivering the fruits of that to the people" (p. 17). Gone and Kirmayer (2010) liken this "project of global scientific psychiatry" to the lingering legacy of the European empire. The endeavour is fraught because disorders may manifest differently, be experienced differently, and

understood differently in different culture contexts (Bass, Eaton, Abramowitz & Sartorius, 2012). In addition, as Rosenman notes, instruments such as the CIDI do not record any disorder or phenomena that it does not ask about so therefore cannot find anything other than the diagnoses it is constructed to find. That is, it does not ask about states that are outside the experience or knowledge of the people who designed it.

A particular DSM disorder that has been critiqued in terms of its cross-cultural/ contextual application is posttraumatic stress disorder (PSTD). Summerfield (1999) noted with great concern the rise of the idea that whole populations in post-war contexts suffer trauma symptomatology and need interventions derived from Western understandings to manage their re-adjustment behavioural patterns. He noted that most humanitarian responses to such situations, even those funded by the United Nations Children's Fund and the World Health Organization, address posttraumatic stress as a technical problem that can be treated through counselling. Such an approach sees the survivors' reframing of their suffering defined by Western experts at the cost of local meaning systems. In other words, the Western knowledge system is privileged over local traditions and understandings, undermining "the collective capacity of survivor populations to mourn, endure and rebuild" (1999, p. 1449). While agreeing with much of Summerfield's argument, de Jong (2001) suggests that humanitarian efforts do need to address traumatic responses to war, including shattered emotional worlds, broken trust, and the eroded belief in the benevolence of human beings, but the field needs to understand more about such responses and manage the influence of "foreign" conceptualizations rather than avoid it.

Smaller scale intranational intercultural studies that have compared the prevalence of mental health problems among majority and indigenous cultural groups have proceeded in a similar fashion to cross-national studies. For example, in Chile, Vicente, Kohn, Rioseco, Saldivia and Torres (2005) also used the CIDI to assess the metal health of indigenous Mapuche people and other Chileans to establish the prevalence rates of various disorders. In Australia, various studies have used Western-developed measures to assess the prevalence of mental health problems among indigenous Australians (see Jorm, Bourchier, Cvetkovski & Stewart, 2012 for a review). However, the meanings of the findings of these kinds of studies are limited and potentially damaging, as described above and will be further elaborated below.

In line with etic endeavours, when cross-national and cross-cultural differences are found in studies, they are often accounted in terms of methodological factors, other than those related to the measurement instrument. It is not the existence (or lack thereof) of a disorder that might account for the findings, but, for example contextual risk factors, reluctance or inability of mentally ill individuals to participate in surveys, or interviewer error and unreliability in diagnostic systems. Rosenman (2012) outlines some possible damages that could result from this kind of reasoning. For example, local and traditional responses to psychological morbidity may be replaced by Western treatments, not all of which are necessarily desirable or safe ("dogmatic chemical cruelties" as he labels them). Along with this, mental health workers themselves may be colonized by a process, Fanon (1967) and Ngungi wa Thiong'o (1986a, b) call "colonization of the mind". For Rosenman, the "disappear-

ance of different descriptions of human states that are found in the local languages and the history and the experiences embedded in them is the extinction of a species of expression" (p. 18). More importantly these works promote the supremacist view that we are all alike in our functioning, despite the sociocultural influence of the contexts in which we live. Rosenman concludes that the belief that we can make universal diagnoses is dangerous and threatens to be "a cultural steamroller".

To be fair though, recent versions of diagnostic systems have tried to recognize cultural variations in both symptoms, and psychiatric syndromes. One focus has been on patterns of dysfunctional or aberrant behaviour that are not seen among mainstream Western populations and linked to a particular diagnostic category. The previous version of the DSM (DSM-IV-TR; American Psychiatric Association, 2000) took a relatively modest approach when referring to such "culture-bound syndromes". It noted that "culture-bound syndromes are generally limited to specific societies or culture areas and are localized, folk, diagnostic categories that frame coherent meanings for certain repetitive, patterned, and troubling sets of experiences and observations … there is seldom a one-to-one equivalence of any culture-bound syndrome with a DSM diagnostic entity. Aberrant behaviour that might be sorted by a diagnostician using DSM-IV into several categories may be included in a single folk category, and presentations that might be considered by a diagnostician using DSM-IV as belonging to a single category may be sorted into several by an Indigenous clinician" (p. 898). The current version of the DSM (DSM 5) has replaced the notion of "culture-bound syndromes" with three concepts:

1. Cultural syndromes: "clusters of symptoms and attributions that tend to co-occur among individuals in specific cultural groups, communities, or contexts … that are recognized locally as coherent patterns of experience" (p. 758).
2. Cultural idioms of distress: "ways of expressing distress that may not involve specific symptoms or syndromes, but that provide collective, shared ways of experiencing and talking about personal or social concerns" (p. 758).
3. Cultural explanations of distress or perceived causes: "labels, attributions, or features of an explanatory model that indicate culturally recognized meaning or etiology for symptoms, illness, or distress" (p. 758).

Bass et al. (2012) argue that despite these kinds of advances, a major challenge for mental health research is the dearth of information as to which disorders are universal in cause and manifestation, and which disorders are localized and specific. What colonial research approaches have failed to fully acknowledge is that different cultural groups have unique understandings of social processes and what constitutes adequate and appropriate functioning, and this may determine what behaviours and ways of being are valued, accepted, or encouraged (Boucher & Maslach, 2009). Comparative studies that identify neither the sociocultural factors or aspects thereof responsible for the observed differences nor the relationships between these and the corresponding psychological phenomena demonstrated are inadequate (Betancourt & Lopez, 1993).

9.3   Toward a More Peaceful Research Approach

In contrast to the etic approach described earlier, the *emic* approach to research respects the way cultural traditions and social practices regulate the human psyche. It sees all human behaviour as culturally patterned, and in its purest form, it assumes that each culture is unique and therefore that many aspects of behaviour or ways of being are culturally specific (Bass et al., 2012). This approach respects insider or grounded knowledge and gives pre-eminence to local cultural paradigms of meaning, forms of knowledge, and forms of social practice. Emic research is rooted in culturally indigenous concepts and worldviews (e.g. Fabrega, 1989, 1992; Kleinman & Good, 1985; Marsella & Yamada, 2000; Kirmayer, 2001; Marsella, Kaplan & Suarez, 2002).

Emic research by definition is less colonial in nature than etic research and provides opportunities to gain greater awareness and insight into how cultures and people differ (Oyserman, Coon, & Kemmelmeier, 2002), and how culture impacts on an individual's or group's values, beliefs, and behaviours. Greater sensitivity to these differences is an important step toward a more peaceful research paradigm (McGoldrick, Giordano & Pearce, 1996; Pedersen, Draguns, Lonner & Trimble, 2002; Sue & Sue, 2003). Such an approach may begin with the simple recognition that assessment tools are not culturally neutral and interpretation of results obtained from using them across cultures could be stigmatizing and destructive. An early example of this was work conducted in Australia by Judith Kearins. In recognition of the inappropriateness of early psychological studies of indigenous people, Kearins (1981, 1986) argued that if test participants have not been exposed to the knowledge base from which the test was derived, then logically they cannot be expected to perform at the same level as those who have been exposed. She argued that poor performance on intelligence tests should not automatically be attributed to low intelligence; rather, it may be more appropriately attributed to a lack of familiarity with test materials. Kearin's research with Aboriginal children led her to conclude that they have different cognitive strengths to Western children.

9.4   Post-colonial Research Approach

Post-colonial theorizing focuses on how colonialist, imperialist, neocolonialist, and post-colonial practices and ideologies influence the contemporary world (Styhre, 2008). Put more strongly, Parsons and Harding (2011) argue that it aims to address "the plague of colonialism" and the social and psychological suffering, exploitation, violence, and enslavement done to the powerless victims of colonization around the world by challenging the superiority of dominant perspectives. In this way, post-colonial theorizing seeks to reposition and empower the marginalized and subordinated.

A post-colonial research approach aims to "decolonize" research conducted with or on disempowered people, such as those in colonized and occupied countries, to ensure that people's lives are not constructed through the Western hegemony and ideology (Elabor-Idemudia, 2002). It aims to ensure that research is respectful and beneficial to the researched communities.

9.4.1 How Does Research Come to Adopt a Post-colonial Approach?

How can we carry out research so that it is respectful and beneficial to "other" researched communities? This is a question that Bagele Chilisa, who specializes in post-colonial, indigenous research methodology, asked her audience at a seminar in Cape Town South Africa in 2011. Chilisa (2012) applies the term "post-colonial" to the research context "to denote the continuous struggle of non-Western societies that suffered European colonization, indigenous people and historically marginal-ized groups to resist suppression of their ways of knowing and the globalization of knowledge, reaffirming that Western knowledge is the only legitimate knowledge" (p. 12). Among the *Colonized Other* groups included in this definition are those ethno-specific groups who have lived in Western countries for generations (e.g. Black Americans), and immigrants and refugees who have moved or fled to West-ern countries. Not all of these groups have been colonized in the sense of being subjected to physical geographic colonization, but they all may have been exposed to scientific colonization and colonization of the mind as they have been pressured to assimilate to Euro-American values.

In today's globalized world, Chilisa's groups to which post-colonial research agenda could be applied are many. Later in this chapter, I will focus on three groups: indigenous Australians, migrants/refugees, and those living in countries other than that of the researcher who seeks to conduct a study. I propose to do this because these are three distinct contexts in which careful attention needs to be given to the potential vulnerabilities of research participants.

Chilisa's argument for a more appropriate approach to research that is conducted by the Western researchers on any of the oppressed groups she identifies aims to put an end to the extension of oppression to the research arena. She argues that post-colonial indigenous research methodologies should decolonize and indigenize dominant research methodologies. This begins with a critique of the literature, and the use of a research approach that is based on post-colonial theory, critical theory, and critical race theory. Questions that might be asked include "What assumptions, prejudices, stereotypes informed the review of literature?", "How does the literature and theories reviewed portray the researched?", "Is there any deficit thinking or theorising in the literature reviewed?", and "What evidence is there to suggest that the literature reviewed should be questioned?"

In post-colonial research, the rationale and justification for the research arises from the needs and unique relevance of the research to the people participating in the research. The researched are no longer passive subjects of the research exercise,

but are active in the initiation of it. The research is therefore informed by the norms and behaviours of the researched community rather than those of the researchers, and the conceptual framework for the research emanates from cultural traditions, norms, languages, knowledge, stories, legends, and folktales of the community. Rather than use measures derived from other contexts as research tools, post-colonial research invokes methods and measures that are tailored to the culture of the researched. These methods, which are more likely to involve qualitative methodologies, allow information that would not otherwise be obtainable to be elicited. They legitimize and enable the inclusion of knowledge production processes that accommodate shared knowledge and wisdoms of those who may have previously been exposed to the oppressive colonial research tradition, and include the articulation of a post-colonial indigenous research paradigm informed by a relational ontology, epistemology, and axiology.[1]

While post-colonial research paradigms have the potential to capture the voices of the researched in a way that the researched recognize themselves, know themselves, and would like others to know them, they also have the potential to place researchers in a dilemma. Most researchers are embedded in mainstream research institutions such as universities. While these institutions guide the research endeavour, the values of the dominant culture will guide research decisions at a number of points in a chain. This is not an overt chain of command in a military sense, for peer review plays a large role and there is competition between researchers. However, the dominant system of values that frames the activity of constructing knowledge is that of the Euro-American establishment rather than that of the minority or colonized groups. Within the research community, control of the research agenda by dominant organizations and individuals is evident in the selection of topics and issues to be researched and in the choice of research methods; control of the research agenda is maintained through authority to decide what is reported and whose work is published. Publication is a first step to further funding and grants, and continued capacity to carry out research. Credit for research carried out affects the standing of the researcher and the capacity to continue in the system. Control of research funding allows funders to exercise power over who becomes a successful researcher and what issues are researched. Control of the research agenda is also maintained through the practice of thoroughly grounding research in previous published research. While the advantage of this is that it prevents the researcher reinventing the wheel, it can create a pathway of dependences and expectations that can block innovation while nurturing modification and reapplication of received wisdoms.

Researchers adopting the post-colonial paradigm in cross-cultural research are therefore challenged. They need to be aware that their research traditions may marginalize their potential participants and have the courage to free themselves from their cultural and academic encapsulation.

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[1] Relational ontology concerns relations with people based on an I/We relationship. Relational epistemology refers to knowledge that emanates from the experiences and culture of the people. Relational axiology is concerned with ethics based on the respect, reciprocity, and responsibility to the other, and with the rights of the researched.

9.4.2   Application to Research with Indigenous Australians

The history of colonization, dispossession, and attempted genocide including the systematic removal of indigenous children from their families in Australia has scarred indigenous individuals, families, and communities to such an extent that there are many social problems that are in urgent need of addressing and repair (see Mellor, 2012). These problems are well documented by annual reports on the health and wellbeing of Aboriginal Australians but cover areas such as health, education, housing, employment, family and community violence, and engagement with the judicial system. Research is needed to understand these problems and to attempt to find solutions to them and to inform policy related to them. Although a large amount of research has been conducted, this research has resulted in little change in Aboriginal wellbeing. Rather, for many indigenous Australians this Western-driven colonial-style research is seen as "another form of dispossession where knowledge is the commodity at stake and custodianship of it is often lost to nonindigenous individuals and institutions that are not accessible to them" (Gower & Mack, 2002, p. 3).

However, there are two levels at which post-colonial methodology has emerged in Australia: at the level of national (enforceable) guidelines; and at the individual researcher level. The National Health and Medical Research Council (NHMRC) has produced ethical guidelines for the conduct of research in the general community by which all researchers must comply. These guidelines are administered by formally constituted committees at research institutions such as universities. When the guidelines were reviewed in 1999 it became evident that there was a need for a separate, complementary set of guidelines covering research in Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander health, even though Interim Guidelines on Ethical Matters in Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Health Research existed. The new guidelines require researchers to conduct their research with acknowledgement of history and bridge the difference in cultural outlooks to find a fair, respectful, and ethical way forward. Specifically, the guidelines are designed to avoid the further promulgation of ill-formed perceptions, assumptions, and deficit-thinking about the values and ways of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander cultures and social organization. Such perceptions have emerged through ethnocentric comparison of the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander world to that of the European colonizers, and the judgement of the civility and worthiness of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander cultures and societies by the degree to which they are perceived to conform to European customs and norms. The guidelines centre around six value themes: reciprocity, respect, equality, responsibility, survival, spirit, and integrity (see www.nhmrc. gov.au/_files_nhmrc/publications/attachments/e52.pdf). It is important to note that these guidelines are meant to inform the way research is conducted with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people, and if research protocols are not consistent with the guidelines, it will be unlikely that researchers will be given approval to commence or continue with their studies by the ethics committees within the institution in which they are employed.

Indigenous people in Australia have themselves also established research guidelines. The preamble to the most recent revision of Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies (AIATSIS, 2012) Guidelines for Ethical Research, which is informed by the United Nations General Assembly (2007) Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples and United Nations conventions related to intellectual property and cultural heritage, states: "It is essential that Indigenous people are full participants in research projects that concern them, share an understanding of the aims and methods of the research, and share the results of this work. At every stage, research with and about indigenous peoples must be founded on a process of meaningful engagement and reciprocity between the researcher and indigenous people. It should also be recognized that there is no sharp distinction between researchers and indigenous people. Indigenous people are also researchers, and all participants must be regarded as equal participants in a research engagement." (p. 1). This set of research guidelines focuses on 14 principles grouped under the broad categories of rights, respect, and recognition; negotiation, consultation, agreement, and mutual understanding; participation, collaboration, and partnership; benefits, outcomes and giving back; managing research: use, storage, and access; and reporting and compliance.

At the researcher level, there is a growing awareness of the need to engage differently with indigenous people when conducting research. For example, Jamieson, Paradies, Eades, Chong, Maple-Brown, Morris and Brown (2012) are a group of researchers who have been engaged extensively in health-related work with indigenous Australians. Drawing from their experience, they proposed ten principles that should be considered from the initial design stage of the project, ideally when consulting with the community and writing funding applications. Their essential principles include:

1. Addressing a priority health issue as determined by the community
2. Conducting research within a mutually respectful partnership framework
3. Capacity building is a key focus of the research partnership, with sufficient budget to support this
4. Flexibility in study implementation while maintaining scientific rigour
5. Respecting communities' past and present experience of research

A further five desirable principles are as follows:

6. Recognizing the diversity of indigenous Australian populations
7. Ensuring extended timelines do not jeopardize projects
8. Preparing for indigenous leadership turnover
9. Supporting community ownership
10. Developing systems to facilitate partnership management in multicentre studies

Each of these three sets of guidelines is founded on respect for indigenous peoples' inherent right to self-determination, and to control and maintain their culture and heritage. They stress the importance of informed consent, negotiated agreement, respect for cultural heritage and intellectual property rights, indigenous participa-

tion in decision-making, acknowledgement of indigenous contribution, and benefit to the community. They can be seen as guidelines for best practice for indigenous research projects.

A final note on research with indigenous Australian participants is that indigenous researchers have proposed further steps that align with Chilisa's proscriptions for post-colonial research. For example, Rigney (1999) argues for an *Indigenist* research approach through which research about indigenous people is conducted by indigenous researchers primarily with indigenous informants. In particular, indigenous people's interests, experiences and knowledge are at the centre of research methodologies and the construction of knowledge, and the goal of the research is to inform the indigenous principles of freedom from racism, independence and unity. Martin (2003) has also proposed and Indigenist research methodology in which the core structures of Aboriginal ontology are centralized as a framework for research. She points out that, if this is not the case, the product is simply more Western research conducted by indigenous people. Moreton-Robinson (2005) similarly critiques the a priori of Western knowledge in research and argues from a critical race theory perspective for indigenous knowledge to be reclaimed.

9.4.3   Obligations and Challenges for the Researcher

The above guidelines, while directed at all researchers who conduct studies involving indigenous participants, are particularly pertinent for nonindigenous researchers who may have little knowledge or experience of indigenous communities. These guidelines move research toward a post-colonial paradigm and confront the nonindigenous researcher with a number of obligations and challenges. To start with, the researcher will need to embark on a process of self-learning to come to terms with his or her own prejudices. The researcher will also need to learn a great deal about the Aboriginal culture, and to focus the research on issues that are of importance and relevance to the Aboriginal community in which the research is being conducted. In moving from the colonial approach to research, the researcher will need to step back from seeing him or herself as "the expert" and indigenous participants as "the subjects", and include indigenous people in the "chain of command". This will involve negotiating a partnership with the Aboriginal communities and this will need knowledge of with whom it is appropriate to talk, and how to do so. Negotiation processes will need to occur over timeframes that take into account indigenous community modes of decision-making (Mack & Gower, 2001), and the researcher may therefore need to allow more time than expected to negotiate agreement, and much more to implement his or her research programme. The researcher will also need to consider being open to diverse methods such as qualitative methods and discourse analysis that allow the viewpoints of others to emerge. In conducting the research it will be necessary to involve local indigenous people as interviewers, for example and very importantly, as coders to ensure that the Aboriginal people who are the focus of the research see the constructs being investigated or developed as

useful and valid. Finally, the researcher may need to come to terms with the bias of the traditional scientific community in which few if any journals give greater place to process and community empowerment, than to empirical findings. The researcher who identifies with the Aboriginal cultural values, and who puts collective wellbeing before getting ahead as a researcher, may not be seen as productive by the university system. Fast production of papers is needed to bring in grants and establish a track record. Giving credit to others in the authorship of papers is seen not as an act of co-operation but rather as a sign of lessened academic standing. So the individual researcher is in danger of falling between the two cultures, rather than bridging them. These are the major challenges for the "mainstream" researcher, but we need to acknowledge that meeting these challenges is very important, not only for the advancement of indigenous people but also for epistemological reasons for the advancement of knowledge itself. Diversity is not just an ethical imperative for the indigenous partner; it is also good science on the part of the researcher.

In a recent study in which we attempted to meet these challenges, we aimed to explore the well-established health gap of indigenous men, whose physical health is among the worst in Australia (Ricciardelli, Mellor, McCabe, Mussap, Hallford & Tyler, 2012). Other research has indicated that modifiable lifestyle factors, such as poor nutrition and physical inactivity, contribute strongly to these poor health outcomes. However, rather than impose preconceived notions of health, we sought to establish how indigenous men perceive health, and how they view and care for their bodies. We also aimed to establish a more systematic understanding of how sociocultural factors affect their health attitudes and behaviours. This knowledge may be more likely to lead to appropriate and acceptable interventions.

The study was conducted using a participatory action research (PAR) framework (Baum, MacDougall & Smith, 2006). Applying the PAR methods to health involves critical reflection and action that "aims to improve the health and reduce health inequities through involving people who, in turn, take actions to improve their own health" (Baum et al., 2006 p. 854). This approach values the knowledge of members of the target community, and attempts to view problems from their perspective. As such, this framework was particularly suitable to adopt when working with indigenous men (Esler, 2008; Reilly, Doyle & Rowley, 2007).

In accordance with the PAR framework, the nonindigenous research team worked collaboratively with the indigenous partners in each location. Three specific aspects of the project design that followed the PAR framework were the use of community advisory boards, the engagement of indigenous research assistants, and the attention paid to the way interviews were conducted.

First, our research questions were developed through consultation with leaders in each community and advisory panels were set up in the three locations in which the project was implemented. Meetings were held with these advisory panels prior to the commencement of data collection, midway through the data collection process, and at the end of the data collection. This allowed the panels to guide the direction of the research.

Second, young indigenous men in each location were recruited to assist the academic researchers with participant recruitment and data collection. Male interviewers were used due to the way gender roles are separated in indigenous communities. The presence of the indigenous male researcher encouraged the participants to feel secure and safe.

Third, given the geohistorical context of Australia, in which indigenous people have been subjected to racism and discrimination for more than two centuries (Mellor, 2012), we followed Finch's (1993) suggestions on how to minimize the influence of relative power relationships on the participants' responses. All interviews were conducted on the participants' own "territory", in an indigenous community centre or in the participants' home.

This collaborative partnership approach allowed us to identify appropriate and sensitive ways of disseminating the findings for each stage of research. The results were used to develop and implement community events in each location to provide feedback on the findings to the community, promote health enhancing strategies, and determine future action and collaboration.

9.5   Other Intranational Research

Like other developed immigrant countries, Australia is a multicultural nation. In the Australian state of Victoria, the population originates from 208 countries, follows more than 100 religious faiths, and speaks 151 languages. Almost half of the population has at least one parent born overseas. Multiculturalism or pluralistic societies do not require people to assimilate to the mainstream cultural values, yet the various groups may have concerns (health and mental health) that need to be investigated and addressed. While researchers are keen to, and do conduct research with these subpopulations as part of their overall sample or as the focus of particular studies, there are no particular "special" guidelines for conducting such research. Rather, research with these subpopulations falls under the general NHMRC and institutional ethics guidelines.

Some important questions arise in these instances as some subpopulations are particularly vulnerable (e.g. refugees who have suffered trauma) and adhere strongly to enculturated beliefs and practices. These are subpopulations that are at risk according to Chilisa's (2012) view of the colonial research paradigm. Birman (2006) points out the ethical dilemmas for the researcher. First, the researcher needs to balance humanitarian concerns with the need for scientific rigor. The ultimate goal of most research with such populations is to reduce their suffering through informing policy and interventions. These policies and interventions can have significant impacts on the lives of many. However, without rigor and adherence to positivist Western methodology, the research may not be meaningful or acceptable to policy makers. Second, and this applies to any research involving other cultural groups, what is ethical in the Western context may not be viewed as ethical in the communities within which the research is being conducted. That is, "mainstream" ethical

principles which are designed to protect all research participants may themselves be ethnocentric, and as a result, disempowering. The challenge for the researcher is to balance these differences because as Birman (2006) points out, there are few clues in existing "generic" guidelines on how to do this. Indeed, it may not be possible to honour both the culture of the researcher and the culture of the research participants, and some researchers may feel that the only option to act ethically is to decide not to undertake the research at all.

In a search for relevant guidelines in such research, Bailes, Minas & Klimidis (2006) conducted an investigation of ethical issues relevant to conducting mental health research with Somali refugees and immigrants in Australia. Their concern was that this community has different culture values to the host community and that mainstream approaches may not be appropriate. They concluded that the principles of inclusion and benefit in the NHMRC document values and ethics are particularly pertinent when conducting research with refugees and immigrant communities that are culturally distant from those of the broader Australian community. They argued that these principles can be used to inform research design, as well as to guide respectful engagement with the participating community and communication of the research findings.

While these considerations of ethics for intranational cross-cultural research are informative, in general, post-colonial research approaches are likely to be appropriate and aligned to the guidelines identified earlier. Participatory research designs with an awareness of the relationship between research, practice and attention to issues related to informed consent, capacity for autonomy and the notion of reciprocation are likely to be appropriate. The relationship between the researcher and the sociopolitical context in which the researcher is working and how this impacts on the research context is also important to consider.

In my own work with the Vietnamese and sub-Saharan African refugees in Australia, I have endeavoured to take a post-colonial approach that does not disempower or harm the participants. For the Vietnamese people in one study (Mellor, 2004) the literature on racism to date, which had focused on perpetrators and group processes was set aside, with the aim of giving voice to the Vietnamese participants who were the targets of racism. No preconceptions about the nature of experiences of racism were taken into the study, and qualitative methods were used to allow the participants to tell their story. Rather than it being a disempowering experience, many participants reported that they felt empowered by having the opportunity to describe their experiences. Nevertheless, the negotiation of issues of power and the sociopolitical context was critical to the outcomes of this study.

More recent work with the African immigrants (e.g. Halliday et al., 2014) has been concerned with the rapid rise in obesity among this population after they arrive in Australia. This series of projects, led by a colleague of African descent (Andre Renzaho) has been painstakingly developed to be post-colonial in its approach. However, it is driven by the Western knowledge of the relationship between lifestyle factors and obesity, and the subsequent health issues associated with obesity. An African Review Panel including representatives from the participating communities was established, to provide advice on and input into every stage of the project. The

Panel had input into the recruitment process strategy, the final development of the intervention, operational implementation of all local aspects of the trial, and also the dissemination and "scaling up" of the findings. The main aim of this was to ensure that all culturally sensitive issues were addressed appropriately, particularly issues related to parenting practices, family functioning and acculturation. African people were employed to lead the field work of the project with the aim of building their capacity. Many meetings were built around food as this is an African cultural tradition. Our team also needed to manage the contradiction between cultural beliefs about body size, working from a health perspective rather than a status perspective. Despite these efforts we also used various measures to assess changes in aspects of parenting and family functioning. This was necessary for meeting the objectives of the funding for the project. While these measures have been psychometrically validated in different cultural settings, what they can measure is limited by the potentially culturally bound questions that are asked.

9.6   International Research

As indicated earlier, a considerable amount of research, including some of my own, is conducted across national borders. Such work is usually collaborative, for without collaboration it probably could not happen for a variety of reasons, language difficulties and lack of local networks being some of the most significant. In these projects, researchers are usually required to obtain ethics approval from their home institution, and in some contexts ethical guidelines for research are underdeveloped, nonexistent, or not seriously applied. Alfano, Piedrahita, Uscinski & Palma (2012) list some of the complications that may arise from this, including that international collaborators in developing countries may not have a good understanding of the obligations implied by foreign research protocols or understand the potential of noncompliance with the "foreign" imported requirements. There is a dearth of literature on how to address these challenges (Yassi, Breilh, Dharamsi, Lockhart & Spiegel, 2013).

   Importantly, as noted above, in some cases, the requirements of the home country committees and guidelines are ethnocentric, and do not seem to be commonly applied in other contexts (e.g. obtaining parents' permission for their children to participate in research). If we are required to impose our ethical standards on a project being conducted in another country, are we again engaged in some form of academic or moral colonization? Are our standards the only values and standards; are they the right values and standards? This seems to be the assumption of a funding opportunity that was circulated to me at the time of writing this chapter. The stated goal of the initiative was to strengthen research ethics capacity in low- and middle-income countries through increasing the number of scientists, health professionals and relevant academics from these countries with *in-depth knowledge of the ethical principles, processes and policies related to international clinical and public health research* as well as the critical skills to develop research ethics education, ethical

review leadership and expert consultation to researchers, their institutions, governments, and international research organizations.

Of course, it cannot be denied that there are certain human rights that are incontestable and should be protected in the research endeavour. Particularly problematic, as Ijsselmuiden, Marais, Wassenaar and Mokgatla-Moipolai (2012) point out, is that biomedical research is increasingly being conducted in developing countries such as China or in Africa because the cost of trials is lower than in developed countries, and it is relatively easy to recruit participants. There are also weaker or nonexistent ethical guidelines for research conducted in these countries. The selective focus of this research may reflect the interests of the pharmaceutical companies that fund it. For example, it may address global diseases such as HIV-AIDS rather than diseases with a high local prevalence in the country in which the research is conducted. The high potential for such research to exploit and to violate ethical principles in ways that would not be tolerated in the West has led to abuses (see, e.g. Angell, 1997; Lurie & Wolff, 1997).

There are various international guidelines for the conduct of cross-national research, some auspiced by major international bodies, other produced by researchers themselves. For example, the Council for International Organizations of Medical Sciences (2002) has collaborated with the World Health Organization to produce a set of International Ethical Guidelines for Biomedical Research Involving Human Subjects. However, in the final analysis the way in which research is conducted in these situations may come down to the individual researchers. For the research exercise to avoid the traps and negative potentials of the colonial approach, the researcher needs to step back and examine their own identity and all that goes with it, work to understand the sociopolitical space in which the research is being conducted, and respect both their collaborators' and their participants' culture and knowledge. While they might use their home-based ethical guidelines as a framework for the conduct of their project, they need to work with their collaborators to gain an understanding of local perspectives, and be willing to incorporate them in order to avoid the mistakes that have been made in the past when ethnocentric world views and inappropriate research methods have been invoked, potentially producing meaningless findings.

9.7   Concluding Comments

The findings of psychology paint a picture of individual human beings as remarkable in their intelligence and ability to adapt, but also as fallible, and subjective as they filter evidence through cognitive frameworks that are vulnerable to being swayed by habit and emotion. This picture might be applied by researchers to the "subjects" of their research, but is not often attributed by positivist Western researchers to themselves. The robe of researcher is rather seen as endowing the wearer with the ability to rise above emotion and self-interest, and become "objective".

Many researchers have unquestionably adopted this viewpoint, and conducted their research through ethnocentric frameworks and methods that are comfortable, locally ethical, and locally meaningful. However, the application of these processes to minority ethnic and indigenous groups at home and abroad fails to acknowledge the culture and history, and vulnerability of these groups in their relationship with the Western developed worldview, and represents a continuing process of colonization that continues to disenfranchise and disempower members of these groups.

A more peaceful, respectful, and post-colonial approach to research requires researchers to do more than simply follow guidelines and processes described in the post-colonial research literature and research ethic committee prescriptions. Such processes provide the basis for respect, beneficence, justice, and community rights, but risk being mechanical in nature. A further requirement is for the researchers to examine themselves, to open their minds, to challenge their beliefs and their disciplines, and to relegate their own self-interest and career pathway to be a secondary priority.

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Chapter 10
Involving Participants in Data Analysis

Anouk Ride

10.1   Introduction

Social science, while frequently involving participants in preparation and data collection, usually situates the researcher as being primarily responsible for data analysis. However, increased recognition of the rights of women, children, people with disabilities, indigenous peoples, minorities, and other groups has also led to a questioning of the power of the researcher versus these groups, often the subject of research but with little control over its analysis and publication. Fields with an emphasis on empowerment such as public health, feminist research, peace and conflict studies, and indigenous studies have increasingly sought to build participation of disadvantaged groups in research. If we see "expert research" as on one end of the spectrum of participation in research, at the other end are research methodologies that involve participants in data analysis and publication.

   This chapter discusses the rationale for involving participants in data analysis, a selection of research methodologies that have been employed for this purpose, and my personal experience of participatory data analysis in a study of peace and conflict causes and manifestations in Solomon Islands. It argues that although involving participants in data analysis is time and energy intensive, it does go some way to addressing the unequal relationship between researcher and participants, and allows for new interpretations of social issues. In many cases, participatory data analysis can give voice to people and further understanding of thoughts and behavior of groups which has benefits for theoretical and policy development.

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10.2   Rationale

The rationale for involving participants in data analysis has come from several angles—human rights and advocacy, the growth of alternate forums for expression (including creative arts and the internet), and from within theoretical development and academic discourse. Sociology has been a key in emphasizing information flows, including data collection for scientific studies, as bound in context and socially defined meanings. Foucault's (1977) writings on discourse as not only transmitting and producing power but also exposing it, put emphasis on attention to the dynamics of discourse rather than power as a structural or material entity. The way in which quantitative studies and observation by Westerners, once held up as "objective science" framed the identity and relationship of peoples, has become more deeply known and examined.

Many of these critiques came from feminist scholars, who also widened their scope to highlight race, class, cultural, and other biases in research. As feminist researchers assumed knowledge, theory, methodologies, and findings were contextually grounded and created a gendered understanding of the world, attention was paid to power dynamics between researchers and research participants. In terms of research methods, feminist studies were often critical of the bounded nature of research methodologies, and power imposed through their practice. Analysis and interpretation in methodologies such as surveys were seen as separate processes to conduct at the end of a study, whereas several feminist scholars advocated for these processes throughout research projects to increase reflexivity. Maynard (2009, p. 134) describes a shift from critique and postmodernism towards an emerging consensus in feminist research that language and discourse construct meanings, and research should continually expand understandings and possibilities. This then leads to research methodologies with inbuilt reflexivity that gives voice to women.

For public health practitioners and researchers, involving children in analysis grew from social movements and research which emphasized the rights and capabilities of children—qualities which many felt research had often overlooked through the lens of "disadvantage," "inferiority", or neglect. Veale (2005) discusses how research came to recognize and record "child cultures" including child ways of seeing and making sense of the world. Participatory research both brought forward knowledge of child epistemologies and in turn created more support for participatory approaches. Rather than making assumptions about what and how children think, participatory approaches allowed children to articulate meanings themselves and inform policy and practice.

Much theory about peace and conflict is informed by study of indigenous communities. Practitioner-academics (such as Lederach, 2005, in peace and conflict studies, indigenous narrative therapists such as Atkinson, 2002, and narrative mediators, as described by Winslade and Monk, 2008) have helped us understand how knowledge held in narratives can be recognized in analysis and used towards peaceful outcomes. However, indigenous people have often been relegated to the role of subjects. Much of what we know about the history of indigenous people situates

them as the passive "subject" of research in texts, which are a product, and legitimation of, colonialism—narratives of explorers, colonial officials, Western anthropologists, and others.

In the Pacific, indigenous researchers have been strident in asserting the need for Islanders to shape and do research themselves, often as a counter to histories of outsider-led research, which is seen as leading to misrepresentation, inequity, and marginalization (see Smith, 2012). Pacific writers such as Albert Wendt (1995, 2001) have critiqued prominent Western researchers in fictional and academic discourse. A unifying call across the diverse region has been for indigenous peoples to use new mediums of expression (such as art and film), to provide alternative forms of knowledge (Diaz & Kauanui, 2001). Another theme to such studies and writings has been how research can record and produce spiritual and cultural knowledge that may be difficult to record and verify using standard social science techniques.

A full account of the rationale for involving participants in data analysis might include the advocacy and research of many other groups of people in society to increase understanding and break down prejudice about disability, sexuality, class, race, religion, and others. However, themes across all these endeavors are the questioning of validity of research that classifies, describes, or documents a group of people, yet does not involve them in data analysis. This has been questioned both in terms of human rights, and also in terms of the rigor of the analysis. Another theme of such shifts is the need to identify and unravel the power of researcher and participants through participation and reflexivity in research.

10.3   Participation in Practice

Addressing the imbalance of what Nind (2011, p. 353) called "the power and status associated with doing analysis compared with giving data" is not a simple exercise for researchers trained by Western academic institutions. Greenwood, Foote Whyte, and Harkavy (1993, p. 175) delineate between participatory intent and the level of participation achieved, the latter determined by the subject under study, the aims, and capacity of researchers. Participation can be increased by employing methodologies that aim to put participation at the forefront and by being more mindful of potential for participation at each stage of the research process.

10.3.1   Participatory Action Research

As explored in Chapter 12 in this volume, participatory action research (PAR) has a core aim of participation and is not so much a set of steps to apply as an approach where research is highly collaborative so that "no one is expert" and research is formed by both researchers and participants. The impetus to recognize and develop PAR came from researchers from developing countries, who stressed the limitations

of positivism, the value of researcher commitment to local communities, and a need for research to be grounded in local realities and aspirations (see Fals Borda, 1995). In PAR, researchers and participants can be one and the same in a process where "communities of inquiry and action evolve and address questions and issues that are significant for those who participate as co-researchers" (Reason & Bradbury, 2008, p. 1). PAR draws on, and is used in, sociology, political science, psychology, education, development, feminist studies, and indigenous studies. Participation generally emerges and builds as the process goes along—usually PAR starts with an attempt to solve a problem and opens up into a deeper participatory process that may stimulate change at the social or policy level. Often PAR uses case studies based on narratives, framing the subject in ways that fit the local context as Greenwood, Foote Whyte, and Harkavy (1993, p. 179) describes: "if the character of the phenomena under study is itself narratively constructed and intrinsically processual—that is built out of a continual process of discourse and behavioral change—then the approaches we use to capture these dimensions must also engage narrativity and process."

PAR at its ideal has participants involved in each stage of the research process (although often publication is handled by the funding or commissioning agency, a topic which will be returned to later). Although much PAR is conducted in environments that might be expected such as aid and development, it is also being used in corporations and for economic and policy analysis. For instance, building on participatory policy analysis—a range of methods of involving citizens in policy development—the World Bank and Institute of Development Studies (University of Sussex, UK) have been developing and promoting participatory poverty analysis to greater involve poor people in analysis of multidimensional quality of poverty, vulnerability, and dynamic processes not captured by standard poverty line analyses (Norton, Bird, Brock, Kakande, & Turk, 2001, p. 8).

10.3.2   Concept Mapping

Concept mapping, developed by Trochim (1985, 1989), is a structured conceptualization process to explore how a group views a topic, with results of inquiry displayed as maps of clusters of ideas/issues. Research begins with participants answering focal questions, often individually, and each response is listed. Participants then structure or organize the list based on perceived similarity—for example they might have each item on a separate card and be asked to sort into piles within a framework. Ranking is also used as a way of structuring information—for example in a study of interpersonal violence participants were asked to rate items on a scale of 1–5 in terms of importance to intimate partner violence's severity, perpetration and cessation (Burke, O'Campo, Peak, Gielen, McDonnell, & Trochim, 2005, p. 1398).

This data is then entered into computer software for analysis and this is represented visually in terms of relationship and perceived importance of items on a

computer-generated map. Participants then can comment and adjust these maps, for example by deciding the number of clusters. Participants also interpret the maps through storytelling to explain, underline causal relationships, or illustrate the issue, which outlines implications beyond just the maps themselves. Participants then decide how these findings and interpretations best inform the focal question and topics of inquiry. Concept mapping can be done in person or via the Internet, and has the potential to involve participants in every stage of the research. The only stage removed from the participants is usually the computer generation of maps, unless specialist training is provided. Through interpretation and discussion of the maps, it is potentially a way of building consensus among groups. An important element of this is that ratings are relative (one item compared to another) rather than an absolute number or voting style of reaching decisions.

10.3.3   Delphi Technique

Similarly, the Delphi technique provides both a research methodology and potential facilitatory process to make consensus decisions. The technique involves asking participants questions about an issue in several rounds, during which feedback is provided to individual participants on what others are saying. In this way, participants are given the opportunity to reassess initial judgments based on information from others. Unlike much group level research, the method provides anonymity to respondents and uses statistical analysis, with the intent of limiting influences from domineering individuals or live group pressure. Around three to five iterations are generally used—in the first round participants are given an open ended questionnaire, then in the second round they review responses summarized by investigators and submit their views again, in the third round ratings from the second round are provided and people asked for reasons why they may remain outside consensus and the fourth round provides a final opportunity to revise judgments. The number of rounds can depend on the level of consensus researchers desire, and the response to feedback—whether people are stable or unstable in their views over rounds—adds a depth to data through one-off or irregular surveys.

When employed with experts, the Delphi technique can be used to correlate judgments across different disciplines, and it is also used to explore possible policy and programs. Practitioners debate whether the intent is level of consensus, and what level that should be or whether stability is the key measurement. Others caution about using the Delphi technique not to uncover views but to mold opinions—Scheibe, Skutsch, and Schofer (1975) showed false feedback in Delphi technique research that could influence results. The key role of feedback means the technique is ideally used for problem solving for issues affecting a group of people, rather than merely recording their views. The first round forms a baseline for what people think, and then subsequent rounds attempt to transform this towards an agreement across participants.

10.3.4 Voice-Centered Relational Research

Voice-centered relational (VCR) research is an approach that puts particular emphasis on voice—who is speaking and who is listening. Part of this is reflexivity and examining researcher response to difference or identification with the speaker.

Mauthner and Doucet (2003) used VCR method of data analysis to read texts several times—one time for researchers themselves, another for institutional and interpersonal contexts, and another reading for ontological and epistemological conceptions of subjects and subjectivities. This method assumes a great deal of reflexivity and sensitivity on the part of the researcher to be able to conduct these different readings, although it could also be envisaged that VCR could be conducted with the aid of qualitative research computer programs to conduct thematic analysis.

Byrne, Canavan, and Millar (2009) increase participation in the VCR method by including participants in these readings in a research project on social exclusion conducted with teenage early school leavers. Youth learner researchers learnt the method and applied it to narratives of the group, interpreting narratives in a group setting.

Following two collective readings by the researchers and youth, the academics met and discussed the diverse interpretations and a combination of all themes was assembled. However, the research team later saw this as an error as they had compiled the teenagers' stories of early school leaving and disadvantage but not the advantaged researchers who had benefited from the school system. The teenagers themselves wanted the research to be more reflexive and include narratives from the researchers, so these were eventually included in the study. Byrne, Canavan, and Millar (2009, p. 76) state such VCR research projects require flexibility on the part of the researchers and intensive inputs of time and energy: "Yet these costs can be seen as strengths insofar as they demand a move away from 'hit and run' research to more long term, process focused, respectful and ethical engagement with those being researched."

10.3.5 Most Significant Change

Capturing the impact of programs entails choices about what those impacts are and monitoring and evaluation is often limited in its focus. Recognizing the limitations of monitoring and evaluation reports, the most significant change method arose to try and record perceptions of communities through a process of telling and valuing stories.

The first step is to conduct research with participants and staff in a project by asking them to tell stories in response to a question: "During the last month, in your opinion, what was the most significant change that took place for participants in the program?" (Davies & Dart, 2005, p. 10) The same question could be asked in a year, 6 months, or other period of time, depending on the focus of the study. Some studies have included any significant change, not necessarily program related, and others

stick more narrowly to impacts of the project. The method is most commonly used in development projects, but can also be applied to organizations, businesses, and other types of projects involving the general public.

A panel, or more select group, then takes the pool of stories and picks the "most significant" of those narratives, narrowing down the set of stories to a small number of widely valued stories. Majority rules, iterative voting, scoring and secret ballot, or a combination of these can conduct this process. Further research can then be conducted to verify, quantify, meta monitor, or undertake secondary analysis and thematic coding (Davies & Dart, 2005).

The MSC method has the advantage of having participatory involvement at the data collection and structuring phase. Description of decisions made at the story selection phase may also form data for the analysis. It may capture changes that may have been overlooked through more narrow monitoring and evaluation techniques. However, like many participatory data analysis, attention needs to be on how the researcher may influence responses, as Davies and Dart (2005) points out validity is through providing "thick description" (Geertz, 1973) including making the observer's role and subjectivity visible.

10.3.6   Narrative Enquiry and Practice

Many peace and conflict practitioners use a form of participatory analysis, using narrative and reflection, as part of peacebuilding. Working at the community level, Lederach (2005) described how he facilitated the process of giving the conflict actors skills or opportunity to voice and analyze their stories, hear the other's stories, address fears, and incorporate external factors (such as chance to fight) into common narratives, so the cycle of conflict can be broken. He referred to this process of taking ownership of stories featuring conflict and changing their meaning as "restorying". This involves a group analysis that is very challenging—to examine the assumptions justifying and perpetuating conflict and to move these towards more peaceful views. Winslade and Monk (2001) outlined the process of "narrative mediation" in which conflict narratives are "tightly woven." Through building a relationship between the parties, elements of these narratives are unraveled as the process of narrative mediation loosens and changes them.

On an individual and family level, narrative therapy is another practice which hones in on the power of narrative, and critical analysis of narratives through a guided process, to influence identity and behavior for both perpetrators and/or victims of violence. Narrative therapy arose prior to narrative mediation and has greatly informed the field, particularly in family mediation. A key to narrative therapy is that clients correct dysfunctional thoughts and/or behavior through construction of new narratives of their lives. Analysis conducted through narrative by people involved in violence, has informed practitioners, in particular to support the "life-course perspective" in criminology, which takes into account the interplay of various social factors in a person's life and predilections towards violence. Indigenous

practitioners working on interpersonal violence have found narratives a particularly rich source of information about behavior. As Atkinson (2002, p. 84) states, indigenous perpetrators of violence always identified relationships between childhood experiences of violence and their subsequent violent behavior. Narrative therapy allows for the space to integrate these experiences and to talk about broader historical causes of "collective trauma" such as destruction of place (often being of spiritual significance, so therefore seen as damaging not just material resources, but also the spirit, health, and culture), environmental disaster, war, and colonization.

The commonality of these practices involving narrative, is the valuing of narrative as a form of analysis, the prompted questioning of the assumptions, beliefs, and experiences behind analysis presented in narratives and the attempt to empower participants to create new narratives of themselves as individuals and groups. Much of this work could be considered a form of PAR. Although narrative research in social sciences has tended to focus on collection of narratives analyzed by researchers, opening up spaces for self-reflection and shifting narratives results in analysis and potentially behavior change. Peacebuilding practitioners have some valuable insights as to how to facilitate participants to conduct narrative analysis that has transformative impact on people and groups affected by conflict.

10.3.7 Summary

These participatory methods and approaches provide just a few examples of how participation can occur in practice. Participation is processual: requiring mindfulness and relationship as much as research techniques. All these participatory approaches involve participants supplying information (through question and answer or narrative), ordering that information (ranking, voting, and other means), and providing explanation through narratives. Participants can be involved in data analysis as groups or individuals, in face-to-face settings or via the Internet. All approaches move away from "hit and run" research to engaging with participants over several sessions. As such there is much attention on the role and influence of the researcher, requiring them to be more open (such as providing personal narratives for the data set in the case of research with youth by Byrne, Canavan, & Millar, 2009) and invest significant time and energy into relationships with participants. Participatory methods also require more from participants as they become actively involved in framing and conducting analysis plus considering its implications for action.

In relation to studies of conflict, there is still a dearth of academic research that privileges participant analysis over other research methods that have also been used to explain conflict factors and manifestations—notably surveys, observational research, and political or historical analysis based on texts and interviews of the elite. Researchers from outside the communities being studied do a great deal of this research. Furthermore, much indigenous research (such as oral history archives, participatory-action research around social welfare projects and the like) are not accorded the same status as research done by academics (Smith, 2012).

One of the primary challenges of the qualitative researcher is to address the inequality between researcher and research participant. Traditionally, it is the researcher who identifies themes and synthesizes data. However, in peace studies, we should seek to increase the ownership and agency of people in conflict-affected areas to work towards peaceful solutions to problems. This sense of agency starts with the research on which interventions and projects may later be built, and through involving participants in data analysis.

10.4   Introduction to Participant Data Analysis in a Pacific City

For the past decade or so, I have been working with indigenous peoples in Australia and the Pacific on communications and research projects with policy and advocacy objectives. My personal experience of living in Honiara for 5 years prior to conducting research on peace and conflict meant that I was acutely aware of the dangers of expert research. Solomon Islands is a "post-conflict" setting having experienced a civil conflict from 1998 to 2003, with many of the underlying conflict causes still being unaddressed. Academic research on conflict has coalesced around two topics "ethnic violence" or "ethnic grievances" and "statebuilding". This focus has naturally led to an emphasis on interviewing and analyzing views of the political and military elite. Since the government is also aid-dependent and aid organizations run projects in many provinces in the country, there is also an array of research produced by aid organizations, some of which are participatory in nature, tending to focus on specific sectors such as health or water and sanitation. Local nongovernment organizations with a "grassroots" approach tend to produce more participatory research, such as the Solomon Islands Development Trust's research conducted through village committees. However in relation to conflict, although researchers from Solomon Islands (e.g., Kabutaulaka, 2001, 2004) emphasized the social capital and links between people from different ethnicities and the important role of women in preventing and stopping violence (Liloquila & Pollard, 2000, McDougall & Kere, 2011), the general themes of academic literature have been ones of violence, and state weaknesses or "failed states". There is a "People's Survey" which has been conducted since the civil conflict, commissioned and published by the Regional Assistance Mission to Solomon Islands (RAMSI, an Australian-led regional mission that initially was focused on disarmament and peacekeeping, and later morphed into a "statebuilding" intervention). This research uses standard survey techniques to quantify, for example the percentage of people who "support" RAMSI's presence, with data analysis conducted by outside researchers awarded contracts with RAMSI.

In talking to local Solomon people from different walks of life about research, they sometimes reported negative experiences with researchers, leading to feelings of resentment. Civil servants joked that they gave information for which consultants were rewarded with promotions and careers whereas their own remained stagnant.

Some village women said that researchers who talked about conflict could "run away to their home country" while they had to face the consequences of publication of sensitive issues.

Local norms of avoidance of face-to-face criticism or conflict, on one hand has meant lethal violence is very low, for example there were around 200 deaths in a 6 year civil conflict from 1998 to 2003. Although being a form of resilience, it also means that researching conflict creates certain risks. One is that conversation could falter or quickly shut down to avoid raising hurts or causing offence. Another is that if conversation did cause offence, then it would create concerns for personal security and perhaps a feeling of shame for those involved which could lead to further conflict.

My attempt to involve participants in data analysis was driven by a desire to minimize these risks. If participants could choose a way to discuss causes and manifestations of conflict, indirectly rather than about specific instances, then security concerns would be reduced. If participants were involved in the analysis, publication and dissemination and then decisions and responsibility for this could be shared, thus reducing risks. Plus, there was relatively little participatory research on conflict in the country, so it could potentially add new information and insights to academic literature.

10.4.1 Research Focus

To develop a participatory research method to fit the local context, I turned to narratives as a source of data. Like many indigenous cultures, in Solomon Islands narratives are a traditional way of recording, analyzing, and imparting knowledge.

There were a number of local writers who had asked me for assistance editing and publishing their work. I knew from prior conversations with them that they had already given some thought about the risks of publication to themselves, their interests, and the community. Despite the risks, writers had chosen to write and seek publication for their work prior to the research project. They were generally comfortable with the format of storytelling as an appropriate form of expression and publication. As a result, they could contribute stories on peace and conflict in the form of poems, short stories, film scripts, and music that were the subjects of analysis.

The data and analysis emerged over three phases—firstly writers wrote a story on "peace and conflict," then we discussed them as a group forming a narrative analysis, from this discussion themes were identified that became codes in qualitative data analysis using a computer program, which were brought back to the group for crosschecking. An added stage beyond this participatory research was conducted by me—comparing this narrative analysis with the academic literature and the findings of the Solomon Islands Truth and Reconciliation Report. This comparative research was then published as my PhD dissertation.

10.4.2 Participant Recruitment

Artists, writers, musicians, and others were invited to a select "Makem Gud Stori Workshop" (effective writing workshop) with the aim of teaching storytellers and metaphor makers a guided process of asking questions and making decisions to edit their work and make narratives more effective (such as choosing a structure to tell the story, a message, writing for a particular audience, and other topics).

Participants were recruited via membership of three groups—the Solomon Islands Arts Alliance, the Honiara Film-makers Group, and the Solomon Islands Creative Writers Association. I approached people known to be active in these groups explaining aims of the workshop and asking them to circulate notices inviting people to register. In some cases I approached individuals who had previously expressed a desire for support with their writing via face-to-face communication, email, text message, and social media, to tell them about the workshop and encourage them to apply. Preference was given to members of these local associations (who were generally people with some previous publishing experience).

10.4.3 Workshop Sessions

The workshop had dual aims of data analysis, and of being a writing workshop for writers to discuss and improve their craft. Two publications resulted from the research—the first publication led by the writers which was a book of their creative narratives and the second was my PhD dissertation which was finished 8 months later and presented in brief in conference papers approximately 1 year later.

The workshop was held over a total period of 20 hours spread over 3 months (May–July 2013). Sixteen participants from different provinces were involved, half of the group men and half women. Participants were asked to submit a story on "peace and conflict" that may be oral, written, visual, or cinematographic.

Participants were encouraged to amend any comments and narratives to minimize risk to participants and any third parties. Specifically, I encouraged fictionalizing real events and applying a creative, rather than historical or autobiographical, outlook to the writing, as this is a common creative approach for fiction writers.

Entries were in English or Pijin. Participants were informed if local island languages were preferred then translators would transcribe stories into English. In the main local island languages were used sparingly (such as in dialogue but not discursive text) and translations provided by the writers themselves.

The work of Foucault (1977) and narrative mediation practitioners suggests that no talk is one way (participant to researcher) and in fact all communication is a dialogue, with many forms of communication taking place at once. The workshop in this way was designed as an exchange of knowledge, rather than one-way—research subject to researcher, or teacher to student. While I was providing some knowledge about publishing, they were sharing stories and analysis about peace and conflict that would inform the research.

Discussions about the narratives were recorded and transcribed in full—a total of 403 min of transcripts were analyzed. As Pijin sometimes uses English words with different meanings than that of a dictionary definition, it would have been problematic to work with the audio files without translations. The transcripts, notes of discussions, and the narratives themselves formed the data set.

At the outset of the research, I had initially intended to limit the time period examined to between 2003–2013, as this was a time when violent identity conflict in the main ceased and narratives about conflict and peace came to the fore. From 1998 to 2003, Solomon Islands was in a state of civil conflict. In 2006, violent conflict targeted at Chinese migrants specifically occurred in the context of an election. From 2003 to 2013 reconciliation initiatives were conducted with the aim of promoting coexistence between different groups (although community peace initiatives had begun earlier during the conflict itself) .

After discussion with the writers about issues occurring between 2003 and 2013 being interlinked to earlier events, we agreed to take away the timeframe from the parameters for stories. This experience recalls a common Western bias to delineate time periods and issues. My experience of assisting with the development of a jointly authored 10-year plan on indigenous family violence for the state of Victoria, Australia provides another example of this. In drafting the objectives for this plan, Aboriginal representatives were keen to have an objective entitled "Cultural Safety". Initially, some government officials thought this was an objective that would lie outside of the plan (which they believed should focus more narrowly on indigenous and government relations for service provision related to family violence). However, for Aboriginal leaders the objective which "acknowledges the need of mainstream service providers and governments to analyze their culture and stop negative impacts this may have on the cultural rights of Indigenous communities" (Aboriginal Affairs Victoria, 2008) was essential to not only be in the plan but be the first objective in the plan. For them, the start of their narrative on the issue of family violence, as written in the plan was that: "In recognition of Indigenous people as Victoria's First Peoples and of Elders as the keepers of a rich history of local cultures and traditions, cultural safety will be advanced through greater understanding of Indigenous culture by the wider community" (Aboriginal Affairs Victoria, 2008). Similarly, discussions over the current issue of family violence and government interventions to assist were much longer than with other groups in Australian society because of the need to tell narratives that stretched back into Aboriginal peoples' history of relations with white settlers and governments. My own cultural bias had led to a requirement for the Solomon research that could have limited contributions unduly.

There were also questions by the writers on what definition of peace and conflict could be used (e.g., the civil conflict and conflict in the family). This was left up to the writer's discretion, again so as to not influence or limit the contributions. It was also my intent that by requesting stories about peace and conflict rather than specifying what type of conflict, findings would emerge about whether identity conflict (or so-called "ethnic conflict," conflict between ethnic communities) was something people naturally told stories about or wanted to articulate. The theme for

submissions was an "open theme" to draw out local conceptions of the meaning of peace and conflict.

10.4.4   Data Analysis

Data collection and analysis occurred at the same time—when writing the narratives participants were providing meaning and analysis to social issues, the narrative analysis group discussions were also data, and then these two were analyzed further using Hyper Research to confirm themes and relationships.

Nine participants submitted a total of 14 narratives that were collectively analyzed by the group through discussion. During the discussions, writers would choose how to present their work—handouts to read or reading aloud. Most of the more experienced writers opted to read their own work, and I or head of the local writing association, an accomplished speaker, read the work of those who opted to have their work read by someone else.

Once the stories were read, the discussion covered the technical skill and social relevance of the narratives. It was intended I would facilitate the discussions, but in actual fact the group largely moderated itself. The head of the local writers association (Solomon Islands Creative Writers' Association) was instrumental and effectively took on the role of facilitator and expert, as, of the participants, he had the most published work. It is normal for youth to be quiet in the presence of elders, so my role was largely in encouraging the younger members of the group to also contribute views, which they did increasingly as the workshop progressed and through sharing their work with others. The men tended to sit together on one side of the room and the women on the other (along with me) which is culturally normal. Women and men contributed equally and often challenged each other on gender stereotypes (of men and of women). Local facilitation assisted to create an appropriate space for participants to shape the narrative analysis.

The group discussions put the narratives into context, drawing out whether the action, feelings, and thoughts of the characters were usual or unusual and what may have caused these. The discussions then become a form of group analysis, confirming and bringing out key themes. Those themes listed by the writers were compiled, then combined with my preset themes and put into the computer program Hyper Research by the researcher to identify prevalence across the narratives.

Hyper Research was selected as a program to use for the qualitative analysis as it is a leading program in social sciences, for its ease of use and its availability as software that can run on Mac computers. Functions such as playback of audio files, working with a variety of sources and the ability to do theoretical work through the "theory function" which links together factors to identify associations and instances were also useful features of Hyper Research used in this analysis. Since the transcripts of discussions were in Pijin, I made English transcripts to work with in this computer program to enable synchronicity of coding of English and Pijin written narratives and Pijin workshop discussions. Participants provided clarity regarding

the translation and helped to translate nuanced translations, which could have multiple meanings.

Each narrative and each discussion of the narrative was a "source" in Hyper Research. Each source was reviewed to identify themes, known in the program as codes. Codes included subjects (such as elections or HIV-AIDs), conflict types (such as internal, identity group based, conflict with the state), elements identified as an underlying cause of conflict (such as alcohol or poverty), conflict manifestations (such as suicide, social exclusion, riots), and finally conflict and peace outcomes. These were counted in Hyper Research to identify the prevalence of each code.

Preset codes provided by the researcher were around types of conflict (between identity groups, with authorities, interpersonal or internal, conflict) and types of violence (violence between identity groups, sexual violence, and the like). Codes provided by the participants were conflict manifestations (for instance suicide, riots, family disputes) and conflict causes (such as colonialism, alcohol, changing gender roles, abuse of power by political elite).

Actors, or characters, in narratives were coded as mass actors, political actors (people in the political system), family, or social links. Each had a sole code rather than multiple codes; however, the relationships of a character with others were coded to reflect the multiple interactions the character might have had. "Schoolmates" (initially coded as "social links") was another subcode added by participants during the coding process to monitor the prevalence of this type of social link, after group discussions pointed back to the formative experience of meeting and befriending people from different backgrounds at school and how this impacted later life. Conflicts were coded as resolved or unresolved. The unresolved category was for conflicts that were acknowledged but not resolved by the characters, and those where the characters were seen as having no agency over the conflict.

The coding process was not led by word searches and matches but by coding the meaning of phrases, in a more thematic approach. It would have been potentially difficult to do a textual analysis using word frequency due to the different use of language and expression in the sample and the often-indirect description of violence and colonialism (for example the civil conflict from 1998 to 2003 is called "tensions" in Solomon Islands). In this way Hyper Research was used to list the number of sources (stories, discussions) featuring certain codes, while the location field was less relevant to analysis as in literature the main locus of the story will often be detailed in a small portion of the text. The location and portion of the text allotted to a certain topic may not reflect its importance in the story's drama.

This analysis conducted by myself with the aid of Hyper Research was brought back to the group in the final session for further discussion, which did not change the codes and relationships but provided some further narratives for explanation and context. After this, I worked on the comparative research and discussed individually with participants the results of this analysis, which was generally agreed after some revisions (particularly to include more emphasis on land and the environment which was seen as significant but not covered in depth in the creative narratives).

The writers generally agreed that some stories that eventuated from the workshop dealing with difficult subject matter, such as violence during the recent civil conflict, were too sensitive to discuss directly and could only be discussed metaphorically or fictionally (such as a poem about a rape during the civil conflict). Thus, it was useful to have the Solomon Islands Truth and Reconciliation Commission Report as a source for comparative analysis to quantify some findings of the narrative analysis. For example, the TRC Report was the first research to quantify the non "ethnic" nature of the conflict—only 20 of 200 deaths were due to fighting between militias from two different islands, the rest were due to interpersonal disputes or militias attempting to impose fear and control on their own communities. The mixing of ethnicities and strong social ties to people from other ethnicities was emphasized in the group narrative analysis also but can be skimmed over in political analysis of "ethnic grievance" and "ethnic conflict".

Analysis for this research project occurred at the individual and group level—the creative narratives and my academic writing were a form of individual analysis, but due to the process of engagement and discussion with each other, these individual analyses were informed and changed due to the group analysis. As encouraged by VCR and PAR, analysis was not a separate process at the end of the research process (usually after data collection) but throughout, from deciding the scope of study to report finalization. Similar to the Delphi technique, consensus was formed through feedback, which in turn changed the narratives individual participants and I had written over several sessions. The method also had a similarity with the concept mapping method in that a computer program was drawn on to identify codes and their prevalence, which helped inform the group to clarify agreement.

All workshop participants were invited to review the findings of the research (in person and on email). This provided an opportunity for feedback and further reflection by interviewees on the subject matter. By this time the participants had reviewed the content several times during the process of the workshop and preparation of the narratives for publication, so there were few changes to content of the research.

Participants chose a popular form of publication—a fiction book containing the stories—and worked towards producing this. The research process contributed to public airing of and reflection upon the perceived causes and manifestations of conflict, the complexity of interpersonal, identity, and gender conflict and some of the ways communities and individuals create narratives around conflict. The participants published their stories in a book *Talemaot—Solomon stories of peace and conflict* (Ride, 2013). This publication, with funding from UNDP's Strengthening Capacities for Peace and Development (CPAD) project and the British High Commission in Solomon Islands, will be used in as a resource in peacebuilding work in the region and also is to be distributed to schools via the Solomon Islands Curriculum Development Division.

10.4.5   *Implications for Methodology*

Researching conflict necessitates assumptions about its underlying causes—researchers may choose to study the structural level (correlations between conflict and poverty, democracy, etc.), political level (political grievances, mobilization, and the state), or psychological level (the thoughts and behaviors of those in conflict) for example. Participatory approaches allow for analysis to occur across these academic approaches, but at the same time "insider" analyses are subject to the biases and assumptions of the communities themselves.

In my case, I found including participants in data analysis and working with their narratives helped underline the complexity and nuances in causes and manifestations of conflict. Similar findings emerged from a cross cultural study of theatre projects which identified that themes of memory, identity, justice, and resistance were common to all projects. Tensions between these elements were explored and: "in the process what first appeared to be straightforward and unbending obligations often are transformed in the direction of greater nuance and complexity" (Cohen, Guitierrez Varea, & Walker, 2011, p. 164).

An inquiry that is "open" in thematic terms, rather than focused on a particular type of conflict, may reveal more about local perceptions of conflict—particularly regarding time, historical factors, and the inter-relation between conflicts at the national, village, family, and societal levels. The researcher might have a conception of how conflict is experienced within a community (such as "ethnic tensions") that prevents them from seeing what is there—such as conflict around gender roles, interpersonal feuds, or other forms of conflict. Such thematically inclusive methodologies may also better suit oral cultures, where narratives tend to interlink events, factors of conflict, and norms of behavior in a way that is hard to delink—so indigenous people naturally talk about the current events with reference to the past, that may include ancestral stories or experiences such as colonialism as being "present." In this context, for example, surveys about "service provision," "law and order," or "voting preferences" are likely to capture a keyhole view of how these are perceived by indigenous communities and the implications for conflict.

For example, the participants stated domestic violence and sexual violence occurs because of changing gender roles influenced by economic development, the experience of, and power changes caused by, the civil conflict and the lack of agency people have over state institutions (such as those charged with law and order). They stated men also were worried about their personal security and the threat of violence. Now, many more studies might be needed to fully explore this analysis, but it implies that the study of "domestic violence" for example may be usefully conducted using a different frame of reference that looked at these interlinked causes and how they influence gender roles and violent behavior in domestic and public spaces.

Often conflict causes were interlinked—colonialism, the experience of conflict perpetuated by militants, the post-conflict regional intervention, the abuse of power by MPs and government officials, plus exploitation of natural resources by foreign-

ers were all linked to a sense of lack of agency over and frustration towards the state. These elements form a sort of collective consciousness that can influence personal and group behavior. The value of working with narratives is that it is a way where these elements can be identified, described and relationships between them examined in depth.

It was clear that using narratives as data was appropriate to discuss perceptions of politics in this social and cultural context. All the Solomon narratives drew on personal and group experience of common topical issues, there was no genre fiction such as science fiction or fantasy. Writers took their inspiration from real events and their intent was to comment on political realities of interpersonal and group conflicts.

The stories are both reflective of current problems and directive—indicating desired moral behavior. The narratives have clearly stated moral meanings, articulated through commentary and description about what happens when people break social norms, such as not supporting a friend in need, participating in looting, or having an affair. In some cases the moral message is explicit and in others it is implied through the drama and eventual denouement once relationships broken by conflict are restored. Many stories restored a sense of connection and purpose to the lives of the characters and thus restored peace through relationships between the characters, emphasizing responsibility and social connections, and stories ending with violence set out clearly the moral causality leading to this end.

In the group discussions among writers, value was placed on narrative as a communal resource. This shows the influence of oral stories, which are communally owned and formed, often "authorless." Oral narratives serve to teach as much as to entertain, particularly about social norms and consequences of behavior. The transcripts of discussions illustrated how the group formed its analysis communally, finishing each other's sentences and agreeing with key themes through nonverbal means (murmurs and lack of dissent). Such findings concur with Watson-Gegeo and White's (1990) notion that Pacific cultures are highly relational and this influences discourse. Rather than art as an expression of individual creativity, as in the dominant representations of Western art traditions, it is used as an expression of relatedness and communal experience.

Rather than viewing "today" as being a separate period of time to be considered in isolation, "now" was inextricably linked to the past in the analysis. This particularly arises in relation to the history of colonialism and how people responded to its institutions (e.g., writers saw schools and the Honiara City Council Officers as "colonial" in the creative narratives). Despite Solomon Islands' independence as a nation, colonialism is still a lived reality in its mindsets, institutions and social relations, recalling common indigenous perceptions of time, which have great salience to framing conflict (Lederach, 2005).

By collectively analyzing the stories, deciding on publishing format and framing of stories, the local participants were given a degree of ownership over the data. Fictional narratives provided as a data set for the research provided an outlet for frustration with the political elite and social exclusion that may not be otherwise expressed due to the fear of causing offence and risks to personal security.

This helped to reduce risks to the participants and to myself that can come from researching and publishing about conflict in the local context.

In advocating for research approaches that give voice to people experiencing conflict, it is good to be mindful of how these approaches could lead to conflict. Herein lies a tension—how can researchers work with participants for data analysis while being sensitive to the reproduction of stereotypes, dominant discourses, and differing perspectives? Some oral narratives can of course inflame sensitivities, hurt, and hatred. Research needs to not just capture narratives but also allow for their collective analysis and publication. In the case of this research, the writers in a workshop achieved this through collective discussion. It was clear in the discussions that the representation, meaning, and impact of the narratives were collectively mediated, representing the whole rather than a particular ethnic, cultural, or gender group, to represent what the participants called "real Solomon stories." This then limits the opportunities for stereotyping, misrepresentation, and inflammation of conflict.

My research methodology was devised after a period of time living in the local context and talking to Solomon Islanders interested in telling stories through journalism, visual art, film, and writing. What this established was a certain degree of trust by some of the writers who I had known prior to the workshop (which doubtlessly helped others to trust me and so aided the conduct of research). Working with preestablished groups of people with likeminded interests also helped to establish trust and exchange of information. Trust is particularly important, given local experiences of research which some perceive as agenda-based and not relevant to local understandings and needs.

The further refinement of the subject of inquiry and themes by the participants also allowed local epistemologies to be revealed more fully, such as the change to time parameters. As detailed by Smith (2012), the framing of time, such as "postcolonial" may be different for indigenous people who are more likely to point to the injustices of the past as relevant to the present as others without such memories. The change in timeframe of this study from 2003 to 2013 to "any time" opened up my understanding about the interaction of past and present but also related back to the issue of trust. If the parameters for the research are jointly formed, then trust is established that the research process and outcomes can be conducted together. Similarly, giving participants a role in shaping the terms used to describe conflict can change the scope of the analysis—such as Aboriginal people in Victoria talking about "family violence" rather than "domestic violence" to open up space for a range of conflicts and their interaction to be discussed.

It is useful in data collection to closely replicate local dialogue, limiting the influence of the researcher, to obtain an accurate representation. In this project, a writers group was used to facilitate dialogue on narratives and conflict and peace. However, there are other locally appropriate means to do this that could have been used. In the search for relevant forms for collecting and analyzing data, it is useful to build on current social networks and institutions, as these will already have a degree of trust and dialogue preexisting to the research. It is also useful to identify local co-facilitators or facilitators to help the flow of discussion and to assist with

any cross-cultural misunderstandings that may come up between researchers and participants. The participants can then choose whether they raise any issues that arise with the research with the researcher him/herself or with the intermediary, in my case the local facilitator.

Working with local institutions and facilitators, and over a longer period of time, means that the data is more likely to replicate natural dialogue. In this case a writer's workshop was a forum where influences and experiences of the writer and audience were discussed naturally, rather than in a fashion prompted by myself as researcher, and that included sensitive issues of trauma, guilt, shame, and violence. However, in other contexts there may be other religious, cultural, or educational contexts where such dialogues would be naturally occurring and could be tapped to provide insider-knowledge on conflict and peace.

Dialogues about conflict and violence cannot be created instantaneously, and relationships need time to develop and build before raising sensitive issues. In this project, holding one session weekly over several months gave time for participants to get to know each other and pause in between weighty conversations.

As well as finding the right forum for data analysis, it is important to find forms of storytelling that are appropriate to the local culture and context—for example a study of assistance to natural disaster survivors in Aceh (Ride & Bretherton, 2011, pp. 19–50) conducted by a local researcher, Dicky Pelupessy, found people were unhappy with projects that asked survivors to prepare songs and dances which were inappropriate given local faiths. In 2013, in a study of information in natural disasters in communities in Temotu, Solomon Islands, research participants who had recently experienced a tsunami expressed disapproval of disaster awareness materials featuring cartoons, as this was seen as undermining the depth of their experience by presenting information in a form normally associated with humor, not serious issues (Ride, Kii, West, & Hila, 2013, p. 26). It is important to find mediums appropriate to local context and culture. In this project, I deliberately recruited participants who were already writing, so they had previously chosen this form of expression as appropriate to their experiences (although some had no prior experience of publication). A study with participants, who had no experience writing down their stories before, would have had different dynamics than the workshop process in this research.

Involving participants in data analysis is important not just because of concerns for respect of indigenous peoples and the history of unequal relations between researcher and the researched. Involving indigenous people in the framing, analysis, and mediation of data leads to more robust findings, especially in explaining conflict between identity groups where behavior is linked to intergroup communication and political dynamics. It is also more likely to have support from the participant communities, which can smooth the way for interventions and projects aimed at social change and development.

I was concerned that the participants felt that they benefitted from the research process. In this case this was accomplished with the publication of *Talemaot*, which gave the participants a rare chance to share their work with others, as well as the professional development gained through the workshop and publication. However,

other research could explore the intent of the participants in telling their story and ways in which this intent can be realized with the assistance of the researcher. Advocacy, public events, or another form of publication (e.g. television or radio) that the participants might decide to undertake could have been equally effective in giving participants a sense that their narratives would be heard and that they would benefit from them, if their desire was publication and consent was given.

Often in papers outlining research methods, such as those discussed above, an important element is also not just the research process but publication—who and how will the research results be disseminated? In the case of PAR publication can have great impact on whether the research will lead to social or policy change—how can results best be heard by decision makers or give communities the impetus to change? In the case of Delphi technique, concept mapping, or other methods, which move a group towards consensus, it would be useful if they can also reach consensus on the desired impact of the research. This might go beyond just a launch to envisaging new initiatives the group can take on themselves, or new ways of relating to the issue that can benefit the group or individual, as well as broader advocacy or policy initiatives.

10.5   Conclusion

Approaches to involve participants in data analysis, require thought to participation throughout the process—from setting research parameters, to data collection, identifying themes and relationships, providing feedback, and publication. I attempted to balance the privilege of the researcher by creating long-term relationships with the participants and involving them in analysis at several stages of the research project. This included involving participants in setting the parameters of the subject of inquiry, giving voice to them through narrative storytelling, analyzing the themes in these narratives collectively, and facilitating publication of the narratives in a format chosen by the participants. By questioning the primacy of the researcher in data analysis, the research methodology also then became more robust and reflective of "insider thinking," which is intended to be a useful contribution to the literature of largely outsider-led studies of conflict. All researchers, but particularly those engaged with indigenous people or marginalized communities, can strengthen the rigor and impact of their research by asking questions about participants in data analysis (see Appendix 10.1 Checklist for participant data analysis). Although this chapter does not summarize the myriad of ways in which local people can analyze and mediate the findings of research, it points to the need to do so in terms of a "do no harm" approach to research (Anderson, 1999), accuracy of analysis, and righting the historical inequity of the researcher and participant.

Appendix 10.1

Checklist for Participant Data Analysis

The following questions are intended to prompt critical thinking by researchers interested in involving participants in data analysis. This may be useful in designing research methodology and projects which intend to draw on participants' understanding of issues for findings.

1. Subject of Inquiry
   a. What are the terms being used in the subject of inquiry?
   b. What is the meaning of these terms for the participants?
   c. Does using participants' terms change the subject of inquiry? And if so, how can the subject of inquiry be modified to reflect local terms for the issue?

Note: terms used to describe the research can limit participant data analysis—such as "conflict" vs. "ethnic conflict" or "family violence" vs. "domestic violence."

2. Format of Data
   a. What are usual formats for participants to discuss and analyze the subject of inquiry?
   b. Can usual formats be created and used for the research? Or is there some intermediary format that is appropriate, that is similar but not the same as usual formats?

Note: use of usual formats has advantages, but also needs appropriate consent and understanding of participants so they are aware of conversations being used for this purpose.

3. Data Collection
   a. Can the research be facilitated and organized by insiders/locals to the community?
   b. Can the data be collected by insiders/locals?
      How can insiders/locals identify appropriate questions and prompts for data collection?
   c. Is there enough time to collect the data according to the potential participants?

4. Themes
   a. Can the themes of the data be identified by participants in a usual or intermediary format (identified in 2)?
   b. What review of themes can be done by participants?
   c. Do participants have adequate time to identify themes themselves? Are several rounds of review of themes appropriate (such as the Delphi Method and others)?

5. Analysis and Impact
   a. How can participants be involved in drawing causal relationships and further analysis from themes? What steps will be needed for this?
   b. What role can participants have in recommendations for change from problems identified by the research?
   c. How can participants be involved in decisions for how analysis be shared with participants and the broader community?
   d. How do the participants feel the analysis will benefit them, and are there ways to maximize this benefit?

Readers are welcome to feed back ideas, about how this checklist may be modified or improved, to the author.

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Chapter 11
Philosophies of Participation: Analectic and Consciousness Methods

Maritza Montero

11.1 Introduction

Analectic and consciousness methods come from the same ethical base, having as their intent the preservation of human life and the protection of human beings. Although they differ in the ways of being presented and applied, they come from the same roots. The idea of analectics has its origin in philosophy. Methods for consciousness, while following analectic principles, have been generated from various social sciences. Pedagogy, in particular Paulo Freire's ideas (1970, 1988/1973, 1990), as well as sociology and in the last two decades, psychology are main contributors. The areas of psychology involved are peace psychology, critical community psychology, social psychology, psychotherapy, and liberation psychology, as we will see in this chapter.

11.2 The Development of Liberation Psychology

Critical philosopher Enrique Dussel (1985, 1988a) defined "analectics" as the extension of dialectics to allow for the inclusion of diversity, that is, the inclusion of that which is completely different to the self. The opposition between the known me, the Self and that which is other than me, the Other is sometimes spelt out with this capitalization in philosophy. The Other is the unknown, the diversity of people and circumstances that one has not imagined. Knowledge of the Other, expands and enriches one's total being, with aspects coming from beyond what one had consid-

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ered to be reality. Enrique Dussel developed a method to include populations that are marginalized from society's benefits.

Paulo Freire worked for about three decades, from the 1960s onwards, to educate peasants about their rights. The ideas of Dussel and Freire began to influence Latin American psychologists in the late 1970s and early 1980s, when there was a movement to develop critical social psychology. The new thinking, based in participatory methods, quickly developed within critical community psychology. In 1986, Ignacio Martín-Baró (1990) proposed the creation of a Psychology of Liberation, based on Freire's pedagogy. Sadly, on 16 November 1989 Martin-Baró was murdered in El Salvador. Liberation Psychology took a decade (the 1990s latency period) to be simultaneously developed in various Latin American countries. By the first decade of the new century it was blooming. Papers and books written by psychologists from some Latin American countries were presented at international conferences to people from the American continent and also from Europe. Liberation Psychology has soon developed in other places around the world (Aotearoa/New Zealand, Australia, Italy, South Africa, the UK, and the USA).

Liberation Psychology conceives of the cognizant subject as a duet, with the idea that "no one can be without others." It considers the world in which subjects live, the characteristics of people, and their relations with others. A number of ideas, methods, and practices regulating the interpretation of human nature and its activities, its origins, and effects on people and on society have been systematically developed. Ethics, defined as the preservation of human life and politics, provides important guiding principles, which govern the organization of human life and provide free space for all human beings (Montero 2002a). Emmanuel Levinas (1991/1982, p. 71) says that relationship is found in "the face-to-face of human beings, in sociality, in its moral signification." Morals should be understood as what a society considers adequate and proper. Levinas goes further, adding that the original experience of philosophy is the Other (Levinas 1974).

This is a paradigm of critical construction and transformation, and its bases are complex and holistic. Blurred boundaries between its domains allow interdependent relations between the domains. Knowledge produced is not the whole action of a sole researcher or group, there is also the influence of the research object or subject, and the effects caused by and within society. All epistemology is related with an ontological conception defining the beings and objects of knowledge, producing a cognitive relation, thus leading to the production of methods. Several voices are there, and the public space is always affected. Liberation, peace and praxis are the bases of this paradigm.

The idea of participation comes from the participatory action research method created by Fals Borda in 1959. The method was adopted by Latin American community and social psychology in the 1980s using Freire's praxis and ideas and Martín-Baró's proposal for a Liberation Psychology. These bases and their use in community social psychology praxis have been the pillars for the construction and development of the methods presented here.

11.3 Analectic Method

Enrique Dussel (1985) developed the philosophical method named Ana-dialectic or more succinctly as *analectic*. *Anas* is a Greek word meaning "beyond." What Dussel did was to expand the Hegelian dialectic totality, made of three elements: first, the thesis that proposes an idea; second, the antithesis that opposes the thesis; and the third element, the synthesis is derived from the conversation of the two previous elements. The three elements create a totality. Dussel proposed that the totality should allow for a new element or even many other elements to make up its composition. That new element is the Other. An unexpected Other that is unknown, different, and also human; as human as those creating a totality. Human, but not yet acknowledged in or admitted to the totality. Not only because of rejection but also because they have simply been unknown, not been thought as being there. If recognized as existing, then the Other is thought of as so different, so impossible that it is not admitted. Through the analectic method, the Other will be able to enter into the totality, bringing in his or her ideas.

Analectic considers that everyone, any group, can be placed far away in the exteriority of the totality sphere (Dussel, 1988b). Then, it opens an aperture to the Other, so to let in and be with the Other. The inclusion of the Other is the basis of a new way to see a world and life within it. Similarly, the inclusion of the Other is the origin of fresh ways to develop methods. Otherness, also known as *alterity* (from Latin *alter* meaning other), is one such method. It is the moment in the dialectic process that gives priority to what is outside, further away.

According to Dussel, Otherness is the first rational and ethical decision, previous to any other exercise of reason. Through Otherness the experience or actual presence of the Other is constructed in such a way that the Other is carried out, before any other decision, commitment, communication or linguistic expression, related to that Other (Dussel, 1985) is made. It is the way of excluding, rejecting, or justifying the oppression of those seen as different to the Self. That is why it is necessary to build both the Self and the Other collaborative producers of knowledge, united by a relationship of equality.

The philosopher Martin Buber (1923), in his book *I and Thou*, said that the I cannot be without the You (Thou), because both of them are part of a duality that creates the One and the Other, at the same time that differentiates them, while always being together. The One is because other people call that One, it is impossible to be without others. That is why Levinas (1974) said that we all have, a priori, a responsibility for the Other that is part of our rationality.

How is all this related to consciousness? In fact, acknowledging the existence of an Other that does not resemble us, but that is equal to the Self, changes our ways of thinking about people that look and act in a different way to the one we are familiar with. It means acknowledging that we have different ways of life, but are equal in our humanity. Simply being human should be enough to ensure acceptance. The exclusion of the Other impoverishes the Self as well as the relationship. The assimilation of the Other, in order to force or convince that the Other to be in image

and semblance the Oneself, is a way to subjugate the Other, to exclude and oppress. That is why there is a need to construct methods using consciousness to guide the ethical inclusion of different people, within the domain of ontology, defined not as just the one's own paradigmatic domain but as a dyad made of the I–You (Thou).

Analectic is a method working for equality, promoting the rights of people, and constructing balance in society. Putting aside privileges and respecting others also produce liberating ways of living and opposing exclusions.

In order to apply analectics to specific aspects of everyday life, the bases provided by this method respond to the political, ethical, epistemological, and ontological bases, as mentioned above. Philosophical methods provide orientations so one can have principles to follow, such as ontological aspects including all human beings as constructers of reality. All human beings have a history and are social protagonists of the daily construction of that history. Epistemologically, all human beings are able to produce knowledge, and to learn from what other human beings construct.

11.4   Methods for Consciousness and Liberation

Methods for consciousness have the same aims as the analectic methodology of Freire's and of Fals Borda's ideas. Methods for consciousness is the name I have given to describe a way to approach groups, or individuals, to mobilize their consciousness in order to become aware of the existence and the origins of specific circumstances regarding their daily lives, to develop a critical view, becoming aware of negative or positive influences in their daily lives. Notions such as ideology and alienation are related to Marxian view, and de-ideologization and de-alienation are part of the methods included in this chapter. Definitions of ideology and alienation as modes of false consciousness are not covered here.

A clear definition of ideology is that made by Billig, Condor, Edwards, Gane, Middleton, and Radley (1988), "in a real sense ideologies shape what people actually do think about, and permit the possibility of thought" (p. 27). Ideologies are ways of thinking. Here, consciousness is defined as "the capacity to reflect," to be "understood as a person is observing or noticing the internal operations of his/her mind and also of acquiring or producing ideas generating mental states" (Montero, 2014). Consciousness is simply consciousness: it cannot be true or false, it is just something that is part of being human.

The different methods of consciousness are similar to each other. They can be used separately because there is not such a thing as a uniform way of using them at specific moments. The main method is the duet of *problematization–conscientization,* presented in this way because when doing problematization at the same time people can produce modes of conscientization and vice versa; while doing conscientization people could need to problematize. Working in problematic situations, seen as inevitable or as natural ways to be, both aspects can act to mobilize consciousness in relation to a liberating condition. Goldmann (1970, 1972) describes this as going from what is a negative part of reality or an unsatisfactory situation; while desiring what is positive and becoming aware that there is oppression.

11.4.1 Problematization–Conscientization

This method/process is needed when people cannot see that their occupation, life condition, or ideas and beliefs, do not work as part of daily life. They cannot see the origin of their problems, tending to think that they lack capacity or are just unable to confront them. Their task is to develop self-consciousness as being a person in a society where one interacts and has rights. Problematization–conscientization may drive people to take on more active roles in their society, becoming aware of oppression, and consciously committing to the daily construction of society, exerting rights, and assuming duties.

Conscientization–problematization can be defined as a process of mobilizing consciousness directed towards producing knowledge about oneself and the groups one belongs to, generating new ways to understand them, and giving sense to the time and space one has in society and in one's lifeworld (Montero, 2004). This process begins with a conversation or discussion establishing the possibility of presenting different ideas and allowing people to find evidence of influences, become aware of relationships, and explore different ways of responding to an issue or a belief. A situation previously thought of as not able to be discussed, of having unquestionable truth value, is brought to light and can be shown to be actually quite different. The external agent has to generate conditions where an individual or a group needs to revise and analyze actions and opinions about facts considered as inevitable and normal in daily life, thus opening space for doubts and changes. While doing this, some auxiliary methods may be used so they can introduce other ways to see each situation.

External agents, when having conversations about needs or plans, may ask questions or use metaphors and anecdotes to present different ways to see the situation being discussed. Questions coming from participants are necessary; examples presented by them can be very useful. The discussion should not be a conflictive or imposing one and can be managed by questioning, letting the person or group present their opinions, differences, bases and lack of them, and both positive and negative aspects. One must take care of what is being said, while at the same time pointing differences and contrasts; introducing those aspects in accord with each problem and specific situation as well as the participants' needs. One has to take into account the difficulties of naturalization, habituation, ideologization, and alienation which are deeply installed into people's consciousness and difficult to detect.

Changes happen first in one's consciousness because conscientization happens in the mind of each person, although it needs the reflection and actions of other people in order to generate one's own ideas. This implies a process of knowledge production, as well as a process of de-ideologization that will conduce to a critical perspective coming out in dialogue. It is not a once in a lifetime process, it is continuous and it has to deal with the pressure coming from the dominant tendencies in society.

Critical consciousness is an important aspect when one wants to mobilize consciousness. It is necessary that those trying to conscientizise do not bias the changes towards what they think are "correct" or "better" ideas or ways to see a problematic

aspect. What one can do is to ask problematizing questions (Montero, 2009), pointing out contradictions, aspects that are missing or hearing what other people think and making comparisons with one's own ideas (which may also being problematized). Dialogue is the most important tool for this process. Dialogue: not instructions or orders in disguise. Conscientization appears in the changes made by the individual in his/her consciousness.

Conscientization–problematization as being part of liberation and peace methods is also a continuous process of cognitive mobilization of consciousness. It has a liberating character related to situations, facts, and relationships. Causes and effects, previously ignored, come to the surface. New information produces changes going from what was seen as normal and real, becoming aware of the negative nature of situations or conditions, moving to what is now possible. The process and dialogue bring about political awareness.

Necessary conditions for problematization–conscientization processes are listening, dialogue, participation, communication, humility and respect, and consciousness. As Freire said, it is by hearing what people say that we learn to talk with them. Listening is a core element. Dialogue places the other within the conversation. There are, necessarily, two people talking, asking questions, and answering them. To ensure meaningful participation, it is important to take care of the modes of participation in each dialogue. A practitioner or researcher should talk as one talks with a peer: naturally, clearly, and if one uses a technical word, explain it and indicate why it has been used. Because dialogue is about relationship with someone, it is a form of communication, be it discussion, dissent, questions, and answers that are necessary to all members of the dialogue. Respect for the Other is an ethical condition. The situation is bilateral and both parts are equal while different. This means the practitioner or researcher needs to have both humility and respect. Critique is necessary, but humility and respect with that criticism should be constructive and directed towards the issue rather than destructive and aimed at putting the other person down. Participants as well as facilitators may use metaphors, jokes, and reviews in dialogue. Consciousness is developed alongside communication. Silence too can be a form of communication as it has its place in the dialogue (Montero, 2009).

Each conscientization is unique, since it responds to specific circumstances, to the people engaged, and to a specific problem. Freire (1990) has given some interesting tips. Those tips are: to experiment with the dialectic between objectivity and subjectivity; between reality and consciousness, and between theory and practice. "To know and understand the real world not as something that just exists, but as something that is going to be, [and] is being" (Freire, 1990, p. 170).

11.4.2 Techniques Accompanying Problematization–Conscientization

Several techniques presented here go together with problematization–conscientization. They are not standardized procedures used in a uniform way but rather

are tailored to the problem, social conditions, memories, remembrances, or of narratives. The techniques are de-habituation, denaturalization, de-ideologization, de-alienation; humanization, and history. Dramatization as well as discussed narratives may also be used in the same way.

I will begin describing first de-habituation and denaturalization because habituation and naturalization are the part of everyday ways of living, starting to be created as soon as one begins the socialization process. Habituation and naturalization are useful ways to deal with everyday tasks without having to think about them; so common that they are the most difficult aspects to change in life. Habituation is an absolutely necessary part of our daily life: as said, habits are developed because they facilitate things in a mechanical way. Habituation can be defined as daily unconscious, behavior; neither requiring thought nor planning, since it is automatic. It enacts the use of social and cultural patterns that are not verbalized, along with implicit social expectations. It facilitates social life by liberating us of planning, reflecting, and decision-making the habitual behavior of daily life. It also may drive us to reproduce in a nonreflexive and uncritical life circumstances that can alienate and ideologize people (Montero, 2004). It is convenient to remember the definition made by French anthropologist Pierre Bourdieu (1972) of the notion of habitus (habit). Habit is an enduring regularity within socially constructed places, which structures behavior and establishes patterns. It facilitates social relationships creating links between people and their acts. It is carried out without conscious direction, without taking into account any specific dominion or directions, but rather is related and adjusted to collective norms. Habit is a socially coded and expected response which tends to reproduce objective social structures, while being an effect of them and keeping itself as their cause. It is cultural and does not have a strategic intention. It is the link building networks and behavior models in daily life, keeping up society. Its strength resides in the fact that it is neither questioned nor analyzed.

Habituation is a necessity, but at the same time, along with common practices such as brushing the teeth or waking up at a certain time every day, habituation internalizes certain practices and with them ideas that may reduce our rights, or may convince one to do something that excludes other people. Since habits are not thought out, since they are just mechanical actions then the process of de-habituation is a very difficult task. To do that, it is necessary to focus attention on the habit and its effects in other people and in society. Discussion and analyses of real examples, helps.

It seems strange that denaturalizing something could be a positive thing, whereas naturalization, which is so common, so every day, so like a nice way of being, also could be a way to deceive our consciousness. Naturalization is defined as the construction of a customary field of perceptions and knowledge within which one codifies and organizes everyday life by means of habits and familiarizing processes, considering "normal" certain circumstances, integrating them to those ways to be accepted as the natural way for things to be (Montero, 2002b). It is the certitude that particular things or ways are part of the essential nature of society. Denaturalization is the critical examination of those ideas, beliefs, and procedures sustaining modes of doing and understanding what happen around us in everyday life, in such a way

that what was being naturalized is deprived of its "naturalness" and shown to be socially constructed in character (Montero, 2004). It problematizes the essential and natural character applied to certain acts or relationships, revealing their contradictions and their links with social or political interests.

A very simple example from my practice can illustrate the difficulties and also the terribly convincing capacity of naturalization. This happened in my first encounter with the need to present a process of denaturalization in the real world. It happened in an Argentinian province, where I was dictating a course in critical community psychology at a university in the capital city. I was talking about how to deal with ideas and beliefs that may block the possibility, for peasant community groups, of changing situations with negative effects for them. I asked the students to give examples of naturalizations of negative aspects accepted as natural ways to do. But what they gave were *not accepted* naturalizations, already known as negative, because of studies and life experiences. So, I persisted and asked them to think and try to find examples in the practices they carried outside the city with peasants.

They came back again without naturalizations. Only one student had managed to see a case of naturalization, although she said that her case maybe was not good. It was rather funny, but at the same time, a most impressive one. This is the case:

Her psychology practice was in a rural school. A teacher who was pregnant and near the time of birthing had to stop teaching; therefore, another substitute teacher had to be called in. The school principal before presenting the new teacher, a man, told the children how they had to receive him. The children understood perfectlyand were very excited. The new teacher came in and the children did as they had been taught saying: "Good morning, Miss" (Buenos dias, señorita in Spanish). The new teacher, thinking that perhaps they had not understood who he was, said his name in a clear voice and asked: "have you understood my name?" And the children said all at the same time: "Yes, Miss!" So he said: "Please sit down, and open your note-books." And again they said: "Yes Miss." Then he wrote his name on the blackboard and asked them to write it, and once again they answered "miss-ing" him.

The problem resided in the fact that the children had learned that the formal way to salute a teacher was to use that exact phrase. They were peasants, living in an isolated place in the countryside, where all people were known by their personal names with no formality about any other condition. This sounds as a joke, but actually besides the mistake there is an example of naturalization. And behind that the fact that the children probably were receiving what Freire called a "banking education." They had learned something to be done every day, but at the same time, something without meaning for them. They just followed a normative instruction, a norm of formal courtesy that meant nothing to them. Those were just phrases with no sense that were to be said every morning. Circumstances of that kind happen in even more important conditions. Naturalization is necessary in everyday life, but also one could be going about a political or economic draw-wheel every day ignoring important consequences.

Ideologization is the presentation of social life in disguised ways, benefitting dominant specific groups, while other groups or classes in society are not aware of that. Therefore, what they see or they know is accepted as the right, natural, or only

way to be. De-ideologization then is the construction and reconstruction of an integral not fractioned consciousness producing an understanding of the world one lives in and of life circumstances regarding its totality. It includes a process of knowledge production conducive to establishing causes and connections, erasing the ignorance needed for maintaining the status quo (Montero, 2004).

This concept comes as part of the Marxian critique of ideologization. It is easy to say that one should de-ideologize some institution or someone, but again, it is not a definite task because the concept of ideology has not a clear definition. Eagleton (1997) discusses several layers of definitions. Ideas and beliefs symbolizing conditions and life experiences of a specific group or class can consider power in an asymmetrical way that benefits the dominant groups or social classes. Communication can be systematically manipulated. Understanding that having knowledge produces power; dominant groups can control the flow of information. The de-ideologizing task begins by generating questions, discussions, or creating dramatizations of peculiar circumstances. It is not the task of the psychologists to tell the people what is best or what is not, what is correct or what is wrong. The task is to understand how things work, why, where, so participants can decide whether to accept them as they are or try to change them. So, each individual will have to think about what is discussed, represented, or analyzed coming from diverse sources such as newspapers, TV, or their own lives. The best moment is when people are discussing some problem or how to build, change, or organize something. Hearing what people say is a good way to find examples and new ideas and the relationships between them. This does not mean that all people in a group will be immediately, and in the same way, de-ideologized. But it is important that when someone finds a link between facts that can be analyzed by the group or the individual.

Alienation is another concept that psychologists practicing in social-oriented branches of psychology will be familiar with. Two aspects that I have found to be important in my practice are first, the loss of a property or quality, and second a non-dialectic kind of thought, meaning that a part in the totality cannot have the possibility to express her/his opinions (Gabel, 1970). From those senses we can describe the type of concept that could be used as a consciousness method.

Alienation can be understood as living and behaving according to norms of society without knowing how that society is manipulated. In this sense what people consider to be the way things are, is actually a part of the management of that society by groups that control it. De-alienation can, for example, develop awareness that one's life is conducted as a consumer of things that are supposed to be necessary, but are actually useless and only serve to make rich industries that produce unnecessary objects. This, then, can lead to searching for distinctions between the forces producing necessary and useful goods and aspects of the production that benefit specific groups but not society as a whole. Working with community stakeholders, children, and other participants from communities in poverty outskirts of the city of Caracas (Venezuela), the author and her students obtained some interesting results.

For example, we have used discussion after having short representations (20–30 min) of problems existing in the community and dramatizations of problematic aspects happening in a place. As dramatizations can be very "dramatic" and those

who are in the "audience" may want to make comments or protests about what is represented, the external agents used the figure of an imaginary telephone that can have one of them as operator or an internal one (accomplice), who may or may not pass the communication (anyway everybody would hear). Representations depend of how the "actors" are playing. Then, after a short time to let the participants think and comment about what they had seen (coffee and cookies help), problematizing discussions will take place.

One can include specific ways to be used as part of problematizing aspects or finishing processes of conscientization. These two main methods depend on processes happening in the people's mind, so there is not a protocol to be formally used each time. These processes depend on the moment someone unchains a line of thought touching both the agent provoking it and the agent thinking about it.

As said, they can be used by generating doubt and searching for more evidence in order to obtain liberating or peaceful results.

Asking questions is not just a way to bother people being curious about them. Questions in maieutic have been called as "triggering" or "problematizing questions" (Montero, 2009). In questioning, there is a moment when silence will be made, and a discussion about the origins of ideas and practices so far considered as the right or as the only way to see problems should begin. That is the moment for the maieutic method to begin asking questions: Why? … until silence opens the way to new ideas. Questions ask for responses and if the responses received are not acceptable, they demonstrate that they have been given because they are part of what is believed but not explained or not presenting clear relations.

I have called this method after Greek philosopher Socrates (470–399 BC), who by way of questioning wanted to obtain truth out of the responses given by his slave. I think that this method should respond to the classic name, since it helps the researcher by obtaining deep information.

Working with a community in the outskirt of Caracas (Venezuela), I used denaturalizing questions regarding a discussion, in order to show how negative ideas can diminish what people can do, in this case women worked a lot, but at the end men were presented as the main doers. Problematic questions regarded an important aspect discussed that day. So I posed two more questions: *What did I learn today*? And: *What did I teach today?* A woman said to me: "Why can you want me to answer the second question? I can hardly read and I do not write well." And she asked how could she teach others? I did not answer her questions, what I did was to ask the other participants to say if they had learnt something from her. Many of her peers responded saying she had given helpful ideas and mentioning them. That was very convincing. It helped to change her negative idea of herself because the voices of her peers were telling her that she had been creative that she was not just an ignorant woman.

Humanization is the reconstitution of lost human values, the search to bring up the capacity of understanding the Other in its difference, as a human being. This method is based on the values of liberation and peace. The aim of humanization is to keep human values for all human beings. Martin-Baró (1990) said humanization

will involve the identification and overcoming of fears; truthful communication, honesty, flexibility, tolerance, and respect; sensitivity towards suffering, solidarity, and hope. An impressive way of humanizing is the method of psychological accompaniment process used by several groups in Colombia. An example is the one coordinated by Stella Sacipa (Sacipa, 2014). Constructing a peace culture is the main target, as well as using ways to re-empowering people that have been victims of an enclosed war, where civil population are the victims of four armed groups. Psychological accompaniment includes many of the methods here presented, as well as social and clinical attention to the victims.

Having a history is part of our identity, both individual and social. History can give a sense of belonging. It is replete with anecdotes, beliefs, uses and ways of living, and a certain support, as well as models (positive and negative) and characteristics shared with others. People tend to defend those beliefs, their culture, and that identity as part of their history. As a method for consciousness, having information about deeds, life, qualities, and ways of doing may be a way to develop those capacities in oneself. Being able to recover the history of one's family or one's place, and with it culture, religion, culture and original language is also a method to construct a positive image of one's group.

How can one construct that history? Wanting to give an idea of the historic aspect, children between 7 and 13 years old living in a barrio (slum) in the mountain closing the western part of the valley in Caracas were invited to be "little researchers" asking their families and neighbors about the history of how the barrio was built. That hard task was approached by the children with enthusiasm. The children did get a lot of information, but, in spite of having collected a lot of anecdotes and data, the child with the longest written narrative had only seven lines. They could tell but not write. Because they do not have the habit of writing the verbal, record of history was lost. So the first aspect for the adult researchers to take as a priority was teaching them how to write and alerting the schools for the poor about how they should teach.

Therefore, with my students and the enthusiastic agreement of the children we decided to ask their grandparents to come to tell us, how they had built the "barrio." The children would ask questions and then they would paint what they considered the most interesting aspects. The elders invited to come to the place where the children gathered and told their narratives of the barrio building. Those narratives were recorded and organized by Maribel Goncalves de Freitas, a colleague in community psychologist. That and the aquarelles and tempera designs they made motivated many adults to visit the show we had at an important place in the city, where the children gave an excellent presentation of their designs and their meanings. It was a big success. The children were very proud of what they did and as they said: they were going to take more care of the place and defend it from outsiders. Some history had recovered as well as the sense of belonging. With that came the idea of territorial preservation and ownership and also the idea of boundaries. Whether it was a case of a perverse effect? (Boudon, 1979) or just the adoption of the same habits used in the better parts of the city? We may have more problematizations to do.

11.5   Conclusions

This chapter presents methods that can be used to help people understand the conditions of their own lives, work toward creating more equal relationships and be more open to other people and ways of being. These methods can reach to many people as it is common to the attribute of openness. Age, gender, country of origin, religion, nationality or culture, make no difference in the sense that all of those aspects are part of human condition. The analectic perspective with its amplifying dialectic function opens us to the Otherness all around the world, at the margins of societies, bringing Others in. An analectic approach opens a wide horizon.

The consciousness methods presented in this chapter are like keys to unlock the strange Otherness. These methods bring a part of humanity to open to the unknown, those disrespected, whose ideas are still ignored, into the admitted totalities of postmodernity. I have chosen the consciousness methods because the task of acknowledging the humanity of the Other can be carried out by each person's consciousness in the mind. These methods are not part of a mechanical or fixed process. These methods are not applied as something previously prepared according to a pre-established plan. They do not follow a protocol in the same way, in any place, and with any person, anywhere. But they do function in similar ways.

These methods are attributes of consciousness that may or may not be opened to new ways of thinking and doing. These are methods carefully developed with common people, as well as our students, and also people coming from the fringes of society. The results of research belong to the individuals or groups with whom we are working, as much as to the, researchers. However results are only part the work of the group, the outcome of the labor of each participant consciousness, when s(he) becomes aware of something. We analyze and comment, but the change that happened in each person, is the consciousness work of that person. Commonly the results are outcomes of the group, as researchers and participants co-organize the knowledge, analyze, discuss and disseminate.

In research context, when we include the Others with open totality, we are able to include and transform the analectic totality. The process would trigger ripple effects, as the enriched totality would then include more of the Other and her/his Otherness. By promoting egalitarian relationships of symmetrical power, we are creating a social system that is emulated by our being accepted by the Others.

Even if the name is something strange for them, they have what Moreno (1993, 2001) has named the *Popular Episteme*, that is, the mode of knowing he has given to the Venezuelan people living in poverty. It comes from what Moreno did when he began working and living with those people and he did not understand many things. It is in the consciousness of each person that ideas and actions are changed in order to find open relations with what is different. Analectic allows progressive building of a world whose possibility is glimpsed by way of equality, respect, understanding and creativity. Liberation and peace psychology should ensure the basic of these philosophies.

The methods here presented are characterized by flexibility. One can use any of them according to the specific aspects one is working with. That openness is necessary because the results may have different levels according to how the method manages participation and freedom within the work. One should promote freedom to talk, discuss, be creative, and ask questions. The researcher should not offer opinions, rather just questions.

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Chapter 12
Participatory Action Research as a Resource for Community Regeneration in Post-conflict Contexts

M. Brinton Lykes and Alison Crosby

12.1 Introduction

The roots of participatory action research (PAR) have been traced to the work of Orlando Fals Borda and Anisur Rahman in the global South and to that of Kurt Lewin, among others, working within the US context (Reason & Bradbury, 2008). Despite disparate origins and varied articulations, many activist scholars have adapted a shared set of values, including democratic knowledge production, ethical fairness in the benefits of knowledge generation and use, and researcher reflexivity, as they engage in participatory and transformative processes and outcomes with those most directly affected by social disparities and oppressions, including in sites of humanitarian disaster, armed conflict, and post-conflict transitions. Humanitarian workers, psychosocial service providers, researchers, and human rights activists are among those who have looked to PAR processes in search of methodological resources that can contribute to "pragmatic solidarity" (Farmer, 2003) alongside survivors of war, unnatural disasters, and gross violations of human rights who are engaged in what Veena Das (2007) refers to as "the everyday work of repair" (p. 62) in post-conflict environments.

This chapter argues that critical participatory and action research in intersection with antiracist and anticolonial feminist theory (Mohanty, 2003) and practice (Smith, 1999) offer methodological resources through which "outsiders" and "insiders" can generate collaborative processes through which to document, analyze,

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respond to, and potentially transform some of the multiple causes and consequences of organized violence and armed conflict. This approach is presented in dialogue with more traditional transitional justice mechanisms that address the aftermath of conflict, including, for example, truth commissions, trials, and reparations processes that have been operationalized in the service of peacemaking and peacebuilding.

Some have argued that such transitional justice mechanisms are overly prescriptive, failing to adapt to historical and cultural particularities and to take local actors seriously as protagonists (Bell, 2009; Lambourne, 2009; Lykes & Mersky, 2006). It is suggested that they often fail to build on local practices and indigenous knowledge and resources and are all too frequently mediated—and controlled—by international "outsider" actors. Moreover, the mechanisms necessitate the positioning of local protagonists as victims whose voices are included through testimonies of harm, including rape, torture, and/or disappearance, hypervisibilizing them as victims (Crosby & Lykes, 2011; Henry, 2009). We argue in this chapter that antiracist and anticolonial feminist theory and practice and critical PAR processes constitute resources through which "outsider" researchers and activist scholars seek to collaborate in peacebuilding processes that recognize the protagonism of survivors and prioritize local voices in their complexities.

The chapter exemplifies this perspective through our own research in Guatemala with 54 Mayan women who are survivors of sexual violence perpetrated against them during the 36-year-long armed conflict (1960–1996). This 4-year feminist participatory and action research process was designed collaboratively with the National Union of Guatemalan Women (UNAMG). It is a next iteration of UNAMG's earlier work with this group of Mayan women survivors between 2003 and 2008 as a member of the Actors for Change Consortium (herein referred to as "the Consortium"; Fulchiron, Paz, & Lopez, 2009). The Consortium's accompaniment of Mayan women survivors of sexual violence included their documentation of the women's suffering in the wake of the assassination of husbands, sexual slavery, rape and ensuing pregnancies, and forced displacements within and beyond Guatemala's borders (Fulchiron et al., 2009). These women have lived in "limit situations" (Martín-Baró, 1996) wherein the tensions and stressors in the wake of war and in contexts of ongoing violence and impunity constitute a "normal abnormality" (Martín-Baró, 1996) of their everyday—and are carried in their bodies (Hollander & Gill, 2014). Despite these constraints they are neither only nor even primarily victims or survivors. Based on our multiple years accompanying these women, we have adopted the concept of a *protagonist* to refer to them, thus seeking "to deconstruct dominant psychological discourses of women as 'victims,' 'survivors,' 'selves,' 'individuals,' and/or 'subjects.' The term represents person-in-context, invoking the Greek chorus within theatre or the 'call-response' within African American church contexts" (Lykes & Crosby 2014a, p. 42). The concept emphasizes the dialogic dimensions of knowledge-construction through praxis, that is, the action–reflection processes through which "insiders" and "outsiders" co-construct meanings and transformative possibilities. The feminist participatory and action research processes we designed with UNAMG and the Mayan women participants documented protagonists' understandings of and demands for post-conflict reparations through participatory work-

shops that included creative resources (e.g., drawing, body movement, storytelling, and theater) as well as Mayan traditional beliefs and practices. Through these feminist antiracist and anticolonial PAR processes—as well as their truth-telling and justice-seeking actions—these 54 Mayan women have positioned themselves in dialogical relationships with one another, as well as with those who accompany them, ourselves included. Mayan women's ways of knowing are thus dialogically voiced and performed, towards personal and social transformations.

The chapter explores the multiple ways in which survivor-protagonists engage PAR as truth- and justice-seeking resources in the wake of war and in post-conflict transitions. We have accompanied protagonists in creative exercises and reflective processes through which they narrate and perform loss, survival, and suffering, positioning themselves within the complex "circuits of dispossession" (Fine & Ruglis, 2009) that gave rise to armed conflict and persist into the present despite truth accords and commissions, and demonstrate new possibilities for themselves as Mayan women. Protagonists' performances through the creative techniques as well as our analyses of their creative "products" are informed by "critical bifocality," that is, naming and documenting complex social structures and systems that produce and impinge on their lives, as well as identifying multiple ways in which they make sense of (and resist) these systems of oppression (Weis & Fine, 2012). The repeated iterations of suffering in protagonists' stories and embodied representations can best be understood through this critical analysis of the complex interface of racism, gender violence, entrenched poverty, and forced migration, structural forces which protagonists themselves identify and resist in their narratives and performances. The examples provided in this chapter demonstrate how antiracist and anticolonial feminist and critical participatory and action research can facilitate local actors' protagonism as well as their engagement in processes of personal and community-based social transformation. We begin by tracing some of the important threads of PAR approaches to working in contexts affected by violence as evidenced in two sites of armed conflict and post-conflict transitions.

12.2   PAR in Divided Societies and Post-conflict Contexts

Marie Smyth (2004; 2005) has written extensively about her experiences "being studied" and then as an "insider" researcher in Northern Ireland during the Troubles, the nearly 40 years of conflict presumed to have ended with the Belfast Good Friday Agreement of 1998. Her positionality shifted to that of "outsider" when she undertook work with youth in South Africa and in several other sub-Saharan African countries as well as within the Middle East. She discusses her journey to PAR as a rejection of these earlier experiences as a research participant in studies of the Troubles, in which she and her neighbors were objectified and othered as research objects, and the knowledge extracted from them was never returned to them or their communities. In contrast to these experiences, Smyth undertook a series of collaborative and participative research studies in each of which community participants

formed boards of directors to oversee the research, participating in all aspects of the process, including instrument development, data collection and analysis, and dissemination. In each of these—and in subsequent studies—Smyth incorporated both quantitative and qualitative methods, arguing that the data generated therein provided convergent validity and were often more persuasive in policy circles.

Smyth discusses many of the challenges—and some of the limitations—to this engaged research as well as many of the ethical dilemmas encountered in divided societies. She takes up the complex arguments surrounding the position of "insiders" and "outsiders" in PAR in divided societies, drawing on her own experiences and identifying five distinctive issues to which one must differently attend depending upon one's "insider" or "outsider" status. These include: "identity management and risk; objectivity/subjectivity; depth of knowledge; cultural competence; and impact of witnessing" (Smyth, 2005, p. 15). She explores her own positionality within PAR processes, and draws on critical reflexivity to elucidate the complexities, including the strengths and the limitations of each status and how the researcher engages with them within PAR processes in divided societies. Importantly, according to Smyth, the community boards as well as the multilevel participation enhanced communication and cross-community collaborations within Northern Ireland.

McKay, Veale, Worthen, and Wessells (2011) draw on PAR in significantly different contexts but with similar desires to not only document and understand but also accompany local actors in peacemaking and transformative processes. They collaborated with local NGOs and university-based researchers in the design of a multiple-year community-based PAR process with young mothers returning from armed conflict in Sierra Leone, Liberia, and Northern Uganda. Their work documents how PAR can be deployed in contexts where cultural practices and UN-based reintegration programs for child soldiers have contributed to girls' further marginalization and stigmatization in the wake of their frequently forced recruitment into armed forces and/or forced pregnancies.

Highlighting the importance of small groups and of community advisory committees working with local girls in facilitating processes in which the girls themselves took responsibility for both educating their elders about their lived experiences and designing economic and educational programs to improve their well-being, McKay et al. (2011) also reported on the importance of all coresearchers receiving training in PAR processes. Further, they discuss mitigating factors that make participatory processes challenging in post-conflict situations (e.g., security concerns and/or highly fluid contexts). Despite these limitations, they reported that over 80% of the 434 participants who responded to their final evaluation (between 58 and 77% of the original girls in the 3-year program) indicated that they could care better for their children, had better health, and could more easily speak in public as a result of their participation in the PAR processes. Many attributed these changes to the support of the local girls groups, several of which had been named by their members: "Togetherness" and "Girl Mothers without Borders" (McKay et. al., 2011, p. 118). The examples discussed in this section, despite their differences, point to the diversities—and the complexities—of PAR within conflict and post-conflict situations while confirming PAR's contributions to peacebuilding processes within divided

and post-conflict societies. In the following section we turn to the particular context of our research in Guatemala to illustrate the challenges of participatory research within a postwar context, highlighting in particular the contributions of antiracist and postcolonial feminisms and the role of intermediaries, ourselves included.

12.3   Accompanying Mayan Women Survivors of Sexual Violence

Guatemala endured nearly 4 decades of armed conflict from the 1960s to the signing of final peace accords in 1996, which resulted in the deaths of over 200,000 people, the displacement of nearly a million more, and the destruction of more than 600 rural Mayan communities through genocidal violence (CEH, 1999). This violence was gendered as well as racialized, and Mayan women were marked in particular ways by these gross violations of human rights (Fulchiron et al., 2009).

As discussed above, the Consortium was an initial effort, formed in 2003, to address the gendered absences within the formal truth-telling processes in Guatemala (CEH, 1999; ODHAG/REMHI, 1998) and to generate spaces in which Mayan women could tell their truths, particularly in relation to the perpetration of sexual violence, to audiences who would listen. The Consortium brought together individual feminists and Mayan women, as well as two nongovernmental organizations, the aforementioned UNAMG and the Community Studies and Psychosocial Action Team (ECAP), to accompany women survivors in these processes. Building on members' previous work, it provided accompaniment to 54 women survivors between the ages of 30 and 70 from four Mayan groups (Chuj, Mam, Q'eqchi', and Kaqchikel) in three regions of Guatemala (Huehuetenango, Chimaltenango, and Alta Verapaz) from 2005 through 2008. Its stated goals were to "generat[e] healing processes, empowerment, reconstruction of historical memory and the struggle for justice" to enable women survivors "to construct themselves as subjects of their own lives" (Fulchiron et al., 2009, p. 5). One end product of this multiple-year process was the publication of the groundbreaking book *Weavings of the Soul: Memories of Mayan Women Survivors of Sexual Violence during the Armed Conflict* (Fulchiron et al., 2009; see Lykes & Crosby, 2015 for a more detailed description of this work).[1]

The Consortium's various constituents continued their work with this group of Mayan women, from a range of different perspectives and approaches. In 2009 we began working with these women in collaboration with UNAMG. Our research collaborators included UNAMG's research staff and staff from two other Guatemalan NGOs, ECAP and Women Transforming the World (MTM). Sally Engle Merry's term, "intermediaries," that is, "the people in the middle" (Merry, 2006, p. 39) describes ourselves and others who have accompanied these 54 Mayan women over

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[1] The title translation from the original Spanish is by the authors, as are all quotes from this publication.

multiple years. According to Merry (2006), intermediaries are, "those who translate the discourses and practices from the arena of international law and legal institutions to specific situations of suffering and violation… work[ing] at various levels to negotiate between local, regional, national, and global systems of meaning" (p. 39). In our research, intermediaries have included Guatemalan *ladina/mestiza* and Mayan women activists, psychologists, lawyers, feminists, Mayan women interpreters, and transnational feminist researchers, including graduate students. We are all multiply positioned at the intersections of race, ethnicity, class, language, sexualities, abilities, and nationalities with differing access to power and resources.

Our feminist PAR project emerged in part to understand how women survivors of sexual violence engaged with the multiple truth- and justice-seeking transitional justice processes underway in Guatemala in the post-peace accord era, and in particular, how Mayan women protagonists conceived of reparation under the shadow of the state-sponsored National Reparations Program (PNR) that began in 2003 and is still being implemented (see Crosby, Lykes, & Caxaj, 2016, for a detailed discussion of the PNR and women survivors' understanding of reparation). A second goal of the feminist PAR process was that of not only working with but also accompanying UNAMG and its research team to both strengthen institutional research within the organization and support interdisciplinary collaboration through the Breaking the Silence and Impunity Alliance, that is, the three-party Alliance through which UNAMG, ECAP and MTM were coordinating their accompaniment of these 54 women's truth- and justice-seeking processes. We facilitated multiple workshops with staff from each of these organizations using some of the creative techniques described below.

Although a detailed analysis of each of these activities is beyond the scope of this chapter, a summary is important to understand the multiple-layered constructions of knowledge presented below. For example, in 2009 we facilitated a PAR training workshop for the UNAMG research team, including Mayan women interpreters who were working with the 54 women in translating their indigenous languages to Spanish and vice versa, and in 2011 we ran a workshop on "field notes as method." The former offered an important opportunity in team-building and skill-development. The latter was designed to explore various ethnographic and organizational note-taking strategies to facilitate improvements within UNAMG's field research, minute taking and organizational decision-making based on lived experiences. In 2010 and 2011, creative workshops with Mayan interpreters and then a larger gathering including the Alliance and the interpreters provided opportunities for strengthening local knowledge of and experiences with participatory and action research processes and for generating cross-organizational exchanges about workshop participants' meaning-making about reparation. They also afforded us opportunities for "practicing" data collection and interpretation with our research collaborators and for exploring the possible ways in which these processes might contribute to justice-seeking and peacebuilding actions among the 54 Mayan protagonists. At several points over the 4 years, drawings and collages produced by the Alliance staff were presented to the Mayan women protagonists who then had the

opportunity to interpret the creative productions of their accompaniers—and vice versa.

Finally, in 2013 we held a *Conversatorio* [Dialogue] during which we shared drafts of two papers produced on the basis of the first 3 years of collaborations, and UNAMG shared a draft paper on reparations, seeking more formal feedback from the Alliance as well as from other feminists, indigenous and civil society activists and practitioners who had been interviewed as key informants over the 4 years of the project. This—and other meetings and individual interviews with leaders within the Alliance—constituted "member checks," opportunities through which we could assess our rendering of the collective interpretations we had collaboratively developed in multiple workshops but which we or UNAMG staff had authored (a collaborative paper between ourselves and an UNAMG staff member is forthcoming, see Crosby, Lykes, & Caxaj, 2016). Thus the circulations of more formal writing moved beyond us as the outsider authors, putting a greater diversity of ideas into play in the knowledge co-constructive processes. The dialogue was tape-recorded and we are planning to analyze the transcript as one of multiple records of contributions from local Guatemalan intermediaries to this process. These multilayered interpretative exercises form part of our meaning-making about Mayan women's struggles for truth and justice and, more particularly, for integral reparation, its promise, and the challenge of delivery.

Situating Ourselves as Northern White Feminist Coresearchers We have each engaged with local actors in responding to gross violations of human rights in Guatemala, accompanying small groups of Mayan women and children in feminist and critical participatory and action research over nearly 3 decades of work in Guatemala (Melville & Lykes, 1992; Lykes, 1994; Women of PhotoVoice/ADMI & Lykes, 2000; Lykes, 2001; Blacklock & Crosby, 2004; Lykes, Beristain & Cabrera Pérez-Armiñan, 2007; Cabrera Pérez-Armiñan & Lykes, 2008; Crosby 2009; Lykes, 2010; Crosby & Lykes, 2011; Lykes & Crosby, 2014a; Lykes & Crosby, 2014b; Lykes & Crosby 2015). As feminist participatory action researchers currently employed by universities in two countries of the global north (the USA and Canada), we have positioned ourselves alongside Mayan women—and with local organizations such as UNAMG and ECAP with whom we have partnered—to facilitate processes through which knowledge is generated and transformative actions engaged. This *praxis* engages fundamental epistemological and methodological challenges that are present in contexts overshadowed by ever-present histories of colonization and imperial intervention, including our hegemonic power as North American academics who seek to "know" the Guatemalan Other. A feminist antiracist and anticolonial epistemological framework addresses these complex iterations of power that inform this work (Mohanty, 2003). It challenges the all too frequently assumed universalisms of the various "waves" of Western feminisms, including the "violence against women" paradigm, and situates indigenous women's experiences of gendered violence within histories of racialized colonial oppression (Smith, 2005). Gender itself is a racialized (and classed, and sexualized) construct (Crenshaw, 1991). In Guatemala, Mayan women's bodies were explicit targets in the Guatemalan armed

conflict wherein the military sought to destroy indigenous community as a whole (Velásquez Nimatuj, 2012). By working at the interface of PAR methodologies and antiracist and anticolonial feminist theories, our work sought to document and respond to some of the multiple manifestations of deeply racialized gendered violence and to acknowledge struggles to reclaim indigeneity in the wake of centuries of colonization (Smith, 1999; Tuck, 2009).

Critical reflexivity, that is, a strategy through which the researcher critically deconstructs and then reconstructs her or his underlying assumptions that inform what can be perceived and/or understood in the broad range of knowledge generation processes and actions, is central and ongoing in our action–reflection processes. It facilitates our accessing multiple and complex understandings about observable processes in which we are engaged—and implicated as white North American feminists—and then, in turn, enables us to deploy our "particular selves" within dialogic and collective knowledge co-constructive processes. As people who are white we bring similar yet distinctive experiences of white privilege. We critically challenge ourselves to develop "traitorous identities," that is, to alter what Harding (1991) describes as the epistemic foundations of whiteness, towards learning how *not to know* and tolerating self-doubt. Sholock (2012) suggests that, "… a methodology of the privileged should not resolve the self-doubt of white antiracists but rather strategically deploy epistemic uncertainty as a treasonous act against the cognitive privileges that support white Western hegemonies." (p. 709)

As "outsider" white researchers from the global North we are challenged to critically examine our situated subjectivities and engage collaboratively with participants in these processes, and then, through critically reflecting on the knowledge generated, co-construct collaborative actions. This stance, a key component of antiracist feminist and critical PAR, not only facilitates work with and alongside women who have survived sexual violence in conflict and post-conflict zones but also problematizes an essentialized "woman-centered" focus in much peacebuilding research and activism, a focus that fails to interrogate the particularities of racialized gendered violence and to develop an anticolonial social science (Cannella & Manuelito, 2008) .

12.4   Multiple Strategies for Collaborating with Mayan Protagonists

As suggested above, PAR is a methodological resource through which "outsiders" such as ourselves accompany "insiders," that is, coresearchers who include survivors, activists, and others, in processes designed to enhance critical awareness and leadership capacities through shared collaborations and to generate new ways of knowing and to initiate collective actions aimed at improving conditions in coresearchers' lives in order to bring about a more just and equitable society (Bartunek & Louis, 1996; Reason & Bradbury, 2008; Smyth, 2005). An antiracist feminist PAR accompaniment process centers racialized gender as an analytic tool and lo-

cates the identified social issue or problem within an intersectional framework, making visible the interlocking power of gender, "race," sexuality, and social class that deeply informs and constrains the actions developed (Combahee River Collective, 1983; Lykes & Hershberg, 2012; Lykes & Crosby, 2014b).

During the 4-year period of this research, the 54 Mayan women protagonists participated in regional and national workshops and in a series of truth-telling and justice-seeking processes. The latter were among a number of public actions organized with the Alliance. These included a Tribunal of Conscience for Women Survivors of Sexual Violence held in Guatemala City in March 2010, where Mayan women narrated their stories of sexual abuse during the armed conflict and their demand for justice publicly for the first time. Representatives from the group spoke before an audience of over 800 people, including members of the Guatemalan judiciary, state institutions, civil society organizations and the international community (Crosby & Lykes, 2011; Mendia Azkue & Gúzman Orellana, 2012). The group of 54 women also brought a demand for integral reparations before the Inter-American Commission for Human Rights in Washington, DC, arguing that the Guatemalan government has not delivered on its promises for reparation. And in 2013, a subgroup of 15 Q'eqchi' women initiated criminal proceedings against men accused of having raped them and held them in a military base after having massacred their husbands over a land dispute. At the time of writing, the Sepur Zarco case was working its way through the Guatemalan legal system despite ongoing impunity.

In each of these aforementioned actions—and in previous and subsequent reflections on their actions—Mayan women protagonists have been accompanied by the Alliance, and we documented many of these processes during the 4 years of our feminist PAR project. Thus, "data" for this project include transcripts, artwork, and other creative productions from nine workshops with the Alliance, the Mayan women interpreters who play such a key intermediary role, and/or the 54 Mayan protagonists. They also include transcripts from 48 individual interviews with most of these women survivors conducted by MTM towards developing the Inter-American Commission reparations demand and in preparation for the Tribunal of Conscience; and transcripts from individual and/or small group interviews with leaders within Alliance organizations, and other key informants ($N = 20$), some of whom were interviewed at several points during the 4 years. The latter included, among others, feminist activists, Mayan activists from the indigenous women's organization Kaqla, PNR staff, including its director, and directors and/or leaders within a number of other human rights NGOs within Guatemala working in the area of transitional justice.

12.4.1   Creativity and Mayan Cosmovision

The workshops we facilitated preceded—and followed—these more formal justice-seeking and truth-telling actions. As such they enabled a more participative, less linear, engagement with Mayan women's narratives of suffering and survival. The

workshops also facilitated protagonists' resistance to the "official" justice-seeking mechanisms that frequently constrained rather than facilitated their sharing these experiences—and their demands. And as reported by many of the women in a workshop in 2011, the workshops contributed to protagonists forming "a community of women," developing trust with each other and achieving new forms of communication despite being from diverse linguistic groups and geographic areas of the country (see Lykes & Crosby, 2015, for a more detailed discussion of these evaluative comments).

We facilitated workshops in Guatemala City with representatives from each of the ethnic-linguistic groups of Mayan protagonists in June or July of 2011, 2012, and 2013. Creative techniques—including dramatic play, such as Boal's Image Theatre (Boal, 2000) and Pavlovsky's dramatic multiplications (Pavlovsky, Martinez Bouquet, & Moscio, 1985), creative storytelling (Rodari, 1996), and individual and collective drawings and other constructions outside the self, with images (e.g., collage, murals, and photography) (Lykes, 1994; 2001; Wang, 1999)—were resources through which nonlinguistically similar participants could, with the help of interpreters, share increasingly complex sets of images and understandings of loss, suffering, survival, resilience, resistance, and demands for a better future for themselves and their children.

Protagonists infused the creative workshops with practices and beliefs from their cosmovision, frequently incorporating rituals at the beginning of a workshop. They lit colored tapers, situated flowers in the center of the workshop space, and reminded all present of the four cardinal points, the sacredness of all of life, the significance of color, of the earth and of our spiritual and physical interconnections. In the 2011 workshop, when protagonists were invited to design a creative workshop that they might use within their communities of origin in work with other Mayan women, they incorporated a range of dramatic resources, as well as Mayan traditions and rituals. Several used physical exercises and psychosocial techniques they had learned in their earlier work with the Consortium (e.g., massage, body work including incense and herbal sticks to "brush away" their pain). One woman led a Mayan ceremony as part of her small group dramatization, asking other participants to kneel in front of differently colored lit candles, explaining the significance of the colors:

> red = sun; black = sunset; yellow = asking for thanks if we have animals, money, corn, children; white = water, clouds, giving strength to the harvests (of corn, beans, plants, and animals); blue = sky and moon; green = mountains, forests, the air that circulates through the trees and mountains.

The representation of these rituals—and their inclusion, at the women's suggestion, at the beginning of many of the workshops we facilitated—confirms that protagonists have valued and internalized connections between embodied practices and the Mayan cosmovision or processes of "Mayanization" (Bastos, Cumes & Lemus, 2007; Grupo de Mujeres Mayas Kaqla, 2006) which had been an explicit focus of the work they did with the Consortium.

12.4.2 Data Generation and Analysis: Iterative Processes Within and Across Performances

In 2011 we collaborated in an international project that sought to document alternative psychosocial interventions in peacebuilding (Hamber & Gallagher, 2015). Our case study from Guatemala (Lykes & Crosby, 2015) reported on some of the work with these 54 Mayan women as compared with the first author's PhotoPAR project with women in Chajul and its surrounding areas, part of more than 25 years of work with Maya Ixil and K'iche' women that, among other things, chronicled Chajul's experiences of the war and women's survival and resistance (Women of Photo-Voice/ADMI & Lykes, 2000). Their assessments of the contributions of creative techniques to their psychosocial work were compared with those generated by some of the 54 Mayan women with whom we had been working, who chronicled their understandings of the contributions of these techniques and others they had learned in work with the Consortium. This subproject within the larger 4-year feminist PAR process afforded an excellent opportunity to explore protagonists' meaning-making of the creative resources we had been using for several decades within our accompaniment processes—and to chronicle their protagonism in selecting topics and designing small group activities which reflected how they would organize their own workshops with their peers in their communities of origin (see Lykes & Crosby, 2015, for a detailed description of the comparative findings).

A brief summary of some of the embodied performances as well as the analyses that followed them exemplify a data collection and first-level data analysis process which was repeated in many of the workshops. Participants were invited to engage with a technique—drawing, collage, dramatization, storytelling, etc.—around a topic selected as the workshop focus (e.g., use of creative techniques, understanding of reparation, etc.). Working either individually or in small groups—frequently within their own language group—protagonists generated and then shared their creations. The larger group was asked to describe what they perceived in the performance or image, and then the creators explained what they had hoped to communicate. This was frequently followed by a large group discussion of why this particular technique was chosen, what was learned from it, and how it might be deployed in other contexts. Each step of the process was documented through photographs, field notes, and/or tape recordings that were later transcribed. The group analyses generated within the workshop were treated as "first-level content analyses" within a larger analytic process informed by Kathy Charmaz's constructivist grounded theory (Charmaz, 2006).

In a final moment in the 2011 creative workshop, we asked protagonists directly to describe creative resources they experienced in work with intermediaries and how they had been deployed. Lists of techniques included collective drawings, dramatization and painting (both body painting and murals), sculpture with plasticine and newspaper, Mayan ceremonies, and the use of medicinal plants. They listed a large number of embodied exercises and techniques, some of which they had exemplified in their dramatic activity, including body movement, dance, group dynam-

ics, and massage. Some also noted writing (a skill many had developed over the years of accompaniment by the intermediaries), group discussions, and the Tribunal of Conscience. They may have understood us as having asked them to talk about all the resources that they had engaged with those who have accompanied them. Alternatively, one could interpret this comprehensive list as reflecting their understanding of the multiple and varied actions in which they have been engaged and skills they have developed within the many years of coming together as survivors to break silence about sexual violence in armed conflict all of which reflect in some way their resilience, protagonism, and resistance (see Lykes & Crosby, 2015, for more details).

12.4.3   Triangulating the Significance of Creative Resources

The workshops with the Alliance and with the 54 women protagonists afforded us multiple opportunities to document each group's appreciation of—and some frustrations with—the creative techniques and the antiracist feminist PAR processes. In the 2011 workshop, we asked protagonists to describe why they had picked the particular techniques they had used in dramatizing a workshop that they might facilitate with other Mayan women. They noted, for example, that group dynamics and warming up exercises helped in "shar[ing] feelings and emotions—sadness, negative memories, suffering that we have lived through"; as "energizers that get rid of our pain"; "we stop being shy"; and "when we play our body relaxes and goes soft… we are more flexible when we play." Massage was a resource to "rid ourselves of sorrows, fears, pain, and shame" resultant from sexual violations and medicinal plants "rid us of negative energy." In addition to getting rid of negative emotions, some of these techniques were seen as facilitating the expression of positive emotions and happiness.

Protagonists repeatedly represented and performed the value they placed on working together in groups. They contrasted this with portrayals of themselves prior to their participation in workshops and other organizational experiences. They talked about being alone or lonely, about not being able to leave their homes, about not being able to meet together or say what they thought. They described the creative methodologies as having contributed positively to the group's formation and longevity, "help[ing] us become less isolated." These women had left their geographic communities to form "women's spaces," fearful that any revelation of the horrific violations that they had survived would further stigmatize or isolate them given that their perpetrators still often lived in these same communities. "Women's spaces" seem to have offered greater flexibility in terms of embodied practices wherein massage and touch, that is, women touching their own and each other's bodies, were more easily facilitated. Previous participation in individual and/or small group psychosocial interventions with licensed psychologists facilitated by the psychosocial organization ECAP while part of the work with the Consortium may also explain

their valorizations of embodied techniques and the ease with which they embraced their own bodies and spoke of how they had been violated. Our analyses of the work generated within the creative workshops (see Lykes & Crosby, 2014a; Lykes & Crosby, 2015; Crosby et al., 2016) suggest strongly that these 54 women engaged and performed their past and current narratives of suffering and resistance through the creation of "women's spaces" while drawing on their previous access to professional psychosocial support and an explicit focus on reclaiming Mayan spirituality and understandings of indigeneity.

Intermediaries Generate New Understandings In an earlier workshop on PAR we facilitated in 2010 with staff from all Alliance organizations, small groups (by organization) developed collective drawings representing their visions of feminist integral reparation and/or feminist transitional justice—and barriers preventing their realization. As described above, the methodology involved the group's creative production, its presentation and analysis by other participants, and then the group's presentation of what it had hoped to represent through its collective drawing. The overall group discussion was a particularly rich opportunity to engage in cross-organizational dialogue about the barriers individuals and organizations perceived in realizing their shared goals. Further analyses of the transcripts from these discussions are in process. Of importance here are the reflections about the creative technique—and the participants' perceptions of their participation in "collective drawings." Not surprisingly, many indicated that they "did not know how to draw" and/or had not done so in many years—and were skeptical when invited to do so. As noteworthy was the acknowledgment by some present that they had "used" these techniques in community-based work with Mayan men, women, and children on multiple occasions but had not attended to the relationships between the workshop's objectives—that is, the focus of what they hoped to accomplish—and the selection of a particular dynamic or technique. There was widespread acknowledgment of the technique's usefulness in "awakening sleeping participants" after a lengthy lunch break but relatively little familiarity with the criteria for selecting dramatic play versus creative storytelling versus collective drawings, and the strengths and limitations of each vis-à-vis the topical focus of the exercise. The collective drawing of "barriers" to achieving their feminist goals in their work with the 54 survivor protagonists offered, for example, an opportunity to visualize limitations which some dared not verbalize. Others acknowledged not having considered how one process might build on another and, for example, the importance of warming up exercises before one attempts a dramatization or a Boalian image theater exercise.

A more systematic triangulation of data and analyses generated by intermediaries and by the Mayan women protagonists is ongoing. Findings to date suggest that both the 54 Mayan protagonists and the intermediaries read new understandings, that is, alternative ways of knowing, through their creative productions. They collaborated in cogenerating new understandings as well as, in the words of one UNAMG intermediary, in recognizing Mayan women as "knowledge constructors" and "generators of action."

12.5 Concluding Reflections

This chapter argues that feminist PAR and antiracist and anticolonial feminist the-
ory and practice are resources whereby "outsider" (and in the cases reviewed here,
white Northern Hemisphere) researchers can accompany survivors of armed con-
flict, racialized gendered violence, and other gross violations of human rights in
the documentation and co-construction of alternative ways of knowing. Our own
work and that of others reviewed in this chapter stress the importance of partici-
pant and community participation at all levels of the action research processes, as
well as the critical contributions of training in participatory and action research
processes for all who will collaborate. Our work in "post-conflict" Guatemala with
Mayan survivors of racialized sexual violence, also incorporated a diverse range of
creative resources that facilitated intermediaries and protagonists coming together
to co-create knowledge in participatory workshops. These embodied practices con-
stituted actions through which protagonists explored their own subjectivities and
generated relationships to other Mayan women as they rethreaded indigenous com-
munity and, in dialogic relationships with intermediaries, created a "community
of women" in the wake of the traumatic ruptures of war. Thus, as framed by the
editors of this volume, the methodologies themselves informed by antiracist and
anticolonial feminisms are resources for peacebuilding in transitional—and trans-
formational—spaces.

Creative resources were seen by many of the Mayan protagonists as individual
resources that facilitated active engagement with their past suffering and current
struggles, and with each other. Intermediaries appreciated the multiple ways in
which nonlinguistically similar coresearchers could, with the help of interpreters,
juxtapose images that generated complex representations of their loss, suffering,
survival, resilience, and resistance—and their demands that these gross violations
of human rights never occur again. Other protagonists emphasized the skills that
they had learned, demonstrating them through performances of speaking within the
group in Spanish—and speaking before larger audiences through the Tribunal of
Conscience and in the court case.

Through collages, collective drawings, dramatizations, and the participatory
constructing and deconstructing of the multiple meanings revealed in these activi-
ties, Mayan protagonists demonstrated a "critical bifocality" (Weis & Fine, 2012).
Not surprisingly, given their limited access to formal education, they did not sys-
tematically analyze the power relations between, for example, the local civilian
patrols and the army who occupied their communities, both of whom exercised
violence against them individually. But they enacted and re-presented embodied
experiences of militarized violence within their communities and included multiple
representations of the extreme poverty that they named as having given rise to the
armed conflict and as continuing to deeply marginalize their children's educational
options and overall well-being.

The antiracist feminist and anticolonial discourse that infused the PAR processes
and informed the multiple choices that we as researchers and the other intermedi-

aries made, as the action research processes that were co-constructed over these 4 years were read from the Mayan women's performances and artistic representations of resilience and resistance. Protagonists embodied and performed multiple meanings through which violence—and their survival of sexual violence during the armed conflict and beyond—were scripted in racialized anticolonial images. Yet, as "outsider" researchers with multiple degrees and access to multiple sites for the production and distribution of writings about these processes, we recognize and critically problematize the extent to which, as Sally Engle Merry (2006) argues, our constructions of what was produced travel up into centers of power and decision-making. We continue to strive to decenter our whiteness and presumed understanding, seeking to listen more deeply to the Guatemalan-based *ladina/mestiza* and Mayan women's knowledge (and also acknowledging that the space of Guatemala itself is deeply riven by difference and inequities of power). Thus despite the multiple resources, including reflexivity and critical bifocality and the contributions from antiracist and anticolonial feminisms, as white privileged academics from the North we must continually engage and critique our constructions in relation to others.

Mayan protagonists constructed a "community of women" across linguistic and geographic diversities and the creative workshops were sites through which they and intermediaries crafted cross-community transnational moments of coming together to critically analyze each other's creative productions and generate a deeply situated understanding of violence against Mayan women and their strategies for survival and resistance. Thus antiracist and anticolonial feminisms and critical participatory and action research offer a set of resources for deconstructing an essentialized feminist understanding of violence against women, expanding transitional justice mechanisms to include spaces for the creative generation of gendered indigenous protagonism and dialogically constructed peacemaking strategies despite ongoing impunity and violence.

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Chapter 13
Inquiry into Practice and Practising Inquiry: The Intersection of Practice Intervention and Research

Serge Loode

13.1 Introduction

> Imagine entering a room buzzing with energy, full of people from different cultural and national backgrounds engaged in meaningful conversations about controversial topics such as Australia's policies on asylum seekers or the ongoing human rights violations in Sri Lanka. Groups of four people are gathered around small tables with colored tablecloths and little vases with fresh flowers. Like a popular café, all 15 or so tables are occupied and there is upbeat music playing in the background. Throughout the room people are building connections. You can hear the participants laughing at one table, others write on flip chart paper whilst listening to an Aboriginal Elder talking about her relationship with country. At a third table three people, one an elderly lady from a white settler Australian background, one an Aboriginal man in his sixties and the third a lady of Pacific Islander background, are focused on a young Rohingya man from Burma who is telling the story of how he came to Australia as a refugee after spending more than a decade in a refugee camp in Asia. After about thirty minutes, a facilitator invites the participants to change tables and to continue the conversation in different groups.

The scene described above is typical for a Community Café Dialogue (Loode, 2013, p. 10), a dialogue workshop based on the well-established World Café Conversations facilitation method (Brown, Isaacs, & Community, 2005). Dialogue processes such as these allow participants to experience each other in context and this provides insight into each other's values, logic, and experiences. They can help conflicting parties improve their knowledge and understanding of each other and transform their relationships (LeBaron, 2003, p. 256). Variations of dialogue are used in a wide variety of conflict and post-conflict settings to assist in conflict transformation and reconciliation, ranging from community-level processes to Track II Diplomacy (Pruitt & Thomas, 2007, pp. 188–213; Ropers, 2004, p. 4).

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The question this chapter aims to address is how peace practice processes such as the dialogue described above can be used for research and also, how peace research can be combined with peace practice workshops. The chapter discusses a range of facilitation methods used in peace workshops and how they can be used to create, collect, document, and analyze data for peace research. The methods discussed are based on innovative approaches to group facilitation using processes such as World Café Conversations (Brown et al. 2005), Creative Dialogue & Design/Interactive Management (Broome, 1997; Christakis & Bausch, 2006; Loode, 2009; Warfield & Cardenas, 1993, 2002), and the use of embodied storytelling through role plays and forum theatre. What they have in common is that they go beyond traditional research methods such as semi-structured interviews or surveys and involve participants not just as subjects of research but also as cocreators of knowledge engaged in solving important problems in their communities. Thus collecting data becomes part of a conflict intervention and social change process. The chapter connects these engagement and data collection processes by referring to an underlying action research methodology based on complex systems science. I argue that all research involving human participants in a conflict situation is also part of a conflict intervention. Peace research with actual conflict participants—as opposed to participants in laboratory experiments or more general attitudinal surveys—therefore can never be independent from the conflict situation under investigation. I also argue that this allows for the interpretation of problem-solving workshops (Ramsbotham, Miall, & Woodhouse, 2011, pp. 48–49), public dialogues (Saunders, 2001), and group facilitation techniques such as World Café Conversations (Burns, 2007, p. 114) as valid methods for creating, collecting, and interpreting research data useful for peace research. Recognition of the connection between researcher, participants, and the conflict system not only allows for participatory techniques of inquiry and rapport building with participants but also requires flexibility and adaption of methods in light of changing circumstances. Essentially, this approach suggests the creation of a container for learning, as Lakey (2010) has described it in the context of adult education, which allows a cocreation of knowledge by researchers and participants. The approach to action research described in this chapter is different from the feminist and antiracist participatory action research designs described in Chapter 12 in this volume in that the research design is often less participatory and the inquiry or workshop questions are set by the researchers and facilitators. However, similar questions of relationships between researchers and participants, co-construction of alternative ways of knowing, and the use of creative and artistic methods of inquiry are discussed.

   The chapter also discusses the practicalities and challenges of data collection in this context and acknowledges ethical and safety issues. In particular I am going to examine the unique position of the researcher as a facilitator of constructive engagement and dialogue while at the same time collecting data for research. In line with the argument made by my colleagues with regards to feminist participatory action research in Chapter 12, action research approaches can assist "outsider" researchers to accompany communities in conflict on a journey of inquiry into the conflict. A facilitator and trainer often finds it easier to establish rapport with a group because

they provide services or education and therefore give something to the participants instead of just collecting data from them. This can quickly open up discussion about the conflict situation. On the other hand, facilitating group discussion impacts on the ability to record data and also makes it more difficult to separate participant and researcher/facilitator knowledge. Moreover, in an age of instantaneous information sharing via social media and electronic communication, issues of privacy, confidentiality, and data validity arise. These need to be addressed in the planning of peace practice projects. The research and practice examples discussed in this chapter are taken from an action inquiry conducted as part of the author's doctoral thesis which utilized a particular method of structured dialogical inquiry, as well as from the author's practice work with large culturally diverse groups in Australia in what is called the Community Café Dialogues Program. Before these practices are explored and elaborated in more detail, it is necessary to situate the methodologies in a framework of systemic epistemology.

13.2   The Tension Between Research and Intervention

The differentiation between what constitutes research and what constitutes practice or intervention has always been contentious in the social sciences. Druckman mentions a difference between basic and applied research, where basic researchers want to understand the world while applied researchers are more focused on solving practical problems (Druckman, 2005, p. 311). He also notes an ongoing trend towards "a merging of theory, research, and practice" in the field of conflict resolution. An example of this merger can be found in the concept of action research. The need to address practical problems was first expressed by Lewin (1946, p. 35) who developed the idea that research itself could become a vehicle for social change and social action. Action research in this vein aims to assist with social change processes and to produce practical answers to social problems. Reason and Bradbury (2008) assert that:

> action research is a participatory process concerned with developing practical knowing in the pursuit of worthwhile human purposes. It seeks to bring together action and reflection, theory and practice, in participation with others, in the pursuit of practical solutions to issues of pressing concern to people, and more generally the flourishing of individual persons and their communities. (p. 4)

This definition of action research also resonates with the underlying principles of conflict resolution interventions such as mediation, problem-solving workshops, or public dialogues which seek to assist a group of people involved in a conflict situation to understand the conflict and to improve the quality of their interactions to transform the relationships of conflicting parties (Lederach, 2002, pp. 92–93).

Midgley in his book *Systemic Intervention* (2000) presents a different view of the merger of research and action. He argues that even research carried out solely through observation constitutes some form of intervention in the meaning of "purposeful action by a human agent to create change" (Midgley, 2000, p. 113). Con-

trary to the common distinction of observation and intervention as polar opposites, Midgley suggests that the idea of neutral observation is not congruent with a process ontology based on systems thinking because a systems view of social reality regards everything as interconnected and therefore precludes the possibility of a truly independent observer (2000, p. 123). Midgley and other systems thinkers argue that there can be no knowledge generation through observation without the existence of a knowledge-generating system. This requires observation through the influencing presence of an observer who makes conscious value decisions about the boundaries of the systems being observed and about the purpose of the observation (Midgley, 2000):

> Scientific observation is not just any observation, but a moment in which the situation is constructed to facilitate the observation under controlled conditions. There are two levels at which this kind of observation is dependent on the involvement of agents within knowledge generating systems: first, in establishing the goals and parameters of the observation; and second, in actually undertaking the observation. (p. 125)

Basic or pure research also makes these value decisions about the research, even if the only purpose is to increase knowledge about a particular social situation. Observation is dependent on the interpretations of the observers and the language systems used by them to communicate their interpretations, providing another way for epistemologies and theories to influence the process of observation. Because of these value-driven, subjective, linguistic, and theoretical influences on observation it can be suggested that under such a systems ontology neutral observation also constitutes an engagement with the systems under observation and therefore an intervention. It is undertaken purposefully by an agent to create change in knowledge or practice (Midgley, 2000, p. 128). If accepted, this epistemology then allows for a pluralism of methodologies and methods to be included in the definition of research and allows for a strong connection between practice, observation, reflection, analysis, and theory building similar to the definition of action research by Reason and Bradbury presented above. The following sections will provide a series of examples for how some of these methods can create research data and how research data is used as part of the intervention.

13.3   Dialogical Action Research Inquiry

As part of my doctoral research I conducted an intercultural dialogue process with 13 participants from different cultural backgrounds in Brisbane, Australia. Among the group were Aboriginal Elders, people from refugee and migrant backgrounds (from such diverse origins as Burma, Afghanistan, Kenya, and Mozambique), and white settler Australians. The group came together to dialogue about and to improve the perceived lack of connections between community groups from different cultural backgrounds in the greater Brisbane area. The dialogue intervention was facilitated using a process I call *Creative Dialogue and Design (CDD)*. It is based on the *Interactive Management (IM)* process developed by John N. Warfield

which is a well-documented and researched group facilitation process (Broome, 1997, 2006; Broome & Christakis, 1988; Broome & Fulbright, 1995; Broome & Jakobsson Hatay, 2006; Warfield, 1976; Warfield & Cardenas, 1993, 2002). The use of IM in peacebuilding and conflict transformation was pioneered by Benjamin Broome, who documented the successful use of the process with Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot citizen groups as part of social peacebuilding interventions in Cyprus (Broome, 1997, 2009). He also suggested that IM holds the potential for creating respectful intercultural dialogue and design processes, which not only support participants in the planning of peacebuilding actions, but serve as a first step for relationship building and community participation (Broome & Christakis, 1988).

IM is a computer-assisted group facilitation and design process. It relies on the principle that dealing with complex and stressful situations in groups and communities requires the exploration of the group members' knowledge and the establishment of sustainable relationships between them. IM recognizes that groups and communities are complex social systems and that a systemic view is helpful in facilitating changes in complex environments (Warfield & Cardenas, 1993, 2002, p. 1). During the process the facilitator guides the participants through a dialogue and design process which is based on three distinctive stages: stage one concentrates on developing greater understanding of the problems as perceived by the group's members. Stage two assists in formulating a group vision by articulating goals the group members want to reach. Stage three allows for prioritization of projects and the development of action plans to ensure that resources are expended where they can have the greatest effect.

Stage one and two of each IM inquiry both use nominal group technique to maximize participant control and input (Broome, 1995, p. 207; Brydon-Miller, 2008, p. 205; McDonald, Bammer, & Deane, 2009, p. 69). In this process a "triggering question" is presented to participants. Each participant, working alone, generates as many ideas as possible to answer this question. The facilitator, with the help of the participants, then records these ideas on paper and enters them into the *Interpretive Structural Modeling (ISM)* computer software. The paper is posted on the wall. Participants then discuss all ideas generated to clarify their meaning. The clarifications are also entered into the software as close to the original verbal statements as possible. After all ideas have been clarified, participants vote to select the most important ideas (Broome, 1995, p. 207). In the subsequent so-called structuration step, the ISM software is used to analyze the relationships between the ideas generated from the voting. For example, during the stage one problem mapping of my research inquiry participants answered the triggering question: "Which significant barriers hinder our communities from building better relationships with each other?" The group used the relational question "Does barrier A significantly aggravate barrier B?" to analyze how the barriers between communities that they had identified influenced each other and to determine root causes and effects. By applying the relational question to the list of ideas generated by nominal group technique and deciding whether problems significantly aggravated each other or not, the group built a visual map, or "problematique," which displayed these relationships (see Fig. 10.1). This visual reference map and the record of the dialogue session were

then used for further dialogue and reflection. The same process was then used for the stage two vision mapping with a triggering question asking for goals on how to build a better Brisbane community. Finally in the third stage, an action-planning process was facilitated in which the group developed project ideas and action plans to implement their vision. The group discussed the basic elements of project planning (what, who, when, where, and how) for each project that had emerged throughout the dialogue sessions.

13.3.1 Data Creation and Recording

The clarification statements, which the participants or the facilitator entered into the software, were exported into text documents and shared with participants during breaks between sessions. This ensured that all participants were able to follow the discussion, even if they missed a session. They were also used to develop reports for each of the problem-mapping and vision-mapping stages and to explain the visual maps generated at the end of the structuration processes. In total, the group generated and discussed 67 problem elements over 8 sessions (April–June 2011) and created a problem-map showing the relationships of 18 elements which had been prioritized as the most important problems (see Fig. 13.1).

I used these documents as text data that I imported into qualitative research software for coding and analysis. Since the statements were entered into the ISM software as a part of the dialogue process itself, it was not as obtrusive as audio-

What significant barriers hinder our communities from building better relationships with each other?

Stage 1	Stage 2	Stage 3	Stage 4	Stage 5

(6) Lack of cultural awareness and differences

(29) "Red-neckism" Racism

(20) Lack of standing together in strength in diversity (lack of dialogue)

(2) Lack of shared language problems

(10) Neglect of responsibility

(1) Perceived cultural differences

(18) Individualism favoured over collectivism → (32) Lack of respect → (21) Australian legislation not accommodating to emerging communities → (12) Moral panic through media → (37) Poor bugger-me

(57) Lack of fresh thinking to build a better relationship

(59) Stolen identities and language

(35) Lack of courage and self-confidence

(5) Preconceived ideas

(38) Lack of patience and understanding

(51) Lack of harmony prevents working in unity

(30) "Black and white" policy

Created on 11 June 2011 by the CDD Dialogue Group

Fig. 13.1 Problem map created by the research inquiry group

or video-recording of the dialogue. Another practical advantage was that the data entry slowed down conversations which assisted in preventing miscommunication and encouraged dialogue participants to engage visually (through projection of the data entry via data projector) and aurally (by listening to each other's statements and contributions) with each other's ideas. This engaged participants with the statements through different learning channels and allowed for the development of a systematic and thorough understanding of the problems or goals discussed. The process of data entry became an important part of the dialogical aspects of the conversation itself.

Within the framework of CDD the facilitator guides the discussion and encourages certain communication structures such as circle processes (Kraybill & Wright, 2006, p. 14), small group discussions, or vigorous debates. While facilitating the CDD sessions I also taught the participants how to use the software themselves and to facilitate parts of the discussion. While not all participants felt comfortable doing so, large parts of the recorded data were typed into the software by the participants themselves. This also helped address the power imbalance between the researcher and the participants (Neuman, 2006, p. 131) and between vocal and less-vocal group members to create an atmosphere of collaborative co-inquiry in which we all attempted to understand the problem and vision elements better.

In addition to the data collected through the ISM software input, research notes were taken for each of the dialogical inquiry sessions. These research notes focused on the interpersonal interaction of participants and also included my own self-reflections on my role in the process. The action inquiry was complemented by focus group conversations in which participants reflected on their experiences during the CDD dialogue. These were then analyzed in conjunction with the text data developed by the inquiry group. The inquiry created a complex mosaic of research data on intercultural relations, the conditions for generative dialogue and social change. Group reflections on the inquiry process were entwined with the ideas about barriers and goals generated and discussed by the group.

13.3.2   *Impossibility of Separating Inquiry Process and Inquiry Content*

I was also able to observe the connection between process and content in the relationship between the research questions examined in my doctoral thesis and the questions, which the dialogical group selected for their inquiry. My doctoral research focused on the process of dialogical inquiry and the participants' experiences of this process, as well as the emergence of new ideas and changes in relationship. The questions that the inquiry group discussed during the CDD process explored barriers between communities and ways to overcome these barriers, which also included the change of relationships through interpersonal interaction and dialogue. The participants identified, as the primary goal to address problems of isolation and lack of connections, the collaborative idea of "providing people with due respect

and a lived experience of this respect." The clarification of this idea contained the following description:

> The word nurture should always be there. I have seen it in schools that teachers put children down. Instead of nurturing they put the children down. You don't put any person down in front of anyone else. Teachers should talk with the class like we are talking in this dialogue. […] Another way is to give people the opportunity to tell their ideas and to listen to them. This is another example of lived respect. Listening is very important. Listen with an open heart and mind. Sitting together as friends. (CDD Vision-mapping document, 15 October 2011)

Participants in this statement referred to their own experience during the dialogical research inquiry ("like we are talking in this dialogue") as a way of clarifying and defining what a lived experience of respect was. This connection was also evident in the way in which participants considered the focus group recordings not as a separate part of the data collection but an integral part of the dialogue. The knowledge created about conditions of dialogue to improve community connections responded to the practical needs of the inquiry group and to the goals of the doctoral research as a combination of practice and research.

13.3.3   Research Inquiry Creates Community Action

In addition to creating knowledge about the conditions and effects of dialogue, the research inquiry also generated action and change. The participants developed an action plan with a number of different projects and then worked together with each other and with the researcher to implement these projects. The outcomes were an increase in cross-cultural participation of community elders in each other's events and ceremonies, assistance in fundraising for a series of large public dialogues attended by more than 300 people, and the drafting and distribution of a report of the findings of the dialogical inquiry to service providers, state government, and other communities. Participants also explained during the focus groups how they became aware of a personal transformation that resulted in more confidence to respectfully engage with strangers in cross-cultural encounters, the ability to constructively contribute to their own community meetings by having gained skills to articulate community problems, and the ability to facilitate collective planning processes for others. As a researcher I was able to document these changes and experiences and draw conclusions about the more general effects of dialogue and how changes can emerge from small groups to larger communities. Since the original inquiry process, the research contributed to and sparked a series of other projects and programs extending far beyond the initial research idea. This shows the beneficial connection between peace research and action intervention.

13.3.4   *Data Triangulation and Resonance Testing*

Because of the qualitative action research methodology and the purposive sampling process used to recruit participants, generalizations of action research findings are difficult since the conditions of the research cannot easily be recreated for validity testing (Gustavsen, Hansson, & Qvale, 2008, p. 63). Complex adaptive systems theory emphasizes the uniqueness of each complex system in its particular context and boundaries (Burns, 2007, p. 28). Therefore, a similar research process with a different community group could have provided very different outcomes. However, nonlinear effects and feedback loops are common to all complex social systems (Hendrick, 2009, pp. 6–7). The focus of the study added to the understanding of these phenomena. While some adherents of more traditional research approaches question the quality of action research data and analysis results because of issues such as reproducibility of results and sampling (Druckman, 2005, p. 316), Grant, Nelson, and Mitchell (2008, p. 598) maintain that credible accounts in community action research are those that adequately capture the experiences of participants. Researchers and community participants must decide the criteria for this credibility collaboratively. Wherever possible in my research, information was fed back to the action inquiry group and they were asked for critical feedback.

When dialogue participants report on changes in interaction during the dialogue and in the larger community, their reports can be biased because they have enjoyed participation in the workshop and overemphasize the positive effects. This can threaten the validity of the study. Doob and Foltz (1974, p. 247), based on their research with participants in dialogue workshops held during the conflict in Northern Ireland, found that workshops that aim to help communities deal with strong conflict in their midst often have a lasting impact on participants which may influence their reporting of experiences. However, they also found that many observations from workshop participants could be reconfirmed either with gate-keepers or by asking other participants. In my study I applied resonance testing (Burns, 2007, p. 158) through interviews with people who did not participate in the dialogical research inquiry (peer network participants). These participants were recruited upon suggestion by the dialogue participants using a snowball-sampling method (Neuman, 2006, p. 223) and included a number of well-regarded and active community development practitioners with knowledge about the multicultural environment of Brisbane. The interviews allowed for cross-checking and therefore increased internal validity. They created a connected but separate inquiry stream (Burns, 2007, p. 89) which accessed the system under inquiry at different points. These participants confirmed many of the insights developed by the dialogue group. However, they also questioned the inquiry group's capacity to implement some of the envisioned changes and made other suggestions on how to proceed. I then fed the information from the peer network participants back to the dialogical inquiry group who had used the CDD process and involved these participants in an analysis of the themes from the peer network inquiry. This helped the initial inquiry group to critically evaluate their ideas and allowed for data triangulation at the same time.

13.3.5   Impact on Research Participants

Action research inquiries such as the one above require significant commitment from participants and researchers with regards to time and other resources. Researchers using data collection methods such as interviews or focus groups necessarily need to limit the impact on the lives of their participants (Neuman, 2006, p. 131). Action research provides an advantage here in that participants undertake the research for their own benefit and the benefit of their communities. Therefore, they are often more willing to spend considerable time and resources. Originally it was envisioned to finish the inquiry group after eight sessions over 2 months. During the problem-mapping stage it became clear that participants enjoyed the sessions and did not want to rush the process. The participants uniformly requested the inquiry sessions to be extended further and in total 23 dialogical inquiry and focus group sessions were conducted. Participants decided to continue meeting after the end of the inquiry group sessions and voiced that they had become friends. In the year after the CDD process had finished they organized a new meeting place and purchased refreshments for ongoing meetings. Some participants are still in contact with each other 3 years after the end of the inquiry and they collectively support other community dialogue events.

13.4   Collecting Data at Practice Workshops

The previous section focused on a dialogical action research inquiry, which purposefully connected research data collection with action intervention through group action plans and collaborative projects. Since it was part of my doctoral research the research component was always a major part of the intervention. However, peace intervention workshops can also be used to collect, analyze, and disseminate data without being explicit research processes. It was mentioned in Sect. 10.3.3 that the dialogical inquiry created opportunities and raised funds for a series of large public intercultural dialogues, the Community Café Dialogue events. Together with a team of collaborators I ran these dialogues for a number of years with a specific but not exclusive focus on Australia's controversial refugee and asylum seeker policies. An important goal was to give voice to asylum seekers and to provide a local countermovement to the often dehumanizing treatment of asylum seekers and refugees by the Australian government and mass media (Bleiker, Campbell, Hutchison, & Nicholson, 2013, p. 413). These Community Cafés provided significant opportunities for people from refugee backgrounds to tell their experiences to white settler and other Australians and vice versa. With up to 160 participants at a single event and up to 30 small-table conversations at the same time it would have been difficult or impossible to capture their stories directly through audio- or video-recording. The facilitation team and I therefore used other methods to collect and document the data created by participants.

13.4.1   Collective Note-Taking at Large Group Events

As part of the World Café facilitation method (Brown et al., 2005, p. 130) we asked participants to record important thoughts, stories, and ideas in word or picture form on flip chart papers which were used as tablecloths on their tables. When participants moved to different tables in subsequent rounds they left these papers behind for the next group to explore and add to. Ideas therefore were diffused through the larger group and supported the emergence of new and creative responses in a collaborative learning process. This process also created written records of some of the stories exchanged which we collected, transcribed, and analyzed after the dialogue event. As facilitators we had to ensure that these notes did not contain any identifying information to protect the privacy of dialogue participants, so we asked them not to write down their names. From the table sheets we collected the most powerful stories, anecdotes, and statements and then created graphic summaries. This editing process provided another opportunity to ensure that the identities of our participants were kept confidential. Summaries of these notes can then inform research and policy and can also be provided back to participants via websites and social media. It is our practice to draft a newsletter with the most powerful statements and send it to the Café participants.

An example is provided in Figure 13.2 on the following page.

The data collected through collective note-taking can also easily be integrated into reports to funders, to help to develop policy documents, and to provide themes for future dialogue events. If the development of a report or policy document is part of the peace intervention's objective, then it is useful to enhance the detail of the tablecloth notes by working with volunteer rapporteurs (if possible members of the participant group) who are briefed before the event to take on the role of table hosts and who take over some of the note-taking so that more detail can be captured. While this may inhibit the self-organizing properties of the facilitation method to some degree, in my experience, it creates more cohesive and detailed accounts of the knowledge that is shared at the dialogue event. It also can be quite empowering for participants to become coresearchers who collaborate in the documentation and collection of the data of their community (Denborough, 2008, p. 42).

13.4.2   Images, Drawings, and Metaphors as Research Data

Large group events such as the Community Cafés do not lend themselves to capturing long personal experiences and life stories unless note-takers are used. Rarely do participants take the time to create in-depth notes and plot detail to stories. However, they often take the opportunity to draw symbols, pictures, and emoticons to represent what goes on in the table discussions. Visual depictions of problems, life stories, and important events often provide a glimpse of subconscious effects of conflict interventions and can create insights that help to uncover "undiscussable" issues and allow conversations of taboo topics. Burns (2007, p. 117) explains that

Fig. 13.2 Community Café word bubble

they can "convey meaning and 'different ways of knowing' that cannot be articulated intellectually" and provides examples of how the use of artistic activities such as collages and collaborative drawings can provide rich and meaningful insights

into the systems under investigation. The use of images and drawings also allows participants to communicate across language barriers and to develop complex understandings of social situations as was evidenced by the research discussed in Chapter 8 of this volume.

Sometimes the pictures and metaphors created this way become an important part of future conversations and action plans. An example of this is the "shybox," a metaphor created during a weeklong dialogue workshop, which brought together young people from refugee backgrounds with other young people from migrant and firmly established communities. When we asked the young people during a Community Café that was part of the workshop to discuss issues, problems, and challenges that they and their peers were facing, it elicited the picture and metaphor of the "shybox" and "being in the shybox." The "shybox" symbolized the hesitance and discomfort that young people felt when meeting new people or unfamiliar situations and when they felt that they were being judged by others. The young people agreed that the workshop had helped them come out of the "shybox" and we were able to observe how they became more vocal and assertive in their interactions with us as facilitators and with each other. At the end of the workshop the participants agreed to work with our project team to host a large group Community Café forum for nearly 100 other young people. The metaphor of the "shybox" was referred to repeatedly during the planning process and we ended up designing a welcoming activity for the forum participants in which all participants drew a symbol or picture describing where they came from and put these into a box. The box was passed from participant to participant with the words "welcome to Australia." This created a powerful ritual of connection and relationship building. The shybox was also visually represented in a video that was created to document the initial workshop and was shown at the large group forum.[1]

13.4.3   Video Interviews Provide Reflections on Dialogue Events

Another data collection method we employed was the use of video interviews to capture the experiences of participants at the Community Café events. We invited participants to engage in short video interviews at the end of a Café. It was ensured that only participants who voluntarily decided to share their identity were interviewed. We asked a simple reflection question and video-recorded the answers: "What did you get out of attending the Community Café?" The video interviews were very useful as part of a project evaluation process and to plan further to Café dialogue events.[2] We also used the videos to promote Community Café events and explain the Café process to new participants. Video interviews can be used for evaluation and research techniques such as Most Significant Change (MSC) (Davies

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[1] The video is available at the following link (accessed 28 October 2014): https://vimeo.com/98102090.

[2] Examples of these videos can be accessed on the following webpage: http://communitycafes.wordpress.com.

& Dart, 2005) which aim to capture qualitative data about systemic changes in the context of peacebuilding and development interventions. The advantage of this technique is that it allows participants to quickly record longer responses and reflect on the experience at the end of a dialogue event. On the other hand, the recorded personal experiences are different from the collective notes that participants develop with each other. The ubiquity of smartphones and affordable video recording and editing tools have greatly improved access to this technique.

13.4.4   Creating and Using Embodied Inquiry Data

Many peace practice interventions such as peace education workshops make use of role-play simulations, forum theatre, or body sculptures. These methods also open important pathways into the subconscious of participants and can help to provide whole-body experiences of conflict and constructive engagement with it. They can also create rich data for peace research. A number of years ago, I worked with local custom chiefs and co-facilitators in Vanuatu as part of the university research and training program, Vanuatu Kastom Governance Partnership Project[3]. Together with our local co-facilitators we developed a role-play of a typical land conflict in which an international developer signed a land lease contract with a local chief as the representative of the customary landowners in the area. This caused the community to lose access to their land, fishing and gardening rights and created significant conflict between the chief, the community, and the developer. The role-play was designed, practiced, and enacted by our local co-facilitators. I vividly remember important aspects of the performance, such as that the local village chief was depicted to be more interested in the flashy sunglasses of the developer than in the content of the agreement that he could neither read nor understand. Because there was no table available in the village scene the "contract" was signed on the back of the chief, another sign of the power imbalance between international developer and local leader. In a subsequent session, we critiqued the practices shown in the role-play and asked the local colleagues to step into the role of playwrights and directors and to change the plot of the story. They discussed different aspects and then performed the role-play again with a changed plot: the village chief now strongly advocated for the needs of his community and the developer showed real interest in the lives of local people and explained the consequences of the land lease and development. We filmed both role-plays and provided the local colleagues with a copy of the film. They then used this film to facilitate dialogue and discussions in a number of villages on various islands in Vanuatu to discuss benefits and drawbacks of agreements with international land developers. They brought back stories of how the film and dialogue changed the attitudes of villagers and bureaucrats who had previously supported an exploitative land leasing practice. For us, as researchers, the video created

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[3] This project was coordinated by Dr Anne Brown, School of Political Science and International Studies, The University of Queensland, University of Queensland.

important data for the analysis of conflict causes with regards to land conflicts in Vanuatu and the role-play provided a rich and graphic plot to argue for more scrutiny of practices on behalf of the government. Our local colleagues mentioned how acting in the role-play helped them to understand the tensions that chiefs, villagers, and developers were under and to better understand the systemic weaknesses of the land tenure system in Vanuatu. Role-plays and forum theatre activities which create this kind of embodied knowledge are reminiscent of the forum theatre work of Boal (1979). While they do not fit neatly into the toolkit of traditional social science research methods, they can be used successfully to create important insights into structural inequalities and provide opportunities for advocacy and education at the same time (Landvogt, 2012, p. 56). For other successful examples of the use of artistic methods in participatory action research see Chapter 8 in this volume.

13.5   Research and Practice Challenges

Peace interventions and data collection both often raise important ethical and practical concerns. Some of these are practical issues such as the difficulty of collecting data while simultaneously facilitating a group discussion. Most of these technical issues can be overcome either with the use of appropriate recording technology or by extending the research and facilitation team to allow for the necessary resources to delegate tasks. More challenging are questions around the position and role of the researcher or the research team within the inquiry process and the system that is being investigated. In this context, the relationships between researchers and inquiry participants and the issue of internal bias by researchers who are parts of the system that they are investigating need to be mentioned.

13.5.1   Researcher Bias and Relationships with Participants

In the dialogical inquiry that I conducted for my doctoral research I acted as the facilitator of the dialogue process and the researcher who interpreted the data. Just as discourse analysts are tied to the discourse group they are investigating, either as members of the same social group or as observers of it (Bloor & Bloor, 2007, p. 4), I was tied to the dialogical inquiry group and my own experiences as a migrant, conflict resolution practitioner, and social scientist. My scholarly work and my practice work in dialogue and mediation influenced me towards the use of practices such as the CDD process described above and to potentially disregard other ways of engagement. It needs to be acknowledged that these conscious and subconscious biases have influenced my conduct during the facilitation and also my interpretation of the data. Both the problem-map and the vision-map developed by inquiry participants pointed to a need for dialogue and cross-cultural interpersonal engagement as the most important elements of building an inclusive and cohesive society. I noticed

this result on other occasions when I used CDD with participants in community development settings. I am still not sure whether this points towards a universal need for interpersonal engagement, sharing of story and acknowledgment of painful and joyful experiences as the core process of establishing and strengthening social ties, or if it was caused by a facilitation method and facilitator trying to validate their own existence and purpose. Burns recognizes these fears that are shared by many action researchers. Action researchers are part of an evolving system and in this sense they are research participants (Burns, 2007, p. 138). He cautions against exaggerating boundaries and attempts to separate the private and professional personalities of researchers. For good inquiry it is important to acknowledge who the researcher is within the inquiry process and how she or he responds to the discussions that she or he facilitates. Our identities as people should not be discarded when we put on our hats as researchers because they contain a wealth of experience that enables sense making to emerge within the inquiry process (Burns, 2007, p. 138). They are the parameters that influence the boundary decisions and learning system choices that Midgley talks about (2000, p. 128). While personal bias can never be fully excised from an interpretative systemic research design, it can be acknowledged and put in context with the views of the research participants. In my doctoral research, I attempted to manage this bias by discussing the research data with the participants and by acknowledging potential bias to them. In addition to this, Brydon-Miller (2008, p. 205) suggests a critical examination of the self of the researcher by keeping a reflective research journal. In my researcher notes, I recorded not just observations of participants but also included personal observations, self-reflection, and information on my own thoughts and views. An example might illustrate this:

> I was again very pleased with the session. I was pleased that after the break 4 people turned up and that in particular D9, who had only attended once before, turned up. She professed in the focus group that the dialogue gave her strength to move from feeling like a victim to a much more positive orientation. And she looked the part. I broke neutrality again in talking about the gambling benefits fund project. I did this because of the connections D7 has with an important local politician [name removed] and also because I wanted to involve the group in a possible larger project. This means that the idea did not come from them and was not generated by the group members as part of the dialogue. But it aligned well with things they had raised and discussed. […]. (Excerpt from researcher journal, session 9, 16 July 2011, participants were de-identified)

A further challenge arising in the involvement of action researchers with the participants in the inquiry is that their voices may influence the thinking of other inquiry participants. Researchers are often in a position of relative authority as academic staff from universities, external experts, or government officers. It is natural that during inquiry processes and peace interventions participants ask them about their view of the situation. When discussing the difficulties that migrants face when trying to have their overseas qualifications recognized in Australia, the inquiry group asked me about my own experience as a legal professional from Germany. I explained the lengthy process that I would have had to undergo if I wanted my overseas qualifications recognized in Australia. This explanation, while it was not recorded in the data, certainly made an impression on the research participants.

Self-disclosure such as this is common in peace interventions and action inquiry settings. It is an important part of trust building between participants and facilitators. Instead of creating power imbalances Burns sees it as a way to expose them and create a transparent research process in which researchers and participants become more equal collaborators. If such disclosures are not made, then power differentials remain unspoken and do not go away. Researchers should go through the same process of judging what to disclose and what not, just as any other participant would (Burns, 2007, p. 138). This self-disclosure also builds relationships between researchers and participants, which continue beyond the initial peace intervention or research process, including all the benefits and obligations that this brings with it.

13.5.2   *Participant Safety and Confidentiality of Information*

At the large group Community Cafés, in addition to the video interviews, we often took photos and recorded videos showing the participants engaged in discussion. Since some participants were waiting for assessment of their requests for asylum and some were even considered illegal arrivals who had to live in community detention, we needed to take special care so that participation in the workshop did not endanger their applications. Our practice was not to show any faces except for the people who explicitly gave permission to have their video interview used and who discussed their situation with the project team. While this unfortunately created depictions of lively, creative, and rich events that looked somewhat sterilized, it was our way of ensuring the safety of our participants and the creation of a discussion space in which they could openly speak their mind. The Community Café process supported this further by asking participants to sit at small tables in groups of four or five. When 50 or a 100 people are engaged in conversations in such groups, the background noise prohibits listening in on other tables and conversations. Therefore, it was unlikely that participants endangered themselves by speaking to a large unknown audience. While this was sometimes done at the end of a Café it was up to each individual participant to decide if they wanted to take the microphone and recap ideas they had heard during the event. In some way there is anonymity in the scale and publicity of the event itself.

Ensuring the safety and anonymity of participants has become even more difficult through the proliferation of smartphones and social networking. While the Community Cafés team makes use of public services such as Facebook and blog websites to invite participants to the events, we take care to start each event by pointing out that participants should never take pictures of each other without consent and should discuss what happens with these pictures. We do not post any pictures that can identify participants on our website or Facebook page. This practice may still leave too many loopholes open for abuse in light of some of the sensitive topics that we have engaged with. So far in 4 years we only had to ask one participant to take down a photo of an event from their Facebook page and this request was immediately complied with. Because participants in peace interventions such as the

ones described in this chapter often enjoy the experience and want to share their enjoyment with others, researchers and practitioners need to think through the dangers and opportunities that social media and new technologies offer. The benefits can be great for the fast, efficient, and accessible dissemination of information and also for recruitment of participants. On the other hand, issues of privacy and safety need to be engaged with as part of the research and intervention design, particularly in light of global connectivity between participants who have sought refuge in other countries and who retain family or friends in their home countries. Participation in dialogue events such as the ones described in this chapter can severely impact on research participants and their families. These challenges are not unique to action research or peace interventions, they occur in most settings where people meet to discuss problems or aim to analyze a social situation. However, as conversation hosts and researchers we owe it to our participants to take their safety concerns seriously and to discuss potential impacts with them before the event so that they can make informed decisions about their participation. Our practice is to discuss the themes of our Community Cafés, as well as any concerns around participation or confidentiality with small reference groups drawn from our audience. Through these discussions we have developed policies on how to take photos at events and how to invite participants so that they can benefit from the peace intervention.

13.6 Conclusion

This chapter has provided a framework of systemic action research to connect peace interventions with research inquiries and has provided examples of how the two can be combined, and more importantly, how they can inform and enhance each other. Based on a systems epistemology, I have argued that it is not useful to strictly separate research and intervention. Examples from my own doctoral research have shown the impossibility to separate inquiry process from inquiry content and have provided examples on how a combination of intervention and research can provide a rich bricolage of data. With Creative Dialogue & Design I have also presented an innovative problem-solving workshop and dialogue method, which can create, document, collect, and assist in the analysis of conflict-related data while at the same time transforming the relationships of participants. Collecting data therefore becomes a tool of dialogue and constructive conversation. Similarly, peace practice interventions such as Community Café dialogues can provide opportunities for data collection, which can transcend traditional text and interview data and can provide a rich description of conflict situations. In particular, artistic methods of facilitating reflection such as images, metaphors, and embodied activities can provide unique insights into the conflict systems. It is useful to see these processes not just as educational techniques or conflict resolution tools but also as research methods. With the use of these techniques and process designs come important questions of data validity, influence of the researcher, and safety and privacy of participants. These need to be addressed by the designers of practice and research interventions. While

this chapter could not expect to provide a comprehensive overview of methods and challenges combining research and practice, I hope it has provided some innovative approaches to peace research. Like many of the workshops described, it is an invitation for further research, critical response, and dialogue to develop the multiplicity of methods further and to better understand the nexus between practice and research.

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Chapter 14
Approaches to Narrative Analysis: Using Personal, Dialogical and Social Stories to Promote Peace

Mary Breheny and Christine Stephens

14.1 Approaches to Narrative Analysis: Using Personal, Dialogical and Social Stories to Promote Peace

When asked to describe disruptive experiences, people turn to stories. The experience of conflict has immediate relevance to peace psychologists who may be interested in the power of narrative research to reveal the embodied experience of trauma from the sufferer's perspective, the social location of conflict situations, and the importance of historical relationships to the context of these experiences. Furthermore, narrative approaches to research have broader applications such as analyzing the cultural justifications for violence (Senehi, 2002) and understanding the struggle for independence and self-determination in situations of conflict. There are many potential applications of and many different ways to conduct narrative analysis. In this chapter we will focus on approaches to narrative analysis that may be used to interpret accounts of embodied experiences of conflict and trauma, and include recognition of the social context in which those experiences are shared with others, interpreted, and situated. We will review approaches to narrative analysis that are useful for understanding the social location of embodied selves and describe the integration of these approaches. Conflict provides the impetus for telling stories and creates a fruitful area of research for peace psychologists.

Narratives are stories that order events across time and also structure accounts of these events in ways that give meaning to the experiences of storytellers. Social scientists have recognized that narratives are used to make sense of experiences from within the storyteller's social world and to constitute social identities (e.g.,

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Somers, 1994). Pioneers of narrative approaches in psychology, such as Sarbin (1986), proposed that narrative is an organizing principle for all human action. He suggested that the way we understand the world and make moral decisions is guided by narrative structures. Bruner (1990) additionally proposed that the stories people tell provide insights into the specific cultural rules for reacting and interacting and for claiming or avoiding particular identities. Following the cognitive turn in social psychology with its focus on individuals, Bruner argued for a turn to a social model of mind rather than the isolating individual model of cognitive approaches:

> When we enter human life, it is as if we walk on stage into a play whose enactment is already in progress—a play whose somewhat open plot determines what parts we may play and toward what denouements we may be heading. Others on stage already have a sense of what the play is about (p. 34)

Bruner suggests that the vital organizing principle of the play of complex cultural meanings with which we interpret our experience, knowledge and interactions in the social world is narrative.

Accordingly, people often shape their reporting of experiences as stories. Qualitative researchers such as Baumeister and Newman (1994), and Good (1994) have told their own tales about recognizing that stories told by participants in their research (rather than the abstracted themes) conveyed the heart of the experiences that were being studied. So, for researchers and participants alike, narrative is a pervasive structure with which we convey and comprehend the experiences and meanings of events, account for our own and other's behaviour, or reveal ourselves to others in the way in which we would like to be seen. In doing so, we also reveal something of the operation of our social world.

Narrative-based analysis is not a method as such, but rather a theoretical approach to interpreting talk. Utilizing the notion of narrative as an organizing principle in psychology does not immediately provide methodological approaches to narrative research. Cortazzi (1993) describes sociological, psychological, literary and anthropological models of narrative in a useful account of the ways in which different disciplines have approached the notion of narrative analysis. However, despite the burgeoning interest in stories and narrative approaches to conflict (Hiller & Chaitin, 2014) there have been relatively few researchers in social psychology (for examples, see Gergen & Gergen, 1984; Crossley, 2000) and peace psychology who have used narrative methods. Therefore, we will begin by considering the aspects of narrative analysis that may be useful in answering questions that are important for understanding conflict and promoting peace.

Several authors have provided typologies of narrative analysis (e.g., Bury, 2001; Cortazzi, 2001; Mishler, 1995; Phoenix, Smith, & Sparkes, 2009) that help us to construct research questions and determine the focus of the analysis. Will our questions be best answered by pursuing the culturally available structure of narrative forms, the interpersonal relations involved in narrative construction, the constructive function of different stories, or the social forces and power relations that shape narratives? Murray (2000) drew upon the work of Doise (1986) to propose four levels at which narratives may be considered in psychological analysis: the personal,

interpersonal, positional and ideological. This structure maps well onto others that have been suggested in the literature (e.g., Langellier & Peterson, 2004; Somers, 1994) and provides a useful framework for considering the theoretical basis of each aspect in turn.

14.1.1   Personal Experience

The individual story is always the immediate focus in narrative analysis since it is stories told about everyday life that are the basis of narrative psychology. Taking the storyteller as the point of interest, narrative-based analysis may be used to understand people's experiences from a phenomenological perspective, which enquires into the nature of those experiences. In 'personal experience narratives', (Labov, 1972) events that have caused difficulties or disruption are described and resolved. People use stories to work through and explain how this event turned out, why it happened this way, what sort of self they were, and now are, in relation to the events, and why they behaved in certain ways. A social psychological perspective sees these personal stories as a way for narrators to actively achieve an identity by shaping and explaining their actions (Skultans, 2000).

The experience of conflict provides an impetus for storytelling. Conflict can disrupt biographies, threaten identities and question moral positioning. Narrative analysis provides a way to understand these aspects from a social perspective. In telling stories, people must narrate who they were in the previous world order and who they became in the light of social change, while still managing a coherent and positive identity (see Uehara, 2007). Narratives provide insight into the ways in which individuals incorporate these changes across all aspects of their everyday lives (which psychology has tended to neglect). An analysis of stories is able to include not just the accounts of what happened to individuals, but the meanings these experiences have within the narrator's life situation and life history. For example, Brough, Schweitzer, Shakespeare-Finch, Vromans, and King (2012) gathered narratives of settling in Australia from refugees from Burma. Their narrative methodology focused on providing refugees with the opportunity to narrate their life experiences, negotiate the meaning of these experiences, and to evaluate the significance of the experience of resettlement in their life story. These narratives of suffering and hope pointed to the social location of the accounts and the ways the narratives were shaped by the relationship between the person and their setting (Brough et al., 2012).

Not all attempts at resolving suffering through narrative meaning-making are successful. Uehara, Farris, Morell, and Ishisaka, (2001) argue that the very nature of atrocity as outside everyday experience can mean that survivors cannot incorporate phenomenological experiences of atrocity into a narrative structure of life before and life after atrocity. This can mean 'the survivor's discourse is at some points characterized by an absence of structural coherence—confusion of contexts, tenses and time frames; unreflected enumeration of experience fragments; and disrupted

theme progression'. (Uehara et al., 2001, p. 34). This does not mean that narrative analysis is an inappropriate approach to understanding such experiences, but that it may be necessary to hear these accounts as anti-narratives that cannot achieve narrative coherence.

Somers (1994) describes personal stories as 'ontological' narratives that are used to make sense of our own lives and define our identities. At the same time she notes that ontological narratives, which embed the self in change across time, are '… above all, social and interpersonal. Although psychologists are typically biased towards the individual sources of narrative, they recognize the degree to which ontological narratives can only exist interpersonally in the course of social and structural interactions over time' (p. 618). So, we must turn to the broader social world which gives point and purpose to any construction of personal identity.

14.1.2 Interpersonal: Storytelling

Stories are told to an audience of at least one other (even diaries have an imagined reader) and so the construction of a narrative may be understood from performative and dialogical perspectives as a joint enterprise with an active audience. Rather than being simply an account of past experiences, this focus includes the time of the telling and the particular accomplishments of that moment. Langellier and Peterson (2004) draw on the work of Merleau-Ponty to describe storytelling as not only about embodied experience, but, as an embodied performance that is constructed in accordance with all of the material conditions of the telling, including who is able to speak and what may be said in the situation. Langellier and Peterson (2004) provide examples to show how narrators perform their identities through the positioning of narrator, story characters and audience. This shift in focus to include audience foregrounds research questions that ask about the reasons for particular order or structure chosen by the narrator, and about the rhetorical claims to particular identities, or rejection of others (Riessman, 2003).

De Fina and Georgakopoulou (2008) also describe the ways in which story recipients are not a passive audience but take an active part in shaping the story by rejecting some versions and contributing other views to shape the construction of a narrative. These authors point out that bringing a more interactional perspective to narrative analysis also shifts the topic from a narrow focus on identity to a broader range of social actions, including making arguments, challenging other views, and generally orienting the talk to local purposes. Beyond the immediate context of the storytelling, Seaton (2008) draws attention to the larger communal history to which personal stories belong. Communal narratives shape personal stories, which are drawn into the larger project of a communal understanding of events.

In many research situations, the immediate listener is the interviewer. Mishler (1986) has influentially argued that narratives from interviews are co-constructed by the interviewer and participant. Frank (2000) goes further by describing storytelling as a recursively elaborated relationship. Tanggaard (2009) and van Enk

(2009) have recently used Bakhtin's theorizing about the cultural basis of dialogues in everyday life to explore this dialogical view of narrative. From this perspective the interview is seen as a conversation that produces narratives (based in socially and historically available discourses). An important first orientation for the analyst is that there are at least two people immediately involved in the conversation (as well as an orientation to future wider audiences). Interviewers are not neutral bystanders and their direct contribution to shaping the narrative, as well as their representation of a broader social world to which the narrative is oriented, cannot be minimized or ignored.

These insights mean that we must consider the social context, both the immediate players in the interaction and their audience, in the production of a narrative. Narratives are constituted to anticipate the response of immediate and possible audiences and to ward off unfavourable attributions by audiences. For example, narrating ill health and pain is problematic, as the narrator can be viewed as lacking fortitude. To address this, Uehara (2007) found that Cambodian women who survived the Killing Fields of the Khmer Rouge resisted individualizing accounts of pain by situating their pain within historical and political experiences. The narrators moved between recollections of the experience of atrocity and current pain to demonstrate the social location of these experiences. Acknowledging the ways that narratives are constructed with an audience in place and in mind highlights the competing interpretations of experience that the speaker must navigate to resolve conflicts that the story has identified.

In trauma narratives, the narrator must trust the audience to receive the account without minimizing the experience, denial, or victim blaming (Uehara et al., 2001). Historically, Holocaust survivors have contended with disbelief, or the audience's inability to comprehend the extent of survivors' suffering. At times, attempts to narrate experience fail to relay the weight of atrocity (Kraft, 2006). The response of the audience confirms whether the narrator has succeeded in revealing the gravity of the experiences. When audiences respond in terms of their own difficult life experiences, this indicates they have failed to appreciate the narrative of atrocity as beyond the limits of everyday experience. The ways that narratives actively hail audiences and attend to possible argument, dissent, or minimizing strategies makes them particularly instructive for understanding conflicting accounts.

14.1.3   Positional: Constructing Identities

A broader interest in narrative research in recent years has been fuelled by new interest in social identities based on ethnicity, gender and disability (Langellier & Peterson, 2004; Somers, 1994). Narrative approaches have shown how people use stories to define who they are to others (Somers, 1994) and in terms of others. Narratives cannot escape the structuring effects of identity, even when the story does not explicitly make identity claims. For example, Gobodo-Madikizela, (2012) analyzed the way that medical students, reminiscing about their experiences of medical

training in Apartheid South Africa, were disrupted by the recollection that Black students were excluded from postmortem classes when white bodies were the subject of the class. This story disrupted the nostalgic tone of the narrative and situated all the speakers in terms of racial identity. In response to this, the medical students responded with angry denial, distancing themselves from the practices of exclusion that were part of their medical training to avoid being seen as benefiting from and therefore complicit in these practices. Thus, narratives always locate the speaker within possible identities. Even narratives that do not begin with the narrator claiming a specific identity cannot escape the ways that social identity pervades how, when, and to whom speakers can narrate their experiences.

Riessman (2003) notes that narratives do not reveal an 'essential' self, but rather a preferred version of the self, which is appropriate to the social context of the telling. These preferred selves may include a myriad of different identities such as a masculine man, feminine woman, heterosexual man, or a general 'good sort'. Taking a discursive theory perspective (e.g., Davies & Harré, 1990) means that possible subject positions or identities, and the power relations involved in these positions, may be taken into account when interpreting narratives. Langenhove and Harré (1999) provide a theoretical account of narrative positioning to explain the interplay of biographical identity and the social situation of the account. Wilén (2014) provides an example of the movement between conflicting identities as women in her study narrated their experience of joining the military in Burundi. These women moved between accounts of themselves as feminine women and as competent soldiers, a typically masculine identity. Through their storytelling, the women carved out an identity as a 'good soldier', which acknowledged their femininity and sought to promote this as an advantage in the military. Although allowing women to enter the Burundi military was based on notions of equality, these women narrated their impact on the military in terms of accounts of femininity, reinforcing the gendered differences the inclusion of women was designed to resist.

Morality, in particular, has been revealed as a powerful positioning force that can be illustrated by survival narratives. To lack fortitude or to be overwhelmed in a crisis or traumatic situation is to risk being seen as a personal failure. Through narratives of trauma, narrators work hard to position themselves as heroic survivors. As a specific example, Uehara et al. (2001) analyzed an interview with a man who survived the Killing Fields of Cambodia as a child by eating the food meant for animals and strategically befriending the Khmer Rouge. The man narrated this story as an account of survival, drawing upon a recognizable storyline of triumph over adversity through using skill and cunning. In producing this narrative, the speaker must navigate moral positioning in terms of guilt about survival, and guilt regarding how survival was achieved (Uehara et al., 2001). Attending to the positioning force of morality reveals both the immediate identity of the storyteller and a broader social imperative to be a certain sort of person.

As Radley and Billig (1996) have argued, people tend to position themselves as worthy citizens within ideologies which naturalize and perpetuate social inequalities. Intergroup conflicts are often framed around identity, and the conflict itself can become a key element of group identity (Senehi, 2002). Narrative analysis

provides a tool with which to trouble the enmeshing of identity and conflict. Both acknowledging and resisting the narrative positioning of competing identities can provide the impetus to overcome the ethnic, class, ideological, and cultural differences that create barriers to peace. For example, Nepstad (2001) analyzed the story of Salvadoran martyr Archbishop Romero to promote solidarity between the Central American church and US Christians. By focusing on the religious identity of the narrator, a shared religious identity was prioritized over differing national allegiances. Narratives make available a range of identity positions, from broad identity categories such as ethnic affiliations or gender to moral identities such as being a 'good father' or 'cunning survivor'. Emphasizing a shared identity in a narrative account provides one way to progress beyond diverging accounts of conflict and to move towards peace.

14.1.4   Ideological: Culture and Society

Rather than attending to the interactional and positional work of narrative, the researcher may pay more direct attention to those broader social and cultural systems of shared beliefs and representations in which narratives are embedded. Somers (1994) describes these culturally shared stories as 'public narratives'; those shared by members of families, institutions, or states to explain historical events (Carretero & van Alphen, 2014), understand the causes of conflict (Hagai, Hammack, Pilecki, & Aresta, 2013), and make attributions about the motivations of characters in a story (Slocum-Bradley, 2008). Somers (1994) separates such cultural stories from broader 'metanarratives' such as those of progress, human rights, or freedom, which are created within societies, shared, and used unconsciously to provide locations for personal stories. It is these metanarratives that provide subject positions or moral identities, both for the speakers and those in their social networks. Carretero and van Alpen (2014) use the more popular term 'master narratives' to describe such socially available narratives. Langellier and Peterson (2004) also drew upon post-structuralist theorizing to develop the notion of master narratives. They point to the importance of the reflexive nature of storytelling. Narrators have heard stories from others, and are a narrator, character, and audience to their own story. Reflection of public narratives in personal stories means that stories can both reproduce public narratives and transgress or resist normative meanings and relations. Langellier and Peterson apply the principles of discourse analysis to show how storytelling constructs multiple identities and constantly destabilizes and resists fixed master narratives. Conflict not only disrupts personal lives, it also destabilizes the norms and values that people use to make meaning, and the institutions that structure social life (Lykes, 2013).

  In conflict situations, social and cultural narratives can function as strategic narratives; narratives that provide a convincing case to explain current events and link these events to competing interests, future goals, and actions to achieve these goals (Coticchia & De Simone, 2014). The media provide a rich source of cultural nar-

ratives that characterize the players in conflict in particular ways. For example, Slocum-Bradley (2008) examined media representation of the Rwandan crisis to identify the storylines the media promoted to justify the massacre of the Tutsi minority. These storylines narrated a version of reality in which 'ethnic cleansing' was logical and ethnic diversity was destructive. Similarly, the root narratives about the Israeli and Palestinian conflict provide culturally situated accounts that position characters as either victims of interlopers or as attempting to live in peace and therefore defending themselves (Hagai et al., 2013). Like the Rwandan storylines, these root narratives situate the speakers in terms of an 'other' who is attempting to disrupt the freedom to pursue a valued and morally correct life. These accounts portray ethnic groups according to culturally available characterizations to narrate an identifiable story of morally superior in-group members cast in opposition to the immoral motivations of the out-group.

In addition to examining the role of master narratives used by the storyteller, there is a case for using researcher knowledge of the social situation of storytellers. This means being aware of historical and structural situations of which narrators themselves are not always aware. An important critique of interpretivist approaches is that personal accounts alone provide only one view of social life experience (Smith, 1987; Williams, 2003). For example, Hershberg and Lykes (2013) examined the lives of four girls in transnational families living between the USA and Central America. The girls' narratives described their experiences and meaning making around family and encounters with US immigration and deportation. However, to more fully comprehend these narratives, the analyst situated them in terms of the gendering of family and migration processes, and in the context of social inequalities in Central America and the USA. These social processes demonstrate the ways that versions of history structure what can be said, even when the narrator is unaware of these structuring effects. Peace psychologists have a role in providing such critical analyses of narratives to expose the racism, sexism, and other inequalities that form the foundations of conflict. By working alongside local communities, peace psychologists can support local people and organizations to analyze the underlying causes of conflict (Lykes, 2013).

Bell (1999) showed one way in which we can account for the constraints placed by social structure and available cultural narratives on the performance of personal stories. While paying attention to the social construction of knowledge within social practices and relationships, she included historical changes outside the stories themselves. Bell reproduced the stories of two women diagnosed with cancer in their early thirties after being exposed to diethylstilbestrol (DES) medication before birth. Using narrative analysis, she showed how their personal stories were related to public narratives from two particular sites for the production of knowledge about women's experiences of cancer: medical science and the women's health movement. Because the stories were located in two different times, Bell was also able to show that personal stories were connected to the medical and feminist contexts of the times. One woman's response to her DES cancer diagnosis was possible because of newly transformed power relations between women and physicians. By the time of the second women's story, the power relations that she described (activist

organizations as heroes and doctors as villains) were specifically related to recent feminist activism around DES cancer. What can be storied changes over time. The current social milieu influences what can be recounted, so an account of experience given at one time will be different from an account given years later.

In addressing the influence of the broader social environment, other researchers have included consideration of the effects of the storytellers' social position in terms of structural categories such as socioeconomic status, social class, race, or gender. Riessman (2003) drew on the sociological theorizing of Bourdieu (Bourdieu et al., 1993) in regard to the embodiment of social structures, to show that a reading of two men's stories, from a performative perspective alone, could not take into account the importance of the difference in their social locations. Leonard and Ellen (2008) similarly describe the ways in which social structures influenced the stories of people with HIV. They highlighted the power of certain narratives and the dominance of a certain type of HIV story produced by powerful social actors. Leonard and Ellen's research shows very different kinds of stories produced by people who are living with HIV in poverty and under surveillance by state institutions. Similarly, Lykes, Blanche, and Hamber's (2003) accounts of narrating survival and change also suggest the importance of going beyond what is simply told to investigate the social relations and material conditions in which accounts are produced.

In terms of social and cultural narratives, accounts speak through what is absent as well as what is present in the telling of social, cultural and historical narratives. Situations of atrocity and conflict may succeed in erasing the narrative traces of particular marginalized histories. Narratives that lack currency within a particular group will not be circulated (Senehi, 2002) and over time may disappear. For example, contemporary accounts of pioneer life in the Ozark Mountains do not include the presence of Black slaves. This absence provides an account of what is unspeakable. Brandon (2013) used archaeological evidence of Black people's contribution to pioneer life in the Ozark Mountains to challenge the prevailing history. Using this evidence, the narratives of eighteenth-century Ozark Mountains changed to include the role of Black slaves in this community. This re-storying was not unproblematic, however, as these new narratives resisted accounts of exploitation and slavery and instead offered narratives of inclusion and care of slaves. This points to the possibilities not only of challenging marginalizing narratives, but also offers a caution in the recognition that people are active interpreters of the accounts they hear. They construe narratives in light of current positioning, as well as historical and social accounts, and altering a narrative is complex.

14.2   Integrating Levels of Analysis

The examples offered in the previous section show the difficulties of separating different categories of analysis. Murray (2000) emphasized that his schema of levels (the personal, interpersonal, positional and ideological) is not simply about how narratives are structured (they include all of the levels all of the time), but rather

about his concern to work towards integrating different levels of analysis for use in psychology. Many of the authors cited above explicitly integrate more than one aspect.

In narrative research we are usually interested in how at least some of these aspects work together. For example, in constructing personal stories individuals must use culturally available forms and master narratives; the identities that narrators construct rhetorically only make sense if we consider them within these wider socially available discourses; and we can only understand resistant stories in the face of normalizing discourses. Radley and Billig (1996) have argued strongly that accounts are both ideological, in that they perpetuate and normalize a range of social inequalities, and dilemmatic, in that people must account for themselves to other people while establishing their own identity in the world. In analyzing narratives of youth identity in the context of conflict, Hammack (2010) identified intertwined analytic levels: the personal story told by Palestinian youth about their own experience; the interpersonal co-creation between narrator and interviewer; the interpretation of these stories collectively as ideological narratives of the burden versus the benefit of collective identity for youth in such societies; and the public narratives that include positions for moral and social identities. Similarly, Uehara (2007) demonstrates how narratives are simultaneously phenomenological accounts of intensely personal experiences of pain and suffering and critiques of the social and political origins of suffering. Moving between phenomenological account and political critique, Uehara argues that the narrator unsettles the audience and through this unsettling, the audience must acknowledge the social location of personal experiences.

Qualitative approaches that focus on individual experiences and accounts provide only limited understandings of conflict. Wider social explanations for conflict, such as enculturated or sedimented practices and power relations, are not always available to individuals (see Blaxter, 1997; Williams, 2003 for examples in health psychology). Including theories of social structure to frame participants' accounts shows how behaviours are enmeshed in the broader structures of daily social life. Narrative approaches offer opportunities to include both these social and individual levels of explanation.

Murray (2000) was particularly interested in showing how narratives of experience could be used to reveal social processes and work towards social justice by challenging master narratives that damage lives. For example, in regard to HIV/AIDS in Africa, Mabala (2006) has described the way in which dominant groups (including politicians and foreign aid providers) focus on individual behaviours for HIV prevention interventions and neglect the powerful evidence for the role of income inequality. Mabala highlighted the damaging and oppositional effects on progress in HIV/AIDS prevention of this powerful and dominant perspective. The anthropologist Farmer (1999, 2004) was a pioneer in using a narrative approach; he influentially described how narratives were employed to develop a shared understanding of the arrival of HIV/AIDS in Haiti. Over time, the telling of stories about the disease produced shared representations that were used to explain subsequent experiences. He has subsequently described how the accounts of those in power, including programme directors, pharmaceutical companies, health

practitioners and politicians directly affect the access of the poor to health care, and how diseases develop in populations along structural fault lines. Leonard and Ellen (2008) also argue that stories about living with HIV/AIDS from powerful social actors dominate and obscure the illness experiences of poor and institutionalized patients while shaping their lives. Work in this vein suggests that the next step should be to use narrative enquiry to study the culture and actions of the powerful, rather than just the knowledge, decisions, and behaviours of the disadvantaged and victimized, who are often constructed as responsible for their situation by dominant narratives (see Stephens, 2010). Such an approach could focus on the inclusion of broader social theory and show how different accounts are structured by these social differences. We can also put the stories of those in powerful positions in post-conflict societies up for scrutiny. If peace psychologists undertake more research to investigate and reveal the ways in which powerful groups control the dominant narratives, then these understandings can contribute to promoting more receptive social environments in which the needs of the poor and powerless are heard.

14.3   Methods of Narrative Research

The very word narrative suggests spoken and written stories. There is certainly a very strong tradition of discursive and textual analysis in narrative research. Most of the work cited above has relied on this tradition and much of the data for these sorts of analyses is collected in interviews. Accordingly, there is a rich literature on narrative inquiry (see Clandinin & Connelly 2004) and narrative interviewing in particular (e.g., Jovchelovitch & Bauer, 2000; Mishler, 1986; Wengraf, 2001). Furthermore, there is ongoing discussion within the narrative research literature about the nature of stories as objects for research. For example, Phoenix and Sparkes (2009) discuss the legitimacy of 'big stories' (the grand narratives of a life) versus that of 'small stories' (those told during interaction about everyday occurrences) as the focus of analysis. Kraft (2006) describes episodes or 'small stories' as discrete events based on deeply felt emotions and physiological experiences. These episodes are strung together in sequence as the story moves through time and place and the episodes are shaped in accordance with narrative conventions (Kraft, 2006).

Stories may be related using media such as words, imagery, sound, movement, or combinations of these. Keats (2009) describes the use of spoken, written and visual texts together in narrative analysis. Spoken texts are usually recordings of interpersonal or group interviews and also more informal group discussions or commentaries. Written texts may include transcripts of recordings, journals, emails, letters, books and articles. Visual texts may include objects, photographs taken for the research or brought to the research setting, art work and any collected artefacts that bring meaning to the stories. These forms refer to and reflect on each other. For example, people may comment on their own interview transcripts, and photographs are often used to elicit discussion. Keats provides a detailed approach to the analysis

and presentation of results from this kind of research project, which is particularly appropriate for including understanding of complex contextual issues.

Spoken and written narratives may continue to be the main resource for narrative analysts and we have an increasingly rich literature to draw upon as guidance in the elicitation and analysis of those stories. However, there are also situations in which language may not be the best resource. Leonard and Ellen (2008) describe the difficulties of establishing a narrative relationship between two cultures. In their study of institutionalized persons with HIV/AIDS they noted that the interviews were not a conversation. Their 'participants' initially saw the interviews as additional surveillance in their lives and talked only in the terms used for such intrusions. Leonard and Ellen note that research

> …in public or collective projects like peer or outreach education programs—is not as simple as listening to the words that are available to render these actions meaningful. In part, this is because people cannot always find a language for their experiences, or that language might not be readily accessible to them. (p. 54).

Similarly, Mayan women found that performing narratives of pain and resistance offered possibilities for personal transformation that went beyond the possibilities of spoken narrative accounts (Lykes, 2013). For reasons such as these, researchers are turning to other types of data that can provide narratives of everyday life.

14.3.1 Photographs

Photographs have already proved useful in a number of narrative enquiries. Bell (2002) describes how photographs have long been used to tell stories and reproduce societal myths using narrative forms. Photographs can both reflect and resist dominant public narratives of gender, family, class and illness. Spence used photographs to consciously create stories that resist the power of Western science and medicine. She contested the reduction of people to bodies and body parts and the creation of passive patients in the health care system. A new and growing focus is on the use of photographs taken by research participants to contribute to the sharing of experience. Radley and Taylor (2003a; b) used interviews and photographs taken by research participants to explore patients' experiences of recovery during and after their stay in hospital. They used a recursive approach to the analysis of photographs and participant comments together to ensure that the visual objects retained their immediacy and material meaning. These meanings included the graphic representations and the material objects themselves, as well as the act of taking the photographs. Radley, Hodgetts, and Cullen (2005; 2006) used similar photo elicitation techniques to study the everyday lives of homeless people in the UK. Murray (2009) also describes the use of video films that are particularly appropriate for capturing stories that include movement from place to place. Photographic or video narratives can help put the participants' own agendas in the foreground of the story.

These narrative approaches have immediate practical applications in both therapeutic and community work. Community researchers are using 'photo-voice' approaches in increasing numbers to give disempowered people an opportunity to tell their own stories. For example, Lykes (2000) adopted this approach to develop a participatory action research project using oral history interviews and photography to communicate, analyze, and share women's stories in rural post-war work. The women photographed their own and others' stories of daily life, which documented the ongoing effects of war, eventually creating an exhibition that travelled around Guatemala. The women developed ethical strategies for analyzing and presenting their collective record to others and critically reflected on their own and the group's work 'developing a shared vision towards collective action for change' (Lykes, 2000, p. 393).

14.3.2   Archives

As part of a process of recognition, remembering, reconciliation and peace building, archives of testimonies about atrocities have been developed. These include the Apartheid Archives Project, Holocaust archives and genocide archives of Rwanda. The Apartheid Archives Project collected narratives of the everyday experiences of South Africans to document the impact of Apartheid on daily life in which personal memories of experience were specifically solicited (Stevens, Duncan, & Sonn, 2010). Narratives collected for this purpose differ from those collected in interviews with researchers in several ways. Firstly, the act of testifying lacks the interactional movement between the speaker and the immediate audience, which is usually the interviewer. Kraft (2006) notes that testimonies in the Holocaust archives produced mostly spontaneous remembering. The survivors produced mostly uninterrupted accounts lasting up to 40 minutes, without the imposition of structure from the interviewer. Secondly, those testifying to such events may be aware of multiple audiences who over time will listen to and evaluate the accounts they provide. Rather than attending to local interactional expectations, the narrator may orient to these potential audiences. Thirdly, Kraft (2006) notes that these testimonies are bounded; there is no possibility to prompt the speaker to elaborate or provoke the narrator to justify their account of what happened and why.

Narratives are accounts of experience through time, and archival materials include at least three aspects of time: the time when the experience happened, the time between the experience and the telling, and the time since the telling and the analysis. All need to be acknowledged in the analysis. When did the story happen and what were the social and historical pressures at that time? Is the speaker recounting recent experiences, or experiences they have co-existed with over a long period of time (Kraft, 2006)? What social changes have occurred since the testimony was provided? These elements provide ways to examine the impact of social change on narrative possibilities.

14.4   Conclusion

People tell stories and understand their world in terms of stories that are shared and reproduced, and embroidered and altered to accommodate personal and historical circumstances. Stories are designed to connect with others, and are able to be interpreted within particular cultural contexts. Narrative analysis can be used flexibly. Narratives provide an orientation to the way we organize our world. The use of narrative forms and stories in everyday life can be observed by using a wide range of methods that go beyond talk to include visual narratives and place. Furthermore, stories may be interpreted using an armoury of theoretical approaches that support an integrated approach to analysis. Narrative analysts may draw upon phenomenological, communication, dialogical, poststructural, and other theorizing to interpret individual experience. Using these interpretive tools, researchers are able to explore particular embodied experiences by analyzing narratives, the very form that humans have developed as a highly sophisticated mechanism with which to share meanings and purpose, constitute agency and power, or resist the operation of particular dominant ideologies.

Since the 'narrative turn' in the social sciences some critics have become concerned about the enthusiastic use of narrative approaches to any research questions (e.g., Gubrium & Holstein, 2002). Narrative analysis cannot be taken as a direct route to personal experience, and personal experiences do not explain everything about experiences of conflict. A single perspective or voice may not be able to provide the level of interpretation that is required by a research question, and written and spoken texts may not always be the appropriate source of data. When structural relations are recognized beyond the text, talk between researchers and members of disempowered groups in society is often complicated by the very power relations that we may wish to investigate. Taken together, these issues suggest that researchers must be careful to choose an approach that is relevant to the research question rather than being driven by the method. Most importantly, they must be ongoingly reflexive about their reasons for the research, their role in the research, the needs of research participants, and the importance of the relationships that are developed in the research context.

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Chapter 15
Challenging Structural Violence Through Community Drama: Exploring Theatre as Transformative Praxis

Christopher Sonn, Karina Smith and Kirsten Meyer

15.1 Introduction

There is a growing and renewed interest in community-based arts practice as a participatory methodology in different disciplines in the social and health sciences, including psychology. In outlining a peacebuilding paradigm for peace psychology recently, Miletic (2012, see also Christie, 2006; Galtung, 1985) noted that peace psychology may need to shift some of its assumptions, values, and aims beyond what is regarded as common in psychology and adopt a wider range of methodologies to promote 'peace research'. She argued that peace psychology 'can also support more participatory and grounded research approaches that are integral to researching, contributing to the field and bringing the wealth of knowledge and experience on the ground back into theory making' (p. 316).

Community theatre is an example of participatory arts practice that has gained interest as a form of social action and knowledge construction. Community theatre is an umbrella term for forms of participatory theatre such as forum and playback theatre developed by Augusto Boal (1979) in his *Theatre of the Oppressed*. Both of these forms have the broad goal of challenging oppression through various theatre and applied drama practices such as storytelling, role-play, and improvization. These practices involve active witnessing and embodiment, which can be understood as deconstruction and consciousness-raising methods, central to Freire's (1972, 1994) critical pedagogy (see also Chapter 11). Yet, these forms of praxis have not necessarily received attention as a research methodology in peace psychology.

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In this chapter we will discuss community drama focussing on forum and play-back theatre. We frame this discussion within the broader developments in arts-based inquiry, which can be viewed as belonging within qualitative action research (Finley, 2005). These broader developments are reflected in what Gergen and Gergen (2011) have referred to as performative social science, and in what Newman and Holzman (1996) earlier referred to as cultural and performative psychology, as a response to calls for radical research (Parker, 2005) and in Smith's (1999, 2012) influential call for decolonizing methodologies. Advocates of these arguments suggest that knowledge is socially constructed, contextual, and contingent; it is multiple and fluid, and as such, they challenge the universal master narrative that underpins traditional epistemologies and methodologies in social sciences as well as in peace psychology. In our view, these broader discussions are pertinent to peace psychology research, which is committed to preventing structural violence such racism, sexism, and other forms of social exclusion, and opening up possibilities for new narratives that inform social identities and patterns of power and privilege (Christie, Wagner, & Du Nann Winter, 2001; Christie, 2006).

15.2   The Broader Context of Arts-Based Research

Research in the field of arts as the primary form of enquiry has gained momentum over the past decade (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Jones, 2012; McNiff, 2012; Savin-Baden & Major, 2013). Finley (2005) has stated: 'Arts-based inquiry has emerged in postcolonial postmodern contexts, woven from complex threads of social, political, and philosophical shifts in perspectives and practices across multiple discourse communities' (p. 682). She described different developments and challenges to contextualize the emergence of this work. These developments and challenges include the recognition that traditional approaches to research could not address emerging social and political issues. This generated new questions and efforts to combine theory and practice as well as to address areas such as the ethical issues inherent in the relationships between the researcher and the researched, and the politics related to representations, including questions about whose terms form the basis of the research and who benefits from it (Finley, 2005; Parker, 2005).

Arts-based research may include one or all of the art forms: visual, dance, drama, and music (McNiff, 1998). For some writers, arts-based inquiry is a methodological and theatrical modality along with many new approaches to qualitative inquiry, and it is often located within participatory action and critical approaches in the social sciences (Finley, 2005). Within the broader context of the social sciences, arts-based inquiry continues to challenge more traditional approaches that favour objective quantitative scientific approaches. These traditional forms of knowledge production rooted in realist epistemologies and positivistic approaches are limited, and often silence different modes of knowing, being, and doing.

Different authors (e.g. Gilroy, 2011; McNiff, 1998) have argued that researchers in cross-disciplines have begun to explore ways of expanding their investigation of

the human condition through diverse art forms. For example, Gergen and Gergen (2011) presented an overview of performative social science, which they defined as 'the deployment of different artistic forms in the execution of a scientific project' (p. 291). Along similar lines, Sajnani (2012) has stated: 'Arts-based research approaches share a similar goal with other forms of enquiry wishing to illuminate the human condition, they aim for context specific rather than essential and generalizable truths' (p. 84). For these authors arts-based research opens up different possibilities for research and practice with its focus on exploring the variety of expressive means through which people go about constructing the social world (Gergen & Gergen, 2011), thereby shifting the discussion from arts as representation, to arts as constituting knowledge creation (Sanjani, 2012).

Arts-based research puts artistic knowing at its core and recognizes that the arts offers unique ways of understanding and communicating human experience. Arts-based research rests on the assumption that there are multiple ways in which the world can be known. It also assumes that knowledge is produced and not simply experienced and therefore it invites a broadening of the ways of understanding, knowing and living in the world (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Finley, 2005; McNiff, 1998; Sanjani, 2012; Savin-Baden & Major, 2013). Arts-based research encourages active involvement from participants so that their voices and expressions are represented. Arts-based research is value committed, and invested in social justice and political matters. It is often framed through interpretive standpoint approaches such as critical race, indigenous, queer, and feminist studies (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). The arts are valuable as tools of inquiry because they open up means of expression that cannot be conveyed in conventional written or spoken language (McNiff, 1998). Engaging with the creative imagination provides the potential landscape for new discoveries as well as new ways of being in the world: both key aims of research activity.

Social and health science researchers have used arts techniques along with traditional approaches to communicate scientific findings to general groups and also to promote health and wellbeing (e.g. Fraser & al Sayah, 2011, Johnson & Stanley, 2007). While this translational strategy has been typical of arts-based research in social and health science activity, recently, there has been a shift, which is reflected in the expansion and diversification in types of arts-based research. Savin-Baden and Major (2013) list three types of arts-based research: (1) arts-based inquiry, (2) arts-informED inquiry, and (3) arts-informING inquiry. They distinguish between these types of inquiry in the following way:

1. 'Arts-based inquiry: where the artistic process is used as research by artists, researchers and participants in order to understand the art itself or understand a phenomenon through the artistic process' (p. 293). For example, researchers might use clay to learn and understand more about sculpting or for personal exploration to make sense of an issue, experience, or concern.
2. Arts-informED inquiry has two types: a. where art is used to represent the findings of a study, for example, through photography or storytelling and b. where art is used to represent a response to the findings of an issue or situation studied for example, in researching children's experiences of living with HIV, a performance is created outlining the issues/

findings. This performance might lead to other performances created by caregivers and siblings, in response to what they have learnt (see Gray, 2003).

3. 'Arts-informING inquiry: where art is used in order to evoke a response from an audience (in the broadest sense) to a situation or issue' (Savin-Baden & Major, 2013, p. 293). An example of this is the Yarns of the Heart project that involved the creation of dolls by aboriginal women. These dolls captured aspects of their life stories and were presented at arts exhibitions in museums across Australia (CAN WA, 2011; Kasat, 2014).

This typology captures the growing currency of the arts in social science inquiry and action, which is relevant to politically oriented psychologies such as peace, and critical and community psychology. Yet, it is important to note that there is a tradition of using community-based arts practices to promote social justice and challenge various forms of structural violence within these areas of community development, education, and psychology (e.g. Bell, 2010; Conrad, 2004; Daher and Haz, 2011; Lykes, 1997; Wernick, Kulick, & Woodford, 2014). In particular, several authors (e.g. Kaptani & Yuval Davis, 2008; Sanjani, 2012) have used participatory action research (PAR) methodologies including forms of theatre, such as forum and playback theatre, to challenge structural violence and promote liberating social action.

15.3   Participatory Action Methodologies and Community Theatre

There has been considerable commitment to developing methodologies and undertaking research that can challenge oppression and promote liberation (see Brydon-Miller, 1997; Fine, 2006; Martín-Baró, 1994; Parker, 2005; Torre and Fine, 2011). Watkins and Shulman (2008) wrote:

> Liberatory research efforts can help open or hold open a social space where psychological experience can be understood in social and historical contexts, where critical understandings can be built, differences and their impacts explored, and emancipatory action initiated and reflected upon. (p. 269)

They continued by stating that this approach to research is attuned to the workings of power in research practices, is clearly about the purpose of knowledge production, and requires that researchers reflexively engage in clarifying their own motivations, social positioning, and how these shape research dynamics. For them … 'a critical approach looks deeply into how both the research context and the issue(s) it studies have become structured, attempting to understand the social, economic, and political pressures that are playing out in the research situation' (p. 269).

PAR is one approach with roots in different contexts in Latin America, Asia, and Africa (Fals Borda, 1979, 2001; Rahman, 2008; Swantz, 2008), which seeks to address structural violence and oppressive power relations. In PAR, participants are actively involved in research activity; they are not objects of research but engage as subjects in constructing and producing knowledge that can contribute to changing deleterious living conditions. Montero (2000) wrote that PAR is:

> a methodological process and strategy actively incorporating those people and groups affected by a problem, in such a way that they become co-researchers through their action in the different phases and moments of the research carried out to solve the problem. (p. 76)

Freire's (1972) critical pedagogy is central to PAR; in particular, the concept of consciousness-raising, which starts with people's participation as active agents in developing deeper awareness of their sociocultural and historical realities and their capacity to transform them.

Freire's (1972) writing has been very influential, including in the development of Boal's (1979) *Theatre of the Oppressed*. For Boal, the modes of producing theatre had to be transferred to people so that they could utilize them for liberatory action. He advocated putting theatre in the service of the oppressed 'so that they can express themselves and so that, by using the new language, they can also discover new concepts' (p. 97). Boal's work, for example in forum theatre, laid the foundation for other forms of participatory community drama such as *Playback Theatre* (Fox, 2007). This work has in turn informed other forms of practice such as Sanjani's (2012) *Living Enquiry*, which draws on non-scripted embodied practice, and is aimed at enquiring into the experiences of displaced communities, and of oppression faced by racialized people.

15.3.1   Forum Theatre

Forum theatre, as Prentki and Selman (2000) define it, 'is a very specific approach to involving audiences in investigating responses to oppressive social and political circumstances' (p. 117). This theatre technique, which was developed as part of Boal's *Theatre of the Oppressed*, is not scripted and breaks down the barrier between actors and audience. As Boal (1995) says: '…the spectator is transformed into a protagonist in the action, a spect-actor, without ever being aware of it' (p. 17). The typical process involves a group of interested individuals or community members being shown a scene, usually created by or with them, which explores an issue that is of concern to them. After the scene is presented it is played a second time. This time the audience members are invited to offer suggestions to improve the situation of the 'oppressed'. The problem enacted is always the symptom of oppression, and generally involves visible oppressors and a protagonist who is oppressed. Audience members are given the chance to find their own solutions to problems. This is based on the assumption that the audience or the 'oppressed' as Boal called his theatre audience have solutions within them. Change comes from within; they do not need to be given the answers when they can work it out for themselves. Audience members are invited to become the protagonists of their own lives. It is also possible to create a full theatre piece and 'forum' the decisions in that piece, or forum scenes and role-play solutions in separate groups.

Boal's work has not been without criticism. Some have commented that the dichotomous construction of oppressor and oppressed conceals the complexities

inscribed in diverse forms of power relations and does not challenge the oppressor (Chinyowa, 2014). To this end, Chinyowa advocates for an adaptation of Boal's theatre in order to address the complexities and fluid nature of both oppression and privilege. This kind of adaptation is in line with Kaptani and Yuval-Davis's (2008) proposal that theatre practise as research needs to be understood within a broader methodological and epistemological framework for knowledge production and social action. Informed by standpoint and feminist epistemologies they view research as value-laden and as a 'particular form of social relations' involving power dynamics. The authors argue that the social and cultural positions of researchers and participants, that is, their multiple subjectivities influence research dynamics and outcomes. These subject positions are multilayered and require analyses that are not limited to or by essentialist understandings of social categories. Instead of examining identity narratives as given, they advocate intersectional analyses that deconstruct the ways in which identity and social categories are socially constituted and contested. They also explore how power and privilege are produced and reproduced through symbolic means and their material effects.

15.3.2   Playback Theatre

Jonathan Fox and Jo Salas developed playback theatre in the 1970s (Fox, 2007; Salas, 1983). Hannah Fox (2007) writes: 'The Playback Theatre is humble: trained actors and musicians act out life stories volunteered by audience members. It happens on a bare stage. There are no costumes, no scripts' (p. 91). She continues: 'In a typical Playback Theatre there is a facilitator, called the 'conductor' who interfaces with the public, inviting individuals in the audience to share life stories, which the team of actors, accompanied by a musician, then acts out' (p. 91). It is a distinctive type of performance approach that centres on improvized acts based on audience-led storytelling (Moran and Alon, 2011). This form of theatrical expression involves audience members (the tellers) sharing personal narratives, to be retold and performed by actors (the players) (Bornmann and Crossman, 2011). The 'tellers witness their own story, gaining perspective and a sense of being heard. Actors and audience often resonate with the teller's story, strengthening bonds of understanding and mutual service between group members' (Moran & Alon, 2011, p. 319). Salas (1983) notes: 'the stories are fragments of lives, often chaotic, half-understood by the Teller, without clear beginnings, endings or climaxes' (p. 18). Playback theatre provides a space for individuals who are often marginalized to share their stories and/or counter-narratives (Dennis, 2007), and can therefore be seen as a means by which to 'liberate the disenfranchized voice' (p. 356). In this way, playback can be understood as political. Indeed, Fox (2007) and others (Rowe, 2007) assert that playback theatre targets more than the individual and group level, rather it emphasizes and encourages social change.

15.3.3   Features of Community Theatre Praxis

Several shared features of community drama forms such as forum and playback theatre can be described as follows:

- It is participatory and focuses on collaboration between various social actors
- There is a focus on storytelling and the connection created between the teller and the listener through the process of active witnessing
- There is a focus on consciousness raising, deconstruction, and re-signification
- There is a focus on improvization techniques that involve embodiment
- Process is privileged over the end product
- These forms of theatre are ethical and political in seeking to understand and challenge various forms of oppression and violence.

Kaptani and Yuval-Davis (2008, see also Sanjani, 2012) have argued that participatory theatre, including playback and forum theatre, can be viewed as a form of action research that is especially suited to the study of identity narratives of marginalized groups. Identity narratives are 'stories people tell themselves and others about who they are (and who they are not)' (Yuval-Davis, 2011, p. 14). Personal and collective identity narratives are informed by broader discourses, which have been defined by Mama (1995) as:

> the common-sense assumptions and taken-for-granted ideas, belief systems and myths that groups of people share and through which they understand each other. Social, cultural and historical processes are produced through discourses, which limit our experiences, understandings of self, and our relations with others. (p. 98)

Given that stories are shaped and constrained by discourse and also play a role in disrupting and potentially transforming discourses that are experienced as oppressive, storytelling can then be understood as 'a central site for the production of counter-narratives as well as for exposing ways in which racialized oppression is normalized' (Sonn, Stevens, & Duncan, 2013, p. 295). In the next part of this chapter we describe two projects both concerned with responding to forms of structural violence. Playback West of the Western Edge Youth Arts is based in Footscray in Melbourne's inner Western suburbs. The group works with culturally and linguistically diverse and economically disadvantaged groups to create arts and educational experiences for young people. Playback, forum, and oral history performance have all been used in different projects to tackle issues of racism as well as to improve intergenerational and intercultural social relationships. We describe a 3-year programme called Chronicles and discuss how in the project new knowledge was produced and structural violence challenged. Second, we discuss the work of Sistren Theatre Collective of Jamaica that has been using community theatre techniques, including forum theatre, in their critique and intervention into forms of structural violence since 1977. We also describe how Sistren has developed an approach that draws on both traditional research methods and participatory action theatre as a form of social inquiry.

15.4   The Chronicles Project

In this section we describe the theatre productions *Chronicles: Searching for Song-lines* (WEYA, 2013a) and *Beagle Bay Chronicles* (WEYA, 2013b) (collectively, the Chronicles project), which involved a diverse group of young people from Melbourne's Inner West as well as aboriginal young people from Beagle Bay. This project, which we have reported in detail elsewhere (Sonn, Quayle, MacKenzie, & Law, 2014), was initiated by the Western Edge Youth Arts (WEYA) and sought to foster intergenerational as well as intercultural dialogue and connection. The need to share stories across generations and cultural communities arises in a context where the 'white nation fantasy' (Hage, 1998) has manifested in debates over citizenship and belonging and what it means to be 'Australian' and who can be considered 'Australian' (Sonn et al. 2014), with implications for belonging for those constructed as other. Underpinning the project was the desire to challenge the supposed homogeneity of a white Australia through the creation of cultural exchange in which culturally and linguistically diverse, 'white' and aboriginal young people (and their elders) were brought into dialogue with each other about issues of identity, belonging, culture, and history.

Inspired by playback theatre, Chronicles involved adaptations and incorporated other methods. The artistic director noted: 'the use of oral history was in a sense an extension of Playback. However, rather than playing stories out on the spot improvisationally, we took time to prepare our performance' (C. Buhler, personal communication, 22 Oct 2013).

In the first part of this 3-year project (Searching for Songlines), the aim was to connect refugee, migrant, and indigenous young people from Melbourne's West with their own and each other's cultural histories. Telling these stories can be viewed as the recovery of historical memory, an important technique used in liberation psychology (Martín-Baró, 1994). This involved young people from Footscray, Deer Park, and Sunshine collecting oral histories from parents and grandparents, which would form the basis for the artistic productions. The diverse oral histories were then workshopped. The group together with the artistic director conducted a thematic analysis of the stories, which were then (re)presented as scripts for theatrical performances. These theatrical performances introduced audiences to the diverse histories, memories, and experiences of people in the Western suburbs of Melbourne.

The different scripts reflected the diverse histories of participants, and included for example, everyday life in an African community, the journey of a refugee, life in French-occupied Vietnam, and memories of arriving in Australia for the first time. These stories were then performed and embodied, using multiple forms of storytelling including singing, individual narration, and dialogue, as well as recorded music. The song 'Roots' was produced through this collaboration (WEYA, 2013a). Embodied knowing is important as it fosters deep learning that is felt and lived. The diverse modalities show the ways in which people can make and convey meaning. The stories that were performed captured the unique and shared stories of

displacement as well as the challenges and processes of how people from diverse backgrounds were negotiating belonging in Australian communities. Importantly, as Sonn et al. (2014) argued, gathering the oral histories helped the young people to understand their own and each other's backgrounds through the process of reflective witnessing; it meant re-signifying neglected but self-evident social and cultural resources and thereby claiming personally meaningful Australian identities. This is illustrated in the following excerpt taken from interview data gathered from participants in the project. One of the male participants who described himself as 'Anglo' noted that he learnt more deeply:

> about the Vietnamese culture, the African culture … the Samoans and because the mothers came along too, they like, the traditional stuff and you know it was great. …. you learn more deeply, I guess because I do come from, you know, [a] rural community, [so] that when I came here it was just like the further and further I got into hearing about the stories about the bombs and the weddings and that was, just amazing, and the war in Africa, …. [that] story about trying to get through the African jungle to try and get passports to come, that was in-depth stuff and that's today's society just from these young people.… yeah learning all of that and learning how much they've, some of them forgot about their culture, moving to here, and how much some still hold the culture.

In the second stage of the project (*Beagle Bay Chronicles*) the young people used the skills they had acquired in the first phase to support aboriginal young people in Beagle Bay to interview their elders. In Beagle Bay, the young people together collected oral histories from aboriginal elders of precolonial, mission periods, and the current time (Western Edge, 2013b).

For the participants who travelled from Melbourne the project influenced them in different ways as is reflected in the following excerpts:

> **Interviewer**: Did doing Chronicles change anything about the way that you think about yourself, or how you see yourself?
> **Participant**: Um, it makes me feel like a different type of Australian.
> **Interviewer:** Yeah?
> **Participant:** Um, my Australian ideals were very Western, a very Eurocentric kind of view but when I went to Beagle Bay and doing um, you know doing the whole project of Chronicles made me much more broader, like a broader idea of what's Australian to me, so like all my beliefs in other people were so concreted, but now it's like, … it's ah, everything started to open up and my idea of Australian, it's not Eurocentric, it's not very um, you know, uniquely Australian exactly so more of these lessons and these experiences I've learned and the histories I understand what Australian history is, um, makes me feel a much more open Australian.

Other participants commented on their personal development as well as the interpersonal skills and cultural knowledge they developed. In addition they commented on how members of the group changed as well as the young people they worked with in Beagle Bay. For example a male participant commented:

> …. by the end of that two weeks the young people up there, the Aboriginal kids, they were admitting they felt more pride, they felt more, you know, they felt less shame and they felt more interested and more aware of their culture, and that's pretty huge…

Songs for the project were written and performed by Kerrianne Cox, a leader in the community, together with the young people, and showcased some of the oral traditions of the area. Reflecting on the overall project, the artistic director commented:

> the strongest unifying factor across the whole project in terms of method was interviewing the elders for their oral histories; then having the young people identify the elements of those stories that were most fascinating to them, and theatricalising those, then building the productions out from those starting points. (Personal communication, 22 Oct 2013)

As we reflect on this project, we can reiterate that storytelling is central to arts-based inquiry and resonates strongly with the decolonizing methodologies agenda (Smith, 1999/2012), liberation psychology (Martín-Baró, 1994), and performative social science (Gergen & Gergen, 2011). Stories that are typically not part of the official discourse are told and (re)presented using a wide variety of modes such as songs, performances, and films, thereby generating new stories that were reflective and affirming of everyday lived experiences and histories. Sonn et al. (2014) reported that the young people from Melbourne involved in the project experienced a process of awareness-raising that followed both from their stories being centred and retold, and through engaging with the lives and stories of the aboriginal people. In terms of this overall project, they alluded to the catalytic validity of arts praxis stating:

> Through arts praxis, oral histories provided a vehicle for retrieving cultural memories that constitute the identities of people in different places. Together, in shared spaces, arts praxis provided an opportunity for people to engage in the deconstruction of normative scripts, and gain access to and create new stories that become symbolic resources for negotiating belonging in postcolonising settings. (Sonn et al., 2014, p. 15)

In addition to the catalysing effect of this form of arts practice, there are impacts more broadly in the public memory through the retrieval and elevation of silenced stories. This impact relates to the cultural significance of the practice and its products or, as Sanjani (2012) puts it, the impact that may 'endure in social and cultural memory' (p. 84). We also need to consider impact from the vantage point of the different participants as well as audience members 'because arts-based research can promote emotional reverberations and engaged conversations within the researcher and amongst those who bear witness in ways that build empathy, impact society and interrupt the status quo' (Sanjani, 2012, p. 83). In arts-based research, as in arts practice, the art form itself becomes the 'container' for the discovery. With performance-based approaches, the drama contains the space within which it is possible to play out and/or rehearse for life. Emunah (1994) said: 'dramatic performances signify possibilities for real life' (p. xiii). She also stated that drama is often thought of as the mirror to life, but that for participants in her groups the reverse is true. By playing, trying out new roles, and ways of being in the 'drama', participants 'are able to do something in real life that was previously too difficult or frightening' (p. xiii).

Under the guise of play and pretend, we can—for once—act in new ways. The distance from real life afforded by drama enables us to gain perspective on our real life roles and patterns and actions, and to experiment actively with alternatives.

Drama liberates us from confinement, be it socially or psychologically induced. The dramatic moment is one of emancipation (Emunah, 1996; p. xiii). What might seem beyond reach in real life becomes a possibility in the context of drama and as such becomes a rehearsal for life.

15.5   Sistren Theatre Collective (Jamaica)

Sistren Theatre Collective (Jamaica) emerged in 1977 as a result of the People National Party's 'democratic socialist' reforms, which were implemented under the leadership of then Prime Minister Michael Manley. The group comprised mainly working class and a few middle-class women. Since its inception in the late 1970s, Sistren has committed itself to challenging structural violence in all its manifestations—physical, economic, and political—and giving voice to subaltern women whose lives are directly impacted by these forms of violence. In Jamaica, the aftermath of slavery is ongoing and its legacy can be seen in the existence of colour/class social hierarchies (Cliff, 2008) that have resulted in many people living in impoverished conditions and excluded from decision-making processes while others lead comfortable lives. Moreover, neocolonialism, in the form of US economic and political pressure, entrenches inequalities and benefits from Jamaica's weak economic position in the global marketplace (Thomas, 1988). The combination of these two forms of colonialism have led to many forms of structural violence in the Jamaican society such as the exploitation of men and women in low-paid work in areas such as US-operated Free Trade Zones, the patriarchal oppression of women, and gang violence on the streets of Kingston (Jamaica's capital city) as well as other areas of the island. In this section, we will discuss the community drama techniques that Sistren has employed to challenge structural violence in the Jamaican society which exemplify the PAR methodology (Fals Borda, 1979, 2001; Montero, 2009).

In its first 3 years as a theatre group, Sistren drew on the personal testimonies of Sistren members as the starting point for developing their methodology. They would later include more conventional research methods, such as consulting archival and secondary sources, alongside adult education and community theatre techniques. Nonetheless, the group has always kept its focus on the lived experiences of community members, thus, validating their stories as an important form of knowledge and, by extension, their existence. Smith (1999) suggests that indigenous testimonies are 'a way of talking about an extremely painful event or series of events' (p. 145). Although Sistren members are not indigenous in the same way as Smith, their testimonies perform the same function. Moreover, the practice of testifying is part of the Jamaican oral tradition, which is central to working-class Jamaican people's lives. However, the women in the group, who were mostly from the most economically disadvantaged areas of Kingston, had never before openly discussed the social structures that kept them oppressed. The issues that surfaced

in the testimonies were all focused on gender relations in the Jamaican society: the conditions for female workers, the hardships associated with teenage pregnancy, rape, domestic violence, and so forth (Ford-Smith 1986a, p. 122–123).

Freire (1972) suggests that the oppressed internalize the opinion of the oppressors to the extent that 'they become convinced of their own unfitness' (p. 39). Through conscientization, participants learn to 'perceive the social, political, and economic contradictions, and to take action against the oppressive elements of reality' (p. 15). The safe space set-up for Sistren's consciousness-raising sessions can be described as an 'aesthetic space', to use Boal's terminology, which provided the participants (spect-actors) with the freedom to discuss issues affecting their daily lives and to create performances around these issues without the presence of a traditional theatre audience. '[T]his theatrical process of recounting, in the present, and in front of witnesses "in solidarity", a story lived in the past, offers, in itself, an alternative' (Boal, 1995, p. 25). The movement forward is therapeutic as it creates a distinction between past, present, and future, and thus offers a sense of renewal for the spect-actor involved. Sistren members' experiences of gender oppression were demystified which in turn eroded the isolation in which many of the women existed (Smith 2004): structural violence was named and challenged.

The end product of Sistren's first year of workshops in the 'aesthetic space' was a theatrical production called *Bellywoman Bangarang* (1978) which explored the issues that came out of the women's life stories. Ford-Smith (1986b) writes:

> We wanted to make our claims visible, and to bring the voices of poor women to the public. We wanted to show that working class women need not be bound by the drudgery of their work. Sistren was concerned to inspire other working class women to be aware of their imaginations and the basis for social transformation which existed within them. (p. 4)

This production, performed in Kingston's Barn Theatre before mainly middle-class audiences, also confronted, to some extent, their 'oppressors' (Smith, 2004). The personal testimonies of the women in the theatre group were 'the research data' Sistren initially used to expose gender violence and its impacts on working-class women.

Following *Bellywoman Bangarang*, Sistren turned its focus outwards to include issues facing other community groups, such as female sugar workers and domestic workers. In both these communities, the women were/are oppressed through structures that keep them in poverty: low pay, poor working conditions, and no chance of promotion. Moreover, in the Jamaican context both industries stem directly from slavery and the violence of this system continues to inform the way these workers are treated (Smith, 2013). By conducting conventional research on sugar plantations and domestic service and interviewing women working in these industries, Sistren was able to weave historical information together with personal experiences to devise two workshop plays—*Domestick* (1981) and *The Case of Miss Iris Armstrong* (1984)—that addressed the structures that keep these women oppressed. In both cases, audience members were invited to contribute to the performance by finding solutions to Miss Iris's dilemmas in *The Case of Miss Iris Armstrong* and discussing the issues presented in *Domestick*.

In the workshops we find Boal's technique of 'forum theatre' to be particularly useful because it allows the group we are working with to have an immediate experience of the problem being dealt with. We present an image of the problem and then discuss it with the group (Ford-Smith, 1986a, pp. 124–125).

Many women who attended these workshops had very low levels of education which made the use of participatory drama—as a form of two-way learning (from both the participants and the facilitators)—even more important. French (1989), a workshop facilitator, reports that one of the participants in the sugar workers' workshops initially said: '"Me? Learn from me? Me, no know nutten, ma?" After the presentation, the same woman was the first to speak: "Lord Jesus, a how oonu know all dem-deh tings, ma? A how oonu know me fe put me inna de play?"' (16). Following the presentation of the drama, the discussion between spect-actors moved 'from the personal to the structural analysis' (Ford-Smith, 1986a, p. 125).

Sistren's approach to arts-based research places the knowledge that exists within the participants at centre-stage and then uses more conventional research methodologies to enhance the issues presented via the medium of drama, the 'living study' (Ford-Smith, 1986a, p. 125). This approach is particularly important within the Jamaican context where working-class women are often stereotyped by their middle- and upper-class counterparts as having 'no imagination' (Ford-Smith, 1986a, p. 124) and are discriminated against because of their low levels of literacy. Through presenting the issues using community drama techniques, such as forum theatre, participants can find solutions to their own problems. At the same time, their daily experiences become the basis for further social analysis. 'At the end of a workshop… each person has a clearer sense of what he or she can actually do to understand or change the situation' (Ford-Smith, 1986a, p. 125).

15.6   Conclusion

In this chapter we discussed arts-based research with a focus on community theatre as a form of PAR that can contribute to the agenda of peace psychology in conflict and violence prevention and the promotion of peace. We discussed arts-based research within broader developments such as postmodernism and postcolonialism that has challenged basic assumptions about knowledge and research as value-free and free of power dynamics. Those developments have also raised questions about the purpose of research and knowledge production and signalled an ethical and political commitment to engage in research that is socially responsive, decolonial, and can contribute to social change. This is reflected in PAR, which has a history in social psychological inquiry (see Fine 2006; Torre and Fine, 2011), including in the work generated in Latin America inspired by Freire's (1972) critical pedagogy and later Boal's (1985) *Theatre of The Oppressed*. Community-based theatre is participatory and dialogical and based on the premise that knowledge is partial and contingent and subject to regimes of power. It draws on traditions of storytelling and embodied practice. It seeks to disrupt normative understandings of self and other,

and generate new less oppressive stories for social identity construction and community making. The processes of producing community theatre involve multiple iterative stages that use different methods for data gathering, analysis, representation, and performance/action.

Community-based theatre values local knowledge; it is grounded, and examines this knowledge, within broader social, economic, political contexts and histories of power relations. It engages in multiple ways in which people express themselves and make meaning. Kaptani and Yuval-Davis (2008) concluded that the most important aspect of participatory theatre for sociological research is that it 'produces a specific kind of new knowledge, sharing with other standpoint feminist methodologies a situated constructive, and reflexive perspective, its main characteristics can be summed up as embodied, dialogical and illustrative' (para. 4.3). In our view PAR and decolonizing methodologies, including community theatre, open up important avenues for peacebuilding praxis in which researchers collaborate with multiple social actors, and where there is focus on making visible the production of power and privilege through symbolic, discursive, and embodied means. This is, in our view, what holds most promise for peace psychology research—the possibility to bring into focus the workings of power, the implications for differently positioned social actors, and the opportunity for jointly generating new futures.

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Chapter 16
Photovoice as Emancipatory Praxis: A Visual Methodology Toward Critical Consciousness and Social Action

Mohamed Seedat, Shahnaaz Suffla and Umesh Bawa

16.1   Introduction

Visual methodology has traditionally been overlooked in research, with cultural prominence and value assigned to language in the context of how individuals represent subjectivity and experience. Resultantly, language has become the center of meaning-making activities and modes of interaction within social science research. However, the growing accent on multimodal media in research, alongside critical research traditions that emphasize participatory visual forms of knowledge construction and consciousness-raising directed at transformation, has conferred ascending importance to the ideas of innovation, inclusion, and imagination in research.

Visual methods, including Photovoice, digital storytelling, video-documentaries, drawings, creation of artifacts, and archival research, represent opportunities for intimate, participatory public-engaged inquiry. Visual methods that privilege the sensory dimensions of meaning-making, connect marginalized communities in particular to the world of ideas and innovation, and contest the practice of restricting knowledge-creation to the academy (e.g., Gubrium & Harper, 2013). Participatory

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visual methodology that involves the creation, composition, and interpretation of images, uses multidisciplinary analytical lenses to understand and explicate issues like race, gender, marginality, migration, power, identity, and health, as well as the culture of institutions and organizations, such as schools (Prosser, 2007).

The growing adoption of visual methodologies in the social science reflects an epistemological turn focused on the material and artistic features of social and health phenomena (Vince & Warren, 2012). The growing authority, use and credibility of visual methods is evident in the extant literature (see Vince & Warren, 2012 for a detailed critical analysis); a range of studies have used visual methods to understand and deepen the conceptualization of individuals' and group's experiences. Through visual methods participants can be involved in the research process itself so as to enable them to make meaning of their lifeworlds and pertinent social issues through the visual realm. Visual methods represent a medium through which participants may assert voice and expression in relation to social issues (Vince & Warren, 2012). These methods, as initially developed within anthropology and sociology, use visual modalities to produce data and include the use of visual objects as a unit of analysis (see Prosser, 2007; Warren, 2009). These participatory methodologies and associated analytic lenses generate textured visual and narrative data, and offer spaces for the co-construction of knowledge shaped by the participants' curiosities and imports. The analytical lenses, which may include critical theory, cultural studies, or postmodernism, help interpret images that may be created by researchers, produced by participants, or simply identified by researchers as data (Prosser, 2007). Visual methods can be used to emphasize the context within which images are produced, the subject position of participants, and the content of images (Keller, Fleury, Perez, Ainsworth, & Vaughan, 2008; Pink, 2003). It can also challenge the presumption of cultural universality in that they may help understand issues in context and place the accent on understanding participant meaning, experiences, and behaviors in context (Keller et al. 2008).

Visual methods have been used to study the interconnections between emotions, relations, and politics intrinsic to change. They have also been used within community and organizational settings to kindle collective emotional experiences, encourage multiple understandings of specific phenomena, and promote analytical dialogues that may raise both contest and consensus around representation of social issues (e.g., Vince & Warren, 2012). Skilled facilitation of dialogues involving visual data may offer profound insights into how the emotional–political nexus may either enable or hinder social change. Some visual methods assume a psychoanalytical logic to enable the exploration of personal, interpersonal, and social undercurrents that shape the representation of phenomena, such as gender, race, and class (see Prosser & Loxley, 2008; Vince & Warren, 2012).

In the section below, we elucidate on Photovoice as a visually oriented community-based participatory research (CBPR) method that expands the modes of representation and the range of voices to help explicate individuals' and communities' social and political realities. Photovoice promotes the representation of marginalized people in particular, supports community empowerment, capacity-building, partnerships and academic-community co-learning, and seeks to balance research, action and influence on policy-making (Minkler & Wallerstein, 2009). It aims to

affirm voice, elicit meaning-making and knowledge-creation among marginalized populations specifically, and facilitate agency and connections to policy-makers. The method has been used across diverse contexts to bring attention to various social and health conditions (e.g., Catalani & Minkler, 2010; Wang & Burris, 1997; Wang, Yi, Tao, & Carovano, 1998; Wang, Morrel-Samuels, Hutchinson, Bell, & Pestronk, 2004). Through a critical analysis of Photovoice as emancipatory praxis, we aim to highlight its synergy with the values of peace psychology that place the emphasis on social justice, transformation, co-construction of knowledge, and the inclusion of voices that have been marginalized by hegemonic social structures.

We draw on a multi African country Photovoice project to illustrate how marginalized youth may be positioned as meaning-makers and engaged as participants in the prevention of violence, and in the promotion of safety and peace. The project description is meant to exemplify how Photovoice may be enacted as a participatory visual method to engage citizens in peacebuilding through an accent on voice, meaning-making, critical consciousness, and social agency.

16.2 Photovoice: Origins, Applications, Philosophy, and Praxis

Photovoice was first developed and applied in the mid-1990s as a participatory community engagement method involving rural women in China (Wang, Yi, Tao, & Carovano, 1998). Since then Photovoice has been deployed in a range of public health and social justice issues, including, HIV/AIDS stigmatization (Moletsane et al., 2007), learning problems, cancer survival, homelessness, orphanhood, constructions of masculinity (Langa, 2008, 2010), social solidarity (Kesse, 2011), injury risk (Ibragimova & Bekmukhamedov, 2010), and refugee experiences (Hergenrather, Rhodes, Cowan, Bardhoshi and Pula, 2009; Walker & Early, 2010). Likewise, it has been applied across diverse social and geographical contexts, covering different ages, ethnic and linguistic groups, and under-served communities (Catalani & Minkler, 2010; Gant et al. 2009; Hergenrather et al., 2009; Strack, Magill, & McDonagh, 2004; Walia & Leipert, 2012; Wang, 2006; Wilson et al. 2007).

Photovoice methodology is described as:

> A process by which people can identify, represent and enhance their community through a specific photographic technique. It entrusts cameras to the hands of people to enable them to act as recorders, and potential catalysts for social action and change, in their own communities. It uses the immediacy of the visual image and accompanying stories to furnish evidence and promote an effective, participatory means of sharing expertise to create healthful public policy (Wang & Burris, 1997, p. 369).

Invented as a CBPR modality (Wang & Burris, 1997), Photovoice combines photography, development of narratives and critical dialogue about social and health issues, and grassroots activism. Photovoice derives its liberatory currency by privileging participants' subjective views and decentering the power of language. By coupling photography and narratives, it assumes the capacity to deepen understanding of concerns and assets among marginalized and under-served groups, such as

the disabled, mentally challenged, and the very young who may not possess the full competence for verbal engagements. As such, it seeks to give voice to marginalized individuals and communities through visual representation of their social realities. Evidence indicates that where Photovoice projects are characterized by high levels of participation, they contribute to enhance understanding of community assets and needs, and facilitate community empowerment, as well as community involvement in advocacy and social action (Catalani & Minkler, 2010).

Youth and adult participants who used Photovoice within a comprehensive community-building initiative in Battle Creek, Michigan reported impacts in very particular ways (Foster-Fishman, Nowell, Deacon, Niever, & McCann, 2005). Participation helped to increase their self-competence and awareness of their immediate environments and mobilize assets for their ensuing sociopolitical activism. The documentation process inherent to Photovoice allowed participants to recognize their own personal strengths and competencies, enabling them to assume control of their lives. Participants also developed a deeper sensitivity of their community context and social circumstances, widening their understandings of their community environments. Importantly, the participants reported a cultivation of resources, including relational networks, deeper allegiance to community, and an enhanced understanding of change mechanisms that enabled their roles as change agents. In short, the reported impacts illustrate the appeal of Photovoice as a participatory visual methodology. In another Photovoice project that included youth in the exploration of violence, the method enabled richly textured understandings about violence, its causes and prevention; the youth's Photovoice dialogues connected violence to race and poverty, thereby pointing to the significance of Photovoice as a participatory method to engage youth meaningfully in violence prevention work. This Photovoice project stands as an illustrative example of building community-science partnerships around violence prevention (Chonody, Ferman, Amitrani-Welsh, & Martin, 2013).

In its accent on critical dialogue, Photovoice presumes that individuals have stories to relate that are connected to arrangements of gender, class, race, sexuality, family, country, and so forth, and that these narratives are mediated by the forms of portrayal available in the culture. In these respects, it is inspired by Paulo Freire's (1970) notion of critical consciousness that calls on participants to "consider, and seek to act upon, the historical, institutional, social, and political conditions that contribute to personal and community problems" (Wang, Morrel-Samuels, Hutchison, Bell, & Pestronk, 2004, p. 911). According to Freire, critical consciousness is the process of enabling "people (to) develop their power to perceive critically the way they exist in the world with which and in which they find themselves; they come to see the world… as a reality in the process, in transformation" (Freire, 1970, p. 83).

The social activism arising from Photovoice is thus integral to the process of social consciousness and intended to shape policy and community decisions. As such, social activism may embrace photographic exhibitions and public campaigns to bring attention on pressing community issues and the influences of social structures on community life (Suffla, Kaminer, & Bawa, 2012). Thus, Photovoice privileges

the material, ideological and discursive as critical to individuals' voiced experiences. It challenges the existing dominance of a single scientific approach or discourse in favor of a merged approach that includes indigenous theories and practices, as well as a set of principles and assumptions that privilege community voice.

16.3 The Multi-Country Photovoice Project

The multi-country project is an innovative approach to exploring youth representations of safety and peace in marginalized communities in South Africa, Mozambique, Uganda, Zambia, Egypt, and Ethiopia, whereas actively engaging youth as producers of knowledge and agents of change. It is referenced against the growing interest by researchers, practitioners, and policy-makers to recognize the challenges faced by youth and simultaneously constructs youth as knowledge-makers and social agents. In this way, the project positions youth beyond the victim-perpetrator binaries that are evident in the mainstream violence prevention sector, which tend to cast youth in need of protection or control; such dualisms hamper engagement with youth as contributing community members (Suffla et al. 2012). Even though youth are disproportionately involved as victims and perpetrators of violence and unintentional injury in South Africa and the larger African continent (see Van Niekerk, Suffla, & Seedat, 2012), the safety and peace promotion sector in the region has rarely incorporated youth into shaping the safety and peace promotion agenda, and associated contextually and culturally suitable interventions. The capacity of contemporary African youth to have voice and agency has not been adequately harnessed in creating safer communities.

Underpinned by the construction of youth as social agents, the Photovoice project recognizes that in many contemporary societies youth have less opportunities to interact with adults about their social realities and for consequential civic or political participation (Kirshner, 2007; O'Donoghue & Strobel, 2007; also see Suffla et al. 2012). Such marginalization is often intensified for youth living in situations marked by poverty, inequality, encumbered families, and inadequate social and health services (Makiwane & Kwizera, 2009; Newman, Fox, Flynn, & Christeson, 2000; O'Donoghue & Strobel, 2007). Youth living under conditions of socioeconomic disadvantage may be at risk for negative outcomes like school dropout, substance abuse, criminality, and violence perpetration (Pancer, Pratt, Hunsberger, & Alisat, 2007). In troubled contexts characterized by youth apathy and disaffection, opportunities for meaning-making, agency and empowerment may contain positive mediating influences for the prevention of adolescent risk behaviors (Chinman & Linney, 1998).

Increasing evidence reveals that youth engaged in community life register significantly lower rates of alcohol and drug use, teenage pregnancy, school failure and criminal activity, and experience increases in academic achievement, self-esteem, self- and collective-efficacy, and relational connection (Denault & Poulin, 2009; Kirshner, 2007; Nissen, 2011; see review by Pancer et al. 2007; Wallerstein

& Duran, 2006). Community participation in adolescence is predictive of positive health and social outcomes in adulthood (Younis & Yates, 1999). Evidence has also shown that young people can become active coresearchers on youth-focused issues; youth find working collaboratively with adults empowering and affirming especially when such collaboration is focused on attending to deleterious conditions and strengthening assets in their communities. Activism of this nature constructs young people as influential civic actors and as contributing citizens. A corpus of literature (e.g., Flanagan & Christens, 2011; Ginwright, 2007; Gray & Hayes, 2008; Yohalem & Martin, 2007) affirms that community-based youth groups embody spaces for activism and engagement with relevant social issues; such activism foregrounds the nexus between personal and political factors that influence youth wellness and justice (see Prilleltensky & Fox, 2007).

The multi-country Photovoice project, situated within a large Africa-centered child and youth safety, peace and health promotion programme, concentrates on awakening and understanding young people's interpretations of safety and peace in their communities, as typified by both assets and risks, and supporting social action toward safety and peace promotion. Launched in 2011, the collaborative project has been enacted in under-served communities in the six indicated African countries. The multi-country partnerships were negotiated through our existing collegial relationships in the six countries. The authors of this chapter served themselves as the primary conceptual leaders on the project and our Africa country adult partners worked as the facilitative drivers of the community-based enactments.

16.3.1   Participants

An average of ten participants, aged between 13 and 16 years and evenly distributed by sex, were recruited from each community across the participating countries. The participants, all enrolled at school at the time of the project implementation, were recruited through youth organizations in each community, and the support of community-based social actors and stakeholders connected to non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and community-based organizations (CBOs). Assent and parental consent were obtained before the implementation of the project.

16.3.2   Scope, Aims, and Process of Photo Missions

The Photovoice project intended to: (1) support youth to profile and present their representations of safety and peace, focusing on things, places and people; (2) stimulate critical dialogue and meaning-making about safety and peace through small- and large-group photo discussions; and (3) strengthen participants' social agency and activism in relation to safety and peace promotion. These aims were resonant with the key principles of community-engaged research: empowerment of marginalized groups, mobilization of community assets, and encouragement of social action. The

photo missions were themed around *Things, places and people that make me feel safe/unsafe in my community*.

16.3.3   Photovoice Implementation

A total of between seven and ten 3-h weekly sessions were held over a period of 3 months in each of the participating sites. The group meetings took place after school hours and sometimes over weekends at secure and conveniently located community venues. Across the participant communities, the meetings and discussions were facilitated by trained clinical psychologists, the second and third authors of this chapter, and co-facilitated by academic colleagues and partners. The academic colleagues in all the countries, excluding South Africa, helped obtain contextual and cultural congruence and, in the case of Mozambique, Egypt, and Ethiopia, the co-facilitators also offered translations between Portuguese/Shangaan, Arabic and Tigrinya, and English, respectively. All the discussions were audio-recorded, and visual aids were regularly used to document key features of the discussions.

Across the sites the first group meeting served to orient participants to the logic and purpose of Photovoice project and to obtain consensus on the Photovoice theme. As part of the orientation, the facilitators encouraged discussions about youth voice and activism. The facilitators used images from various photographic libraries to illustrate how pictures may be used in diverse ways to narrate stories and express ideas. At the second meeting, the third author, a professional photographer, provided training in basic photography, sensitizing participants to photographic techniques, photography ethics, power, consent and safety as related to the youth themselves and to the subjects of the photographs. In the second session, each participant was given a disposable camera and trained in camera usage and photography practice. Once trained, all the youth participants were requested to undertake a photo mission centered on the theme *Things, places and people that make me feel safe/unsafe in my community*. Depending on the country specific logistical arrangements, the participants were given between 3 and 14 days to complete their photo missions. On completion of the photo missions the cameras were retrieved and dispatched to a laboratory for the development and printing of the photographs. As a means of ensuring their safety, participants were asked to undertake their photo missions in the company of adults or older youth. At the subsequent group meeting/s, participants were requested to select five of their photographs that best exemplified the themes that they wanted to talk about. The photo narratives, facilitated through individual interviews, were audio recorded for transcription and analysis. As part of the dialogue process participants were encouraged to describe each of the five photographs, elucidate on their particular image selection, and talk about the themes reflected in their selected photographs. The facilitators scheduled the next session as a poster development activity as a way of inventing space for participants to display their images and narratives, and actively witness and engage with peer reactions to their meaning-making about safety and peace. In the ensu-

ing session/s the facilitators guided the participants through an analytical dialogue about the conspicuous themes in the selected collective photographs. Throughout the dialogues participants were encouraged to situate their meaning-making within the particularities of their local realities, their respective country contexts and associated social realities. In the final meeting the facilitators prompted participants to consider their own roles and possible responses by way of awakening a sense of social agency. All the country groups delineated a series of actions, some more achievable than others, that could possibly be adopted to tackle risks to safety and peace, improve community safety and peace resources, and expand their engagement in community matters. This closing conversation concentrated on ways of securing adult and institutional support for the anticipated activism in safety and peace promotion, and obtaining participant opinion on the Photovoice process. As a mark of closure, each participant was given a framed photograph of herself/himself.

We suggest that the project resonates with social justice perspectives in peace and community psychologies that have argued for establishing opportunities for the excluded to assert voice; challenge dominant cultural and academic discourses; contribute meaningfully to critical public dialogues; and shape and lead attempts directed at addressing harmful conditions in society, thereby supporting the co-construction of social change and an activist agenda (e.g., see Christie, Wagner, & Winter, 2001). Adopting this peace psychology orientation, the project positioned the youth as key actors of community-centered peacebuilding processes. Accordingly, the project as an enactment of peacebuilding, provided spaces for and privileged youth voice, knowledge-creation, and social agency, challenging dominant and exclusionary practices and narrative. The multi-country project represented a counter-narrative that allowed young people themselves to highlight what they regarded as important within their social-cultural worlds. We suggest that the use of participants' photographs, narratives, and dialogues was integral in enabling critical consciousness of the social, physical, environmental, relational, and affective dimensions of safety and peace.

Looking back, we propose that the book, *Voices in pictures: African children's visions of safety* (Suffla, Bawa, & Seedat, 2014), embodied one attempt within the project to enact the principles of peace. The book presents a collection of photographs taken by the young people who participated in the Photovoice project that positions them as meaning-makers, knowledge-producers, and change agents. The book offers a unique visual portrayal of participants' social worlds, projects the voices and stories behind the photographs, and provides a platform for the celebration of youth knowledge and agency. The book is organized around four themes, caring security, compassionate connections, comforting spaces, and communal solidarity that represent the youth's meanings of safety and peace. Each photograph contains a brief narrative; together the visuals and narratives produce specific articulations of safety and peace that rarely find representation and space in the mainstream academic and public literature. As a publication, it therefore represents an assertion of youth voice and a performance of visually based meaning-making in the public space. It embodies a public enactment of knowledge-making and public engagement by African youth. The publication calls on readers to stand as witnesses to very specific temporal and spatial localities spanning the participating countries.

The photographs, embodying "associations and assemblies between spaces, people, objects, senses, symbols, and signs" (Reavey & Johnson, 2008, p. 312) enabled the youth to access the layers of meaning and experience with respect to safety and peace in their communities. The meaning-making process also went beyond the discursive and encouraged youth agency and engagement in reflexive practices. The youth's photographs and narratives were multidimensional and complex articulations of safety and peace that expand on orthodox constructions of safety and peace, and tend to emphasize risk reduction and alteration of perceptions. The youth constructed safety and peace as being contingent on physical order, social order, security, and affective and interpersonal relations and connections. Whereas, physical order was marked by well-maintained physical infrastructure and ordered physical environments, social order was characterized by pro-social community behaviors and actions, presence and visibility of law enforcement, and religious practice. Security was understood as the fulfillment of basic needs, such as food, water, health, shelter, employment, and education. Affective and interpersonal connections with family, friends, peers, and support groups were constructed as providing a sense of security and protection by others. Examples of photographs and extracts from the accompanying narratives for each of these themes are provided below (Figs. 16.1, 16.2, 16.3, and 16.4).

Fig. 16.1 Physical disorder. As you can see there are marketers selling next to contaminated water, which is not healthy. I decided to show you this picture. Let me say I never had an opportunity to talk about it… Yes, because we youth do not have our voice, we are not considered. The first time we came here our mission was about Photovoice. So I thought people always complain about this but they never talk about it. I think it is an opportunity to talk about it through the photo. So this is why I chose this photo, to show you what happens in Garden House. (Participant 1–15 years old, male, Zambia)

Fig. 16.2 Social order. This one, I was trying to show in our community how people cooperate. It is written here "Contribution in progress," it means donation for Nanikani, so that they can build a police post. In this area there is no police post. As a result, there are many crimes, so people try to come together. No wonder it is a community. A community is a group of people who live together and work together … so I tried to take this picture to show you what really happens in our community, how our lives really are. (Participant 2–15 years old, male, Zambia)

Fig. 16.3 Lack of security. People are fetching water. There is a water problem in this area. This is Chipata overspill. This is a common problem in the area. Without water, I feel unsafe. (Participant 3–16 years old, male, Zambia)

Fig. 16.4 Affective and interpersonal relations and connections. They make me feel safe. If anybody wants to hit me then they will be there to help. So we just sit in the park and make jokes or go on the slide. (Participant 4–13 years old, female, South Africa)

The immediate appeal and authority of photographs juxtaposed with narratives were made apparent in Mozambique where a photo exhibition spawned a community-wide intervention that simultaneously attended to structural susceptibility and physical disorder as risks to safety, and that serendipitously encouraged peacebuilding (see Suffla, Seedat, & Bawa, 2015). Through a series of photo exhibitions held at schools and other public facilities, the participants brought attention to the mass and noxiousness of garbage in the community (see photograph below). Their photographs, narratives, and engagements during one of the first exhibitions held in their community captivated and inspired a local government official present at the exhibition; the official, moved by the visual depictions in particular, persuaded the municipality to prioritize waste management and employ 100 women, mostly widows, to manage the clearance of waste in two neighborhoods (Fig. 16.5).

Another photograph, depicting an abandoned and dilapidated house (see below), which was identified as a site of crime and violence against young women, also impelled a government official to have the municipality demolish it (Fig. 16.6).

The immediacy of the visual messages contained in the indicated photographs seemed to have appealed to an otherwise intractable bureaucracy to take immediate action on environments that produce risks for health and violence. The municipal decision did not require lengthy written submissions or any oral representations. Both the waste management intervention and action to destroy the derelict building, arising from the young people's activism that adopted a visual-narrative

Fig. 16.5 Rubbish dump. It is a container full of trash. This happens because there is a lack of services in our community, and so a lack of hygiene. I see danger here. (Participant 5–16 years old, male, Mozambique)

Fig. 16.6 Dilapidated physical structures. This is a deserted house. It is very dangerous, especially for girls because they can be dragged here and violated. These people get hurt … (Participant 6–16 years old, male, Mozambique)

methodology, may be read as community peacebuilding exercises underpinned by ideas of social justice and inclusivity; the youth not only used generative means, as opposed to violent demonstrations, to bring public attention to issues of importance to them, but also asserted complex meanings of safety and peace. In the case of the

waste management intervention the photo exhibitions, which stimulated municipal decisions, indirectly connected two otherwise marginal groups who bore the marks of structural violence: the youth who are rarely considered in public decision-making processes and widowed women who tend to be positioned on the periphery of the local economy. In the instance of the dilapidated house, the youth connected, at least virtually, to young women who were at risk for violence. In both cases, the youth's photo exhibitions connected them to the realm of public decision-making and community change; in turn, their agentic capacities and the resultant actions may be read as an act of social justice that addressed the structural exclusion of youth in knowledge creation and public decision-making.

The repositioning of the youth as knowledge-makers focused on safety and peace was illustrated again when they assembled as a multi-country group for a youth-led conference, book launch, and photo exhibition as part of an annual research and innovation event hosted by an open and distance learning institution in South Africa. This particular gathering of youth within an academic space embodied a moment of building a language and network of solidarity across cultural and geographical boundaries; a language that recognized the commonality of everyday experiences across country specific contexts. The multi-country photo exhibition, which included depictions of littering and poor waste management as threats to health and safety, represented a specific visual illustration of commonalities across country boundaries. The conference and associated events embodied a moment of hope and imagination; the youth imagined themselves as a network of continentally based social actors linked through relations of solidarity to enact safety and peace through the adoption of participatory visual methodologies. The multi-county gathering in an academic space, facilitated by adults and institutional resources, enabled the youth to imagine safety and peace through generative and peaceful means.

16.4 Conclusion

By way of conclusion, we emphasize that the employment of multimodal forms of communication and texts, including Photovoice, holds much value for research directed at stimulating critical consciousness; affirming voice; challenging dominant and exclusionary discourses and practices; and supporting an activist agenda toward peacebuilding. The Photovoice project described here illustrates how visual methodologies may be implemented to position and engage marginalized populations as key advocates of peace. The combination of visuals and narratives offers creative and transformative spaces to confer substance to the values underlying social justice orientations to peace. Notwithstanding the celebrated authority and appeal of the marginalized voice in Photovoice, in the spirit of criticality we stress the value of remaining vigilant about the power dynamics inherent to CBPR engagements, especially when researchers, adults, and institutions or organizations assume primary responsibility for mobilizing resources and facilitation (see Suffla et al. 2015).

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Chapter 17
Music and Peace

Jaqueline Bornstein

17.1   Introduction

Despite music and the arts being viewed by many as not robust enough to deal with the concrete issues related to violent conflict, cultural workers across the globe are utilizing the arts to assist in building cultures of peace. Music and the arts are being employed to address social-psychological elements contributing to conflict such as the dehumanization of the "other," conflict-related trauma, and, conflict perpetuating one-sided perspectives of the conflict and its history. These projects can provide a rich source of data for peace psychologists.

This chapter begins with a discussion of the place of music and the arts in contemporary conflict. The ways in which arts-based approaches can contribute to attaining a variety of social-psychological related peacebuilding goals will then be explored. Contexts in which music- and arts-based peacebuilding initiatives can be appropriately utilized will also be considered. This theoretical content is not a literature review as might be expected in a psychology/science journal article. Rather, the content is meant to provide some theoretical background to the practice of peace practitioners utilizing music and the arts to stimulate psychological shifts in conflicting communities. The references used are drawn from the field of peacebuilding/conflict transformation, which relates to my academic background.

Finally, a discussion of a novel Indonesian music- and arts-based project aimed at promoting tolerance toward local non-Islamic cultures is presented. The case study provides insight into potential research approaches and the importance of considering local context while maintaining flexibility when investigating arts-based peacebuilding programs. The study is not presented to show how successful a music-based peace program can be, although the project had successes, but rather how one might go about researching the impact of such a project and how such a project relates to social-psychological peacebuilding goals.

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17.2   The Arts and Contemporary Conflict

Music and the arts have been considered by many as undeserving of significant attention when addressing conflict. This is particularly apparent with high-level post-conflict initiatives where agendas have typically focused on providing for basic material needs, on institution building, and perhaps trials and tribunals (Cohen, 2005; Lumsden, 1999; Maiese, 2006; Schirch, 2005; Zelizer, 2003). These standard post-conflict agendas are primarily based on rational and structural approaches to conflict and while important, are unlikely to be sufficient to bridge disparate communities and engender societal hope for a nonviolent interdependent future (Bar-Tal, 2007; Bar-Tal & Teichman, 2005; Cohen, 2005; Kaufman, 2001, 2006; Kelman, 1997; Schirch, 2005). In addition to the addressing of human rights violations and political and economic inequities, openness to diversity, confidence in one's neighbors, and a vision in a common future are required to build robust peaceful societies (Lumsden, 1997).

In recognition of the limitations of structural and rational conflict approaches, music- and arts-based initiatives have targeted social-psychological factors that contribute to the development, perpetuation, and intensity of conflict. These include biased group memories of the conflict, dehumanized images of the "other," restrictive perceptual processes, trauma-related illnesses, and the orientation of opposing groups toward a disposition of fear/hostility. Music- and arts-based peacebuilding projects aim to address these significant obstacles to peace through engaging beyond rationality stimulating cognitions, emotions, the body, senses and the imagination, and targeting specific social-psychological goals (Cohen, 2005; Liebmann, 1996; Lumsden, 1997). Goals typical of arts-based initiatives include the dismantling of hostile emotional orientations[1], encouraging the expression and witnessing of hurts[2], building cross-community relationships[3], healing trauma[4], promoting perspective taking[5], challenging biased collective memories of the conflict, and

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[1] For an example of the use of praise song to dismantle hostile emotions and facilitate recognition of a common sense of humanity, leading to a lasting peace accord in West Africa (see Lederach, 2005).

[2] See Cohen, 2005 for a discussion of the use of playback theatre (actors and musicians improvising recreations of audience members' stories) in various locations across the globe to restore expressive and listening capacities.

[3] See Taylor, 2004 for an example of the potential of cultural exchanges including family stories, traditional cooking, and songs to prompt the development of multigenerational and cross-cultural bonds between Israeli and Arab communities.

[4] For an overview of the use of music for trauma healing in post-conflict societies, see Heidenreich, 2005.

[5] See Bensimon, 2009 for an example of how spiritual and emotive songs prompted security force members to engage in perspective taking and feel greater empathy for protesting Jewish settlers in Gaza strip.

demonization of the "other,"[6], providing respite or opportunities for social protest[7]. Many music- and arts-based approaches work toward simultaneously attaining a number of these social-psychological goals. For example, engaging disparate community members in Burundi in African drumming has provided participants with respite from the ongoing conflict, contributed to community building and engendered a sense of common humanity (see Fox, 2003).

17.3 Why Infuse Peacebuilding with Music and Other Arts?

Music- and arts-based peacebuilding approaches offer participants, who have often had to endure protracted violence, an alternative to a world of destructive conflict. Through art participants are given opportunities to create rather than destroy; actively advocate against and resist violence instead of resorting to aggressive reactions and solutions; engage in cooperative, unifying and inclusive experiences rather than being victim to the polarizing and isolating effects of war; and, enjoy a "neutral" space in which they feel invited to express, to listen, and discover through the engagement of their senses, emotions, and cognitions as opposed to being bombarded by contradictory and institutionalized conflict narratives. Through sensually, emotionally, and cognitively transporting participants from their standard conflict embedded state, arts-based approaches stimulate participants to shift negative emotions. This shift in emotional orientation can lift restrictive perceptual processes enabling participants to imagine beyond the bounds of entrenched and contradictory accounts of the conflict history and demonized characterizations of the other (Cohen, 2005; Liebmann, 1996; Lumsden, 1997; Maiese, 2006). The ways in which arts-based approaches can facilitate these changes will be discussed in further detail below.

17.3.1 Providing a Neutral Space

Arts projects can provide a separate "neutral" space, distinct from the conflict context, which is conducive to transformation (Fox, 2003–2004; Hosking & Hutt, 2003–2004; Slachmuijlder, 2003–2004). This distinct "neutral" space functions as a structured meeting place with designated areas and processes for creation, expression, listening, and witnessing (Cohen, 2005). Through the provision of this safe

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[6] For examples of music programmes targeting school children to reduce demonizing/negative stereotyping of minority groups in Portugal and Spain (see Sousa, Neto, and Mullet, 2005 and Rodriguez-Bailon, Ruiz, and Moya, 2009).

[7] See Zelizer, 2003 for an example of how people created and attended concerts, festivals, and other arts-based events during the Bosnian war as a form of resistance to the surrounding culture of violence.

communal space, community members can meet, explore their concerns, express deep emotions, and "try new approaches to social relations" (Lumsden, 1997, p. 6). This separateness from the conflict context can serve as a powerful tool in dismantling defenses and allowing for emotional and cognitive shifts. The challenge for music- and arts-based peacebuilding projects is to also promote generalization of shifts that take place in this neutral space to broader everyday contexts.

17.3.2   Developing Capacities for Peace: Listening, Self-Expression, and Imagination

Social-psychological approaches to conflict transformation seek to address opposing collective/group memories of the conflict, perceptions of the "other" as evil/the enemy, and emotional orientations of fear (Bar-Tal, 2007). This requires the engagement of listening, self-expressive, and imaginative capacities. Yet these capacities are commonly shutdown or hindered by cultures of violence and the experience of war. Music and the arts provide unique ways of reviving these damaged capacities (Cohen, 2005).

Through the provision of a safe, neutral environment, and the use of the arts as a mediating expressive tool, arts-based projects facilitate the expression of conflict experiences (Lumsden, 1997). Through facilitating expression of conflict experiences, arts-based projects can stimulate healing processes including the acknowledgement of past hurts, the mourning of losses, the witnessing of transgressors' empathy/apology, and the reviewing of conflict narratives (Cohen, 2005). Further, those who have been heard through their artistic expression, in turn, may be more capable and prepared to listen to the experiences of others (Cohen, 2003, pp. 3–4).

Along with expressive abilities, capacities to listen sensitively are typically hindered by violent conflict. Once the period of armed conflict ends, trauma, residual feelings of fear and guilt, combined with the desire to protect the in-group's worldview can serve as substantial obstacles to openly witnessing the conflict-related experiences communicated by the "other" (Cohen, 2003, 2005). When cognitive capacities become stuck, engagement in standard discourse-based processes involving the direct expression of confronting and conflicting conflict perspectives may heighten defenses. Utilization of music and the arts can have a particularly powerful effect on restrictive perceptual processes. The arts actively engage emotions and can shift emotions from an orientation of fear and hostility. This emotional shift dismantles the power of fear and anger to create "tunnel vision" which restricts the perception of new and contradictory information. Through shifting negative emotions, the arts can open the psychological space required to consider information that contradicts conflict perpetuating beliefs and attitudes (Maiese, 2006). The processing of this new information may lead to revised beliefs that support cooperation or, at the very least, introduce ambiguity into hostile narratives.

In addition to affecting capacities to express and listen, prolonged experiences of fear and destruction inhibit participation in "playing" and "imagining" other ways

of being; being nonviolent, being in the shoes of the "other," being in coopera-
tion with the "other." Through engendering creativity, the arts have the capacity
to develop community members' skills of imagining beyond the status quo and
envisioning new relations (Cohen, 2003; Liebmann, 1996; Lumsden, 1997). In the
aftermath of violence, the arts can foster the imagination required to (a) envisage
the experiences of others and so engage in perspective taking and the experiencing
of empathy (Afzali & Colleton, 2003; Cohen, 2005; Hosking & Hutt, 2003–2004;
Liebmann, 1996; Lumsden, 1997); (b) picture the possibility of cooperative coex-
istence and so sincerely support cooperative endeavors and other broader peace
processes (Cohen, 2005; Lumsden, 1997); and (c) envision alternative nonviolent
solutions to the conflict and so maintain hope for, and work toward, alternative
peaceful futures (Lumsden, 1997; Cohen, 2005; Zelizer, 2007).

17.3.3   Tapping into Cultural Relevance

Music and the arts may already be an important and valued aspect of the everyday
lives of those in conflict and can thus be utilized as a culturally relevant peacebuild-
ing tool. In discussing the utilization of music and dance to deglamorize war in
Sierra Leone, Kanyako (2005) highlights the cultural relevance of the arts as a key
factor in the success of related arts-based peacebuilding initiatives:

> Music and dance are the driving forces, ever present at work, worship, weddings, and funer-
> als. From the cradle to the grave, singing and dancing are linked to every facet of Sierra
> Leonean life. They are powerful vehicles that have been used for generations to entertain,
> educate, and transmit historical events. Most importantly, songs have been used over the
> years to cement national unity and rouse people to action. For a country that has witnessed
> its fair share of political unrest and civil strife, the need for the arts to bring together frac-
> tured communities and heal the ravages of war cannot be overemphasized. (Kanyako, 2005,
> p. 293)

Using the arts as a peacebuilding tool may be more appropriate than Western-based
problem solving approaches in particular non-Western cultural settings (Kanyako,
2005; Schirch, 2005; Shank & Schirch, 2008). In allowing for less direct means of
expression utilizing symbols, the body and emotions, the arts may be more cultur-
ally appropriate in contexts where blunt verbal communication is considered to be
inappropriate. Members of particular cultures may find the restriction of bodily and
emotional expression typical of Western discourse-based approaches uncomfort-
able and foreign. Music- and arts-based peacebuilding approaches can provide such
cultural groups with a means of self-expression when they are unable to adequately
express their conflict experience through words alone (Liebmann, 1996; Lumsden,
1997; Schirch, 2005).

Youth culture provides another example of where music-based approaches to
conflict may be particularly culturally relevant. As highlighted by Pruitt (2008,
2011), whereas youth may not be interested in or have the skills to engage in peace
dialogues, they often have years of experience making music and engaging in dance.
Youth may feel more comfortable expressing themselves through hip-hop songs

and modern dance. Pruitt found that engaging youth from disparate cultural groups within Australia through music and dance provided them with the motivation to come together and work collaboratively on creative projects. Additionally through engagement in the project, youth were using the arts as alternatives to responding to conflicts violently. In place of physical fights, dance-offs became a means of settling "battles" whereby boys gained respect through demonstrating their technical skills as dancers (Pruitt, 2008).

17.4   Conflict Contexts Suited to Arts-based Peacebuilding

As indicated above, conflict contexts in which the arts are already a valued cultural resource, or conflict contexts where respective communities consider Western dialogue heavy approaches unfavorably, are particularly well suited to music-/arts-based approaches to addressing conflict. Additionally contexts where communities experience latent conflict, actively violent contexts and post-conflict contexts can benefit from the implementation of arts-based peacebuilding.

In contexts where *conflict is latent*, music- and arts-based peacebuilding initiatives can be utilized to address hostile psychological and emotional predispositions so as to thwart enticement into, or a return to, violent conflict. For example, "The Circus of Peace" in Mozambique, a touring youth training program, utilizes "theatre, art, dance, puppets, and the techniques of radio journalism" to teach conflict resolution skills and to promote understanding of the "other" and values of tolerance (UNESCO, 1996, p. 41).

Communities enduring *actively violent conflict* contexts can benefit from arts-based approaches that provide opportunity for advocacy, self-expression, and creation as a nonviolent means of responding to surrounding hostilities. For example, social protest in the form of cultural resistance was prominent during the Bosnian war, centered largely in Sarajevo. Surrounded by violence and suffering, people risked their lives to create, participate in and view artistic events. Zelizer (2003) suggests that creating cultural goods in the midst of conflict was experienced as resistance to the barbarous and uncultured surrounding war; a means by which to oppose the deliberate attempts by apposing groups to destroy one another's culture during the war; and, a sense of creative engagement as an alternative to idle witnessing of destruction (Zelizer, 2003, p. 69). This sense of purpose, of creation, of expression, of maintenance of dignity, may help to prevent the development of more negative psychological responses such as feelings of helplessness, humiliation, or desire for revenge which may, in turn, lead to a choice of active engagement in violence over active nonviolent resistance.

Post-conflict contexts in which groups and individuals are identified as in need of trauma healing, a reconnection with a sense of common humanity and cross-community relationship building can benefit from the implementation of music- and arts-based approaches targeting these social-psychological goals. For example,

"Peacelinks," a nonprofit organization in Sierra Leone comprised mostly of ex-child combatants, street children, and children disabled through the war, formed to assist other young people with war-related trauma, to comment on social issues and to deglamorize war. The methods utilized are arts-based and endeavor to empower young people through teaching them new skills and encouraging them to "use their creative talents and energy for constructive rather than destructive purposes" (Kanyako, 2005, p. 294). Projects conducted by Peacelinks include groups of children from different warring factions demonstrating to adults in their community the potential for reconciliation through collaboratively created and performed songs and dances communicating messages of peace. Other projects involve the utilization and organization of art exhibitions and national television performances addressing youth concerns and campaigning against child soldier recruitment. Peacelinks projects facilitating trauma healing include the expression of war experiences through the creation of songs, dances, and visual arts exhibitions. Collectively, these projects have helped to transform society's images of ex-combatant children and these children's perceptions of themselves through giving ex-child combatants the opportunity to turn from the role of destroyer to that of creator and messenger of peace (Kanyako, 2005).

Many post-conflict music- and arts-based projects focus on bringing members of disparate communities into contact with one another in order to build positive intercommunal relationships. These initiatives aim to facilitate an appreciation of a broader image of the "other" (Afzali & Colleton, 2003). The "other" is not just the cause of suffering and destruction and to be feared but is a human being that creates, experiences pride and joy, and values arts/traditions too. These projects typically seek to challenge stereotyped images of the "other" through interactive experiences and symbolic representations rather than through primarily engaging the intellect. Such projects may involve, for example, the sharing of cultural traditions between disparate groups including children's games, cooking, and folk dancing; the production of cultural products countering dehumanizing stereotypes such as community developed theatre; multicultural art festivals celebrating diversity; and, collaborative workshops and performances creating superordinate goals and fostering cooperative skills such as drumming clinics for youth from different communities. Through experientially challenging demonized images of the "other," these arts-based projects promote identification with a common sense of humanity (Cohen, 2005, pp. 75–76).

17.5   Researching Music- and Arts-based Peacebuilding Projects

With the increase of the utilization of music and the arts as peacebuilding tools in the field, there has emerged an important role for researchers to contribute to improving the positive impact that related initiatives have on the various stages of conflict. In their review of music and art in conflict transformation Bergh and Slo-

boda (2010) caution that "…in general there is an overly optimistic view of what music and art can achieve in conflict transformation situations which has a negative affect on outcomes" (Bergh & Sloboda, 2010, p. 8). Their review also highlights that research and evaluations of music- and arts-based peacebuilding projects frequently rely on opinions of professional musicians and project staff and overlook the voice of participants; measures of success for projects often fail to take into account the worldview of local participants and instead reflect the orientation of the implementing organization; researchers make overly optimistic presumptions, for example, if groups enjoy the music of others this will translate into improved views of or relationships with those who shared their art; that research and evaluations are often skewed by the desire to secure ongoing funding for projects leading to a tendency toward claims of success rather than reports documenting how the project actually unfolded and related observable impacts; and, that reported "results" are rarely documented beyond the initial completion of the arts-based project leaving a gap in knowledge as to the longer term impact of these initiatives. In a short-term evaluation it is not clear if progress toward building inter-communal relationships continues to develop positively or whether the positive effects dissipate once the arts-based initiative finishes. These conclusions offer key insights and pointers to peace psychologists interested in rigorously investigating the contributions of arts-based approaches to peacebuilding.

Considering that music- and arts-based peacebuilding initiatives take place in the field, research approaches need to vary according to each projects sociopolitical context. As already indicated, the development of research questions and methods should begin by taking into account the worldview of participants and aim to capture their experience and development. Useful methods to facilitate contextual understanding involve the systematic collection of data including the analysis of mass media information, speeches by leaders, interviews, and discussions with members from different groups, etc. (Bar-Tal, 2004). Research designs may depend on the point at which the peace psychology researcher becomes engaged with the art-based initiative. Involvement pre-initiation of the project allows for pretest-posttest designs such as before and after measures of empathy, behavior or attitudes. Involvement in projects only at their conclusion would obviously benefit from an alternate design such as a longitudinal study measuring attitudes, or other outcome variables, to investigate the longevity of project impacts. To provide insight into research approaches that incorporate contextual considerations in endeavors to investigate the "peace potential" of arts-based initiatives; a case study is presented below.

17.5.1   Case Study: Arts Appreciation Program in Solo, Indonesia

In 2007, I conducted research on a project aimed at stemming latent conflict and promoting the appreciation of Indonesia's plurality of cultures. The project, titled the *Education of Arts Appreciation Program* (Pendidikan Apresiasi Seni, PAS), serves as an exemplar of a project utilizing a music- and arts-based peacebuilding approach. The PAS project is an initiative of the Center for Cultural Studies and

Social Change (Pusat Studi Budaya dan Perubahan Sosial, PSB-PS) based at the Muhammadiyah University Surakarta (Solo), Indonesia.

The PAS project aims broadly to promote respect for local Javanese cultures through the implementation of local Javanese traditional art classes in Islamic elementary schools. This program is based on the rationale that "to deal with traditional arts is to deal with difference" and "familiarity with those arts leads one logically to question attitudes of intolerance toward the cultures that produce them" (Khisbiyah, 2004). The PAS project targets Muslim children through the provision of traditional dance (Tari), gamelan (Karawitan), and puppetry/theatre (Wayang) classes. School staff, affiliated Islamic institutions and foundations, and parent communities are also targeted since the implementation of the PAS project requires their support and they formed the core of the audience at festivals that celebrated the childrens artistic learnings (Figs. 17.1, 17.2, 17.3, 17.4).

The PAS project was implemented as an after school extra-curricular activities program in recruited schools once a year. Children participated in between 12 and 16 sessions of their chosen art class (depending on the year of implementation). Each session was two hours in duration. Each class generally consisted of a discussion of the goals of the class, examination of class texts, and the children's participation in practical art activities.

The PAS project involved six Islamic elementary schools in and around Solo. These included three Muhammadiyah affiliated schools and three schools affiliated with other Muslim foundations *(Al Islam, Al Irsyad and Ta'mirul Islam)*. In order to recruit these schools into the PAS project, a significant aspect of the initiative involved PSB-PS staff engaging in discussions with the Muslim foundations' leadership and school staff to promote the value of the project and gain support for its implementation. The support of Muslim religious and educational institutions was also gained through their inclusion in the development of the PAS Project Teaching Model. The PAS model was developed by tutors from the School of Indonesian Fine Art *(Sekolah Tinggi Seni Indonesia, STSI)* who incorporated suggestions from the Muhammadiyah foundation and participating schools. The PAS model focuses on providing instruction on the teaching of each of the three traditional arts without reference to any tolerance-related aims of the PAS project. STSI tutors also facilitated the training of participating school teachers and taught the majority of PAS project classes collaboratively with the school teachers. The STSI tutors specialize in traditional arts and their involvement helped to ensure the transfer of a high-level of authenticity in the teaching of local arts in the classroom.

To further include parents and local communities in the project, PAS festivals were conducted once or twice a year. At these public festivals, participating schools shared local art with the broader community through performances demonstrating their newly developed skills in traditional arts. Local media also attended and reported on these festivals.

In researching this project, a review of the sociopolitical context was conducted to gain a better understanding of the local factors leading to the generation of the project and the individuals and organizations involved with it. This included a review of literature and local newspaper articles on the recent history of Indonesia,

Fig. 17.1 Traditional dance
class for boys

plurality within Indonesia, Islam and religion in Indonesia, the expression and re-
jection of arts in Indonesia, and violence in Solo[8]. Informal discussions with lo-
cal moderate and puritan religious leaders and with PSB-PS staff members also
contributed to the gathering of context specific knowledge. Many valuable insights
were discovered helping to inform the research approach, some of which are briefly
described below.

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[8] See Bornstein (2008) for a detailed review of the sociopolitical context relevant to the PAS
project.

Fig. 17.2 Gamelan class for boys

Solo's past reveals a history of riots and other activities related to intolerance toward particular groups. With such a reputation, "Solo is often called a short circuit city, meaning easily burnt or easily resulting in riots" (questionnaire response of PSB-PS staff member, March 9, 2007). Violence and threats have been aimed at protesting student groups, ethnic Chinese, Christian groups, less devout Muslim groups, American tourists and other targets associated with the "West," and those locals who are considered to be engaging in immodest/un-Islamic activities.

Fig. 17.3 Gamelan class for girls

Fig. 17.4 Traditional dance class for girls

The arts are a part of life in Solo, however, as in other parts of Indonesia some Muslim communities are ceasing to engage in traditional arts. This movement away from traditional arts appears to be largely due to intolerance toward the plurality of local cultures within Indonesia. The intolerance of some Indonesian communities toward other Indonesian cultures, including their arts, is due in part to the homogenization policies of past political regimes and the puritan attitudes of some Indonesian Muslim communities. These Muslim communities identify Islam with Arabia and thus reject local cultures as "un-Islamic" (Goshal, 2007; Khisbiyah, 2007). This rejection of local cultures and their art is at times promulgated through cultural products from religious institutions such as print material disseminating religious rulings stating "…that the arts are intrinsically makruh, detrimental to believers, because they distract people from God" (Khisbiyah, 2003, p. 223).[9]

Research on the PAS project conducted in January 2007 included the observation of children participating in traditional dance and gamelan classes and the interviewing of teachers, principals, and students at four participating schools in and around Solo. Questions were asked in Bahasa Indonesia. Responses were translated to English at the time and were also recorded in Bahasa Indonesia in written format for later cross-checking. Interviews and a questionnaire were also conducted with/completed by staff from PSB-PS who had been involved with the development and implementation of the PAS project.

Participating students were not interviewed prior to their participation in the PAS project. As no pretest data was available, the evaluation could not adopt a pretest-posttest design as a means of assessing any changes resulting from participation in the PAS project. Further a posttest control group design was also not possible as almost every child in the schools involved with the PAS project chose to participate in the arts program. Therefore, there was not a significant group of children who could serve as a control group in comparison to those who participated in the PAS project. Consequently student interviews included questions stimulating retrospective self-reports of the children's beliefs and attitudes related to the theme of "tolerance" before participating in the PAS project in comparison to their thoughts after participating in the PAS project.

Initially, a grounded theory approach was utilized in an effort to discover new themes emerging independently from the child participants themselves. It became apparent, however, both through consultation with PSB-PS team members during the interview schedule development and in the initial interviews with participating children, that an over reliance on broad open-ended questions was unlikely to stimulate the students to provide their opinions, thoughts and feelings. This appears

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[9] The PAS project also utilized religion as a tool for peace. For example, armed with a local understanding of targeted Muslim communities' concerns regarding local cultures, PSB-PS were able to respond appropriately to religiously framed apprehensions about the PAS project (e.g., rejections of the arts as "un-Islamic" or as distracting from devotion to God) through sensitively discussing these concerns and providing credible religiously grounded responses. Making use of their religious peacebuilding tools, PSB-PS managed to implement the program in targeted Islamic schools despite the initial resistance from some related parent communities and religious institutions. See Bornstein (2008) for more on religious peacebuilding and the PAS project.

to be due to the Indonesian educational experience of the students that is dominated by didactic teaching styles. Assertiveness and interactive discussion are not encouraged, rather "a chalkboard approach, where children are provided little opportunity to engage with the topic critically or creatively" remains the norm in Indonesian classrooms (Barker & Corlett, 2015).

With this in mind, a schedule of questions was devised, in consultation with locals who work with children, with the intention of supporting expression from children who are unaccustomed to being asked to share their personal opinions and feelings. Questions at the beginning of each interview were broad open-ended questions related to the PAS project, such as *what do you think about the PAS project/ this art class?* These questions were asked initially in order to still allow room for novel themes related to the children's participation in the PAS project to emerge. It was anticipated that children's responses to these questions may or may not be related to respect for plurality of cultures. As the interview progressed, questions became more focused and thus provided more direction for children who have had little experience of expressing themselves. In the second part of the interview, questions were posed in an effort to elicit responses related more directly to tolerance and intolerance. After listening to the children's responses to these more focused questions, clarification questions were sometimes asked including questions aimed at identifying whether or not the children's reported thoughts were developed as a result of their participation in the PAS project. For example:

Focused tolerance-related open-ended question.
    9a. What do you think about non-Muslim people?
Clarification questions.
    9b. From Bali? From Papua? From America or others?
Closed-ended question.
    9c. Did you think this before or after you joined the art class?

Responses of interviewees were discussed immediately after each interview with the two PSB-PS team members who accompanied me during each interview to assist in the scrutiny of themes emerging from the collected data.

Template analysis was used to analyze primary data collected via student and teacher interviews. According to this qualitative approach, a list of categories forming a "template" is developed as a representation of the themes relevant to the data (Crabtree & Miller, 1992; King, 1998). These categories may be driven by the background literature or, as in grounded theory (Strauss & Corbin, 1990), may emerge directly from analysis of the data. In this study background information on the PAS project, including information provided through interviews with PSB-PS staff members, led to the generation of aspects of the phenomena under investigation that should be focused on (e.g., indications of the promotion of tolerance toward and appreciation of other cultures). Theoretical categories and their sub-categories emerged from this first case (i.e., PAS background information) and served as the initial template for analysis. Further, categories emerged through the application of the initial template to the collected primary data resulting in the development of a final template for analysis of themes across the data set. As a quality check, catego-

ries were discussed with a number of PSB-PS staff members before the template was finalized.

Just over half the children reported having developed positive thoughts about Javanese arts as a direct result of the PAS project ("*I like it [Javanese arts]. I want to learn more. After the program I know more and find it much more interesting,*" 13 year girl, interviewed at Ta'mirul Islam Elementary School, 2007). Most children also indicated a desire to learn about traditional arts from other Indonesian cultures, such as Papuan and Balinese arts. Approximately half of these children reported developing this interest as a result of participating in the PAS project. All children revealed a desire to learn the arts of other countries ("*I want to learn China, American, Australia and Saudi Arabia art,*" 10 year old boy interviewed at the Al Islam Elementary School, 2007). Two thirds of these children reported that participation in the PAS project led to their developing this desire to learn art from other countries. The majority of children also revealed tolerant/respectful beliefs about members of other faith groups based within and beyond Indonesia. All reported holding these beliefs before joining the PAS project.

The use of art as a tool to promote pluralism was considered culturally relevant considering the significant role of the arts in the lives of many Indonesians. The diversity of these arts is reflective of the broad spectrum of cultural/religious communities across the archipelago. Drawing on Yampolsky's (2001) argument for the importance of maintaining Indonesia's plurality of traditional arts, the PAS project is based on the rationale that traditional art is an expression of the related community's identity. It is hoped that a promotion of traditional arts encourages acceptance of the ethnic and religious community from which the art originates. As such, promoting local Javanese art through the PAS project seeks to foster the acceptance of local cultural groups.

As a consequence of the bodily, sensory, and emotional experience of participating in the traditional arts program, students encountered local arts without primarily engaging their rational/cognitive capacities. They were not asked to discuss the value of the art or consider its religious or other content. Rather they experienced the art, were positively stimulated by the art, enjoyed the art, and consequently developed an appreciation of the art. Through facilitating the implementation of the project and teaching the children traditional arts, school staff were also provided with the opportunity to experientially develop an appreciation of local arts. Further, parents and the broader community were also given the opportunity to learn about local culture through primarily engaging their senses and emotions whilst they attended the children's performances of traditional arts at PAS project festivals.

The research results from the PAS project investigation did provide data indicating that PAS participating children, their parents, related school staff, and other community members attending PAS festivals think positively about the project and enjoyed engaging with local arts. This suggestsa likelihood that positive emotions will be invoked in these members of targeted Muslim communities when they encounter local artistic cultural expressions in the future. In relation to PAS participating children, this is likely to extend beyond local cultures to other non-Muslim Indonesian cultures and both Muslim and non-Muslim cultures associated with other

countries as indicated in their interview responses. It was beyond the scope of the study to determine whether or not the targeted communities who indicated a development of more tolerant attitudes toward the expression of local art will behave differently toward people from other cultures (apart from appreciating/tolerating their artistic expression), although this is an area for potential future research.

It should also be emphasized that the results of PSB-PS efforts to gain approval for the project from affiliated Muslim foundations, schools, and parents is a significant achievement. Within these school communities and their respective Muslim foundations, the practice of traditional arts has been considered very controversial, even taboo by some, on the grounds that they are "un-Islamic." This was evidenced in a small number of parents who removed their children from PAS participating schools in protest. Most parents, schools, and foundations, however, after some discussion explaining the value of the project and its consonance with the message of tolerance in Islam, became enthused about the project. One school even reported an increase in enrolments as a direct consequence of the provision of the PAS project.

To combat initial reluctance to accept the project, PSB-PS staff members addressed concerns related to the consonance of traditional art with Islamic teachings. This included the utilization of religious rationales for promoting appreciation of diverse cultures and the detailed discussion of particular concerns with elements of the traditional arts—including costuming, instrumentation, and movements:

> We ask them [school administrations] what makes art Islamic? Is it the instruments? The artists? The occasion? Is it the intrinsic elements of Art? This was difficult for them to answer. For example, I asked the schools, "if you play rebana [a frame-drum used principally in Indonesian Muslim music] to a strip tease, is it Islamic?" or "if you play Javanese music to the reciting of the Quran, while speaking spiritual teachings, is that Islamic?" They began to question their own principles, their own understanding. (PSB-PS staff member)

The annual concerts/festivals held by participating schools were well attended by their local communities. This acceptance and sharing of local traditional cultures within predominantly Islamic communities through art festivals has built upon the appreciation of diversity nurtured in the children participating in the PAS project.

17.6   Concluding Comments

The relevance of music and the arts to peace psychologists lies not only in their innate value, but also in their potential to facilitate the attainment of social-psychological related peace goals and so, contribute to the prevention, management, and resolution of conflict. Music- and arts-based projects aimed at positively influencing social-psychological contributions to conflict can provide a rich source of data for peace psychologists. In researching these projects, the associated sociopolitical contexts should be investigated and efforts made to understand the worldview of participants. Most investigations of music- and arts-based projects to date are in the form of project evaluations and resulting reports are often skewed to meet ex-

pectations of commissioning organizations and secure ongoing funding. Through researching music- and arts-based peacebuilding projects, peace psychologists can build upon the knowledge of the utility of music and the arts in transforming conflict, the specific impact of related projects and highlight avenues for improving arts-based peace initiatives.

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Chapter 18
Using the Internet and Social Media in Peace Psychology Research

Cristina Jayme Montiel, Arvin Boller and Feric L. Galvez

18.1   Introduction

Peace psychology, like other psychological sciences, builds knowledge on two re-search tracks—an experimental and a field science (Harre & Moghaddam, 2003). With recent advances in information technology, both the Internet and social media are increasingly playing vital roles in the collection and analysis of data to build both an experimental- and field-based peace psychology. This chapter expounds on the methodological interface between peace psychology and information technology.

We start by distinguishing between an experimental and ethnographic approach to peace psychology. We then discuss how peace-related surveys and experiments have used the Internet primarily as a data collection tool. Our last segment describes the field-based research approach to peace psychology. This last part of our chapter covers a relatively larger portion of our discussion. Before clarifying field methods on the Internet, we first describe the virtual field of social peace. We explain how peace is embedded in the discursive space of the Internet. We likewise amplify ideas about how the social space of the marginalized and the powerful link with the Internet during peacebuilding.

Our epistemological stance draws from constructivism, and acknowledges the symmetrical causal relation between the lifeworld and the system. The lifeworld is the world as subjectively construed by humans, while the system can be seen

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as the actual conditions of the world (Kraus, 2014). In this chapter, we respect the dynamism of these two phenomena (Kraus, 2014), recognizing that subjective landscapes about peace are in constant interaction with environmental technological conditions related to peacebuilding.

The relation between the Internet and the social conflict and peace is two way, with each one shaping the other in a symmetric causal relation. Recent mobilizations for peace have used the Internet as a political tool for social change. Struggles for social peace entail, among other things, psychological phenomena such as thinking and behaving in collective ways. In order to gather people together, participants in the peace movements need to communicate with each other, not only effectively, but also rapidly and safely. The growth of the Internet and social media has provided new avenues for peace communication where individuals and groups can connect with each other in rapid, massive, and relatively anonymous ways. Interactions among individuals and groups are stored on the Internet and can be a rich source of text data about peace-and-conflict relationships. After describing the virtual field of social peace, we identify various analyses done on peace-related Internet data, such as content analysis of videos, blogs, and twitter messages; social network analysis; and text mining.

18.1.1 Experimental and Ethnographic Approaches to Peace Psychology

We classify surveys and laboratory investigations as part of an experimental strategy, while field and cultural researches fall under the rubric of ethnographic studies. Both approaches are not mutually exclusive, and one can mix methods (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2003; also see Chapter 6 in this volume) to reach a research goal. However, for purposes of discussion, we distinguish these methodological approaches, using two-pronged criteria of researcher control and data features. Table 18.1 highlights differences between peace researches that use the experimental and the ethnographic approaches.

A researcher holds a higher level of control in experimental rather than field studies on the Internet. In peace psychology surveys and experiments, researchers use the Internet to collect data predetermined by one's research goal, study design, and instruments. Because data are produced after the researcher defines one's question, the raw data may be artificial rather than natural, bent toward the interest of the researcher. On the other hand, data collected through Internet ethnographic studies are more natural because these are produced before the researcher asks a question. A researcher's control over data in field studies lies in one's decisions on what types of data to collect, and what sources to sample. In general, *control* takes on a negative connotation among peace activists, and hence there may be an unspoken bias among activist researchers favoring ethnographic research. However, scientific research does warrant some semblance of control over one's inquisitive endeavors.

The type of data that one usually works with differs between experimental and field studies. The former tends to be more quantitative, claims higher accuracy and

Table 18.1 Comparing survey-laboratory and ethnographic-field research on the Internet

How are the research types different from each other?	Survey-laboratory peace research on the Internet	Ethnographic-field peace research on the Internet
When are data produced on the Internet?	After a researcher defines a question	Before a researcher defines a question
What primary control does the researcher have over the data?	The researchers decides what type of data are produced	The researcher decides what type of data are collected
In a peace-related proposal, where can researcher's bias arise?	In instrument construction and experimental design	In the sampling design, when one decides on text sources
What are the primary data forms?	Quantitative data	Qualitative data
What are the data's validity features?	High accuracy and precision	Low accuracy and precision
How realistic are the data?	Low social realism; artificially produced data depends on the researcher's data collection instruments	High social realism; natural data are collected from the social space of peacebuilding on the Internet

precision, but may lack social realism and external validity. On the other hand, ethnographic approaches to the Internet-based data are inclined to be more qualitative, studying texts rather than numbers. Although relatively more realistic than their experimental counterparts, field-based researches are criticized for their lower levels of accuracy and precision. Mainstream psychology journals tend to be drawn to experimental rather than ethnographic peace researches.

18.1.2 Internet as a Tool for Collecting Peace-Related Data Through Online Surveys and Experiments

Online data collection is useful in peace research because the Internet can rapidly and securely reach marginalized groups. Where human safety is of prime concern in a peace research, the Internet provides anonymity, especially for participants who live in contentious or dangerous territories. Online surveying has recently risen as a favored mode of surveying, accounting for around 20 % of the data collection expenses around the world (Vehovar & Lozar Manfreda, 2008). Researchers can collect online survey data through various ways like, for example, emailing the instrument directly to the respondent, inviting participants through Facebook, or setting up a website that hosts the survey questionnaire.

Several peace-related studies have used online or electronic surveying to gather data. Carpenter and Jose (2012) utilized online survey by emailing the questions about socially involved organizations and public issues to the mailing lists of advocacy groups. In contrast to this approach, a study by Notley, Salazar, and Crosby (2013) on media activism created an Internet-based survey and then used the e-mail lists and Facebook groups to invite participants to answer. Another research team utilized the services of the survey-hosting website SurveyMonkey to distribute a

questionnaire (Meyer & Bray, 2013). Lastly, one research project first invited participants through e-mail, then gave out the questionnaires (Postmes & Brunsting, 2002). In this study, they distributed questionnaires about collective action to three groups of people: hardline environmental activists, environmental sympathizers, and a control group unrelated to any activist group.

One of the most renowned variants of an online experiment is the implicit association test (Greenwald, Mcghee & Schwartz, 1998). The implicit association test began when the researchers tried to study implicit attitudes of people toward different races. The test utilizes two variables in the case of racism—race and another variable. The assertion is that racism can be present if one associates a certain variable (like guns or unpleasant words) with a specific race (like blacks) (Greenwald, Poehlman, Uhlmann and Banaji, 2009). It is argued that the faster the association, the stronger the attitude. The use of online platforms allows the implicit association test to be conducted with a vast number of participants, especially if made available to the public.

Another variant of online experimenting is the simple transfer of an experiment to an online platform. It usually deals with the effects of an Internet setting on participants. For example, an experiment was conducted to examine the effectiveness of online mediation between two conflicting parties (Turel, Yuan and Rose, 2007). Participants took part in online mediation through WebNS, and were subsequently requested to answer a questionnaire regarding their attitudes toward online mediation. Another study used online experiment by sending advocacy invitations through social networking and nonsocial networking sites (Jeong and Lee, 2013). They discovered that a social networking site, such as Facebook or Twitter, is more effective than a nonsocial networking site in creating an advocacy network.

18.2   The Internet and Social Media as Virtual Space for Peace and Conflict

Aside from gathering survey and experimental data, the Internet may likewise be used to implement ethnographic field researches. What is the virtual field of peace and conflict on the Internet? In this section, we elaborate on the nature of the Internet as a social space and clarify how virtual space interacts with social realities of peace and conflict. Further, we look at how the Internet caters to the needs of users from both the marginalized and the status quo holding groups.

18.2.1   Social Power on the Internet

Analogous to physical space, online space can provide the setting for power grappling (Postmes & Brunsting, 2002; Lim, 2012). Virtual space allows for cooperation and competitions similar to those that take place in physical space (Meek, 2012).

Internet participation, however, is imperfectly democratic as technological usage requires money and literacy. Users need to have access to the hardware (Fuchs, 2008) for them to make use of the virtual space. Those who cannot afford computers, fall outside the bounds of online space. A low literacy level also excludes one from the Internet activities. For example, Egypt's recent Arab Spring mobilizations through the Internet activities may not be considered as highly inclusive or democratic because not every citizen held access to the computer or was literate enough to perform online operations (Sayed, 2011). Albeit collective and massive, online activities which abetted Egypt's democratic transition were still exclusionary. Participation on virtual space may hence be more accessible to the middle and educated sectors of a society.

Among those who can afford Internet access, control over social messages becomes decentralized. This enables independent individuals to surpass the authoritative censors and publish their materials at a much cheaper cost and under security conditions that are safer from military raids than conventional printing presses. With the Internet's provision for anonymous file sharing, information dissemination, and other publication activities, every Internet user becomes a potential source of information and change agent (Kessler, 2013; Frangonikolopoulos & Chapsos, 2012), allowing users to participate in the interactive shaping of online discursive space (Bastos, 2012). The Internet's provision for connection, communication, and cooperation allows for bottom-up information dissemination (Postmes & Brunsting, 2002; Bastos, 2012). With resources to publish decentralized, the marginalized sectors are empowered to disseminate their social and political messages.

18.2.2 The Internet as a Discursive Space for Marginalized Groups

Arab Spring is a good example of how pro-democracy individuals used the Internet as a space to connect, communicate, and cooperate. With the Internet connectivity during Arab Spring, separate individuals communicated their thoughts, shared their materials, discussed with groups, collaborated, and found means to take their online grievances to the streets (Frangonikolopoulos & Chapsos, 2012; Postmes & Brunsting, 2002). Online discourses criticized abusive powers of the authoritative governments and exposed how the leaders unlawfully sustained their power to remain in control of their administrations.

The series of events in the Arab Spring is an exemplar of what is called social non-movements. This happens when individuals perform separate but similar activities which trigger an upheaval in the status quo (Frangonikolopoulos & Chapsos, 2012; Lim, 2012). Public grievances were already present prior the demonstrations but the expression of these grievances became more prevalent only with the Internet's provisions for information processing. Arab Spring's successes may partly be attributed to how online spaces and social media served as catalysts for democratic change.

The Internet may likewise be a political tool for socially marginalized groups that opt to use violence to obtain their political goals. Terrorist groups, for example, employ both confrontational and persuasive online actions to forward their organizational purposes (Rothenberger, 2012; Lennings, Amon, Brummert, and Lennings, 2010). To attract sympathizers and make their ideologies known by the larger public, terrorist groups resort to persuasive discourses that prove to be more acceptable and convincing (Postmes & Brunsting, 2002; Lennings et al., 2010). Although there is not sufficient evidence on terrorist groups' online recruitment, Lennings (2010) and his colleagues did find cases of individuals utilizing the net for their violent purposes.

Aside from pro-democracy organization and terrorist groups, hacktivists also use the Internet to destabilize other individuals and institutions. Online space is an ideal venue for hacktivists to attack the character of powerful individuals by disseminating malicious information, instilling fear through the Internet, or by disabling services offered by institutions (Padmanabhan, 2011; Hearn, Mahncke and Williams, 2009).

Hacktivists are individuals who engage in the new generation of hacking (Taylor, 2005). They share with earlier generations of hackers the ability to demonstrate human agency through unconventional technological practices. However, hackers often engage in certain activities to forward personal motives. Hacktivists, on the other hand, often carry political goals (Hampson, 2012), and engage in activities like website defacements, redirects, virtual sabotage, and site parodies to diffuse their message to a broad audience (Li, 2013). By penetrating online spaces, hacktivists gain influence over what happens in the everyday lives of those in power. In many cases, they remain hidden. They can neither be identified nor tracked because of the anonymity provided by online space. To address the massive national security problems caused by hacking, the US government installed Comprehensive National Cybersecurity Initiative in 2008 (Stevens, 2012). This served as the US government's response to the rampant operations of cyber attackers.

The Internet, with all its attractive features, both simplifies and complicates things for the marginalized. On one hand, it is helpful in the production, publication, and communication of social-change knowledge. However, it may also pose a challenge. As the number of participants grows it becomes more difficult for the producer to control the information processed (Bastos, 2012). As soon as the material gets publicized and attracts an audience, it becomes subject to republication and the intended meaning of the original producer may change.

18.2.3   Internet as a Discursive Space for the Powerful

While the marginalized groups utilize the Internet to destabilize the status quo and produce social change, those in power positions likewise use the same technology to fight the destabilization and fortify the status quo. In contrast to the marginalized groups that appreciate the bottom-up dissemination of knowledge, the powerful

prefer a top-down process where the dominant group controls production (cognition), discussion (communication), and collaboration (cooperation) of political information (Fuchs, 2008). In their efforts to sustain the status quo, those in powerful positions may use the Internet to pressure and coerce their subordinates (Zhang & Nyiri, 2014; Gladarev & Lonkila, 2012).

Fuchs (2011) discusses how the powerful may utilize the Internet for their own purposes. Borrowing Foucault's concept of panopticism, Fuchs elaborates on how the Internet provides means for the powerful to perform surveillance in order to manage a system. With control over information processing, the authorities operate and deliver services their constituents need. However, surveillance may also instill a sense of threat. Albeit the control is decentralized in some ways, the very sense that there is an overseer monitoring individual activities may be used by the powerful to control the public and even legitimize the status quo.

For example, with the stringent process of censorship in China, materials that enjoy online publication are monitored by the government (Zhang & Nyiri, 2014). Cognizant of the Chinese government's control over the production and reproduction of knowledge, the citizens are conditioned to respect the hegemonic norms in the online space. The Internet is also utilized to instill a sense of nationalism by publishing materials which share national interest and information that carry the Chinese pride (Zhang & Nyiri, 2014).

Considering the complexity of virtual space, the Internet may be examined as a dynamic space where peace- and conflict-related issues are developed. As the online space interacts with the realities of peace and conflict, data are encrypted and stored. Therefore, the Internet also serves as source of data, making it possible for researchers to retrieve them with relative convenience. Aside from this, the virtual nature of the Internet mitigates physical degeneration making the data more durable.

18.3 Collecting and Analyzing Peace Data on Virtual Space

One valuable feature of the Internet as a social space is that it allows the storage and perpetuation of data. Unlike in real-life interactions where most of the matter that comprises the interactions gets lost unless deliberately captured, the Internet innately stores interactions between actors. This allows for easy data collection and analysis of human activities done through the Internet. With a variety of peace data on virtual space, the array of research methods used to analyze the Internet has likewise been manifold. Three of the most prominent research strategies are case studies, content analysis, and computational social science. A case study investigates a specific Internet phenomenon or entity, content analysis summarizes and interprets qualitative data (Hodder, 1994). Computational social science, on the other hand, is the use of computational tools to process information (Cioffi-Revilla, 2010).

18.3.1   Case Studies

Case studies of the Internet phenomena analyze a specific Internet phenomenon, project, or entity. For example, a study by Yablon and Katz (2001) studied the on-line communications project in Israel that aimed to promote peace and equality between the Jewish and Bedouin high school students. The research highlighted strategies used by the Internet peace project.

18.3.2   Content Analysis of Text, Videos, Audios, and Images

Content analysis does not need any particular framework or type of data. Its flexibility makes it adaptable to the Internet research because one can content analyze text, videos, audios, or images (Hodder, 1994). Studies using content analysis can be classified as: (1) studies that use texts as the primary source of data and (2) studies that analyze videos and images.

Content analysis of text can utilize web posts, tweets, comments, blogs, or quotations as main sources of data. Content analysis can be used for a variety of research goals, including comparative analysis between different forms of media, online–offline congruence, and meaning-making of human actors. For example, a study by Snajdr (2012) analyzed the activist blogs in Slovakia and then compared the writings to that of the samizdat[1] writings during the late communist period. In this study, the author dealt mainly with the discourses present in the activist blogs and the samizdat writings and formed implications about the relationship between the reader and the writing. Furthermore, the author highlighted the limitations of the Internet in spreading an advocacy.

Textual content analysis can be employed to understand meaning-making and social cognition in relation to a specific political event or movement. For example, one research analyzed Facebook comments, tweets, YouTube comments, and blog posts to reveal the role of the media and meaning-making of people during the release of KONY 2012 video (Briones, Madden and Janoske, 2013). A study by Harlow and Harp (2012) looked at Facebook posts about the Egyptian Revolution during Arab Spring. They analyzed Facebook posts and found that these posts became part of the narrative during political transition, which in turn allowed the Facebook contents to be told and retold as the revolution unfolded. These posts then helped pro-democracy participants recruit more sympathizers.

Content analysis of the Internet visuals includes analyzing online videos and images. One common research inquiry asks about innovative ways to spread political advocacies by providing extratextual dimension (Askanius, 2013). For example, a study by Askanius (2013) looked at the use of videos for political activism. The

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[1] Samizdat is "system in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and countries within its orbit by which government-suppressed literature was clandestinely printed and distributed" (Retrieved from http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/samizdat).

author discovered that political videos allow the presentation of textual data to have an extra dimension by adding online features such as aesthetics and liking the video. This is done using both textual and extratextual analysis.

18.3.3   Computational Analysis: Data Mining and Social Network Analysis

Another methodological variant used to analyze ethnographic Internet data takes advantage of advances in computational social science, applying advanced computation to extract, process, and organize information to answer questions about the virtual field (Cioffi-Revilla, 2010). The main methodologies used by peace psychologists in the field of computational social science are data mining and social network analysis. Data mining refers to the extraction of important and valuable information from a vast repository (Fayyad, Piatetsky-Shapiro and Smyth, 1996). Social network, on the other hand, studies the relationships between and among different entities (Wasserman & Faust, 1994).

Data mining is employed mainly for text pattern searching, and has been used to predict behaviors, understand meaning-making, and describe online reactions of people about peace and conflict (Fayyad et al., 1996). Data mining utilizes a wide range of huge data sources or big data. For example, a field called terrorism informatics has been developed to study terrorism (Chen, Reid, Sinai, Silke and Ganor, 2009). Terrorism informatics uses large amounts of data and finds patterns to further understand terrorism. It is well documented that the US Government uses data mining to extract significant information from various databases to create a model or a framework to predict terrorist behavior (Solove & Washington, 2008). However, terrorism informatics is not limited to the preventive side of terror research. A study by Burnap et al. (2014) used a variant of data mining, called opinion mining, where they mined tweets from the site Twitter to study the reactions of people to a terrorist attack. They found that the emotive content of the tweets influence the propagation of information.

Data mining can also be implemented to analyze large amounts of online media text. One study used RapidMiner to text mine news published in China and the Philippines about the Scarborough Shoal conflict (Montiel, Salvador, See & de Leon, 2014). Results demonstrate how domestic newspapers positioned their respective countries as the victim of the other claimant; and that nationalism can be linguistically and massively constructed through local media during an international conflict.

Aside from data mining, computational analyses can likewise be employed to map out social networks. Network theory, specifically social network analysis, deals with the structure of social relationships between different individuals or entities (Wasserman & Faust, 1994). The power of social network analysis lies in its flexibility, because it can be used to detect network connections among a whole spectrum of entities such as websites, words, people, or organizations.

Social network analysis can be used to map relationships between people and/ or organizations in a visual web-like graph. For example, in a study on corruption, data sourced from the website of the Philippine Commission on Audit was analyzed to see the relationships between the senators who allocated funds to different non-government organizations of the country (Sison, Pasion and Tapang, 2013). They mapped interlocking communities between senators who gave public fund to the specified NGOs and tried to look at network patterns formed. Findings showed that most of the politicians belonged to the same social community as the NGOs in the corruption scandal.

Hyperlink networks analysis is a type of social network analysis that investigates the relationship between websites using the hyperlinks as links (de Bakker & Hellsten, 2013). The study of de Bakker and Hellsten (2013) looked at the hyperlink networks of activist sites. The study first focused on the website SOMO (Stichting Onderzoek Multinationale Ondernemingen or Center for Research on Multinational Organizations), and looked at its hyperlink structure across time. This allowed the researchers to infer the web presence of the activist site, and see if it became more relevant as time passed. The researchers also compared the hyperlink network of the SOMO site to the site of makeITfair (an IT campaign website of SOMO). Tracking of hyperlink networks over time showed the growth of the web presence of activists.

Another study also used hyperlink networks, but with the goal of comparing the relationships of the websites of advocacy groups, and the real-space relationships (Carpenter & Jose, 2012). They concluded that although hyperlink networks cannot fully capture the dynamic relationships between different advocacy groups, it still provides a cheap and fast way to analyze relationships.

Lastly, semantic co-word mapping is a type of social network analysis that studies relationships between words. It aims to look at the discourse present in a text or a website. The study of de Bakker and Hellsten (2013) tried to compare the semantic maps of different activist websites and showed the difference in how they delivered their messages. By analyzing the news items of the websites SOMO and makeITfair, they identified the central topics found on these websites. Through this methodological strategy, the authors were able to identify the most relevant issues a particular advocacy group held. They also concluded that the two websites differed in their way of delivering messages. SOMO in particular used more informative or descriptive language, with more inclination towards talking about news, while makeITfair delivered more negative and powerful words, with a focus on social responsibility and call to action (de Bakker & Hellsten, 2013). The use of semantic co-word mapping allowed the researcher to analyze the discourses present in activist articles.

18.4   Conclusion

The rise of the Internet and social media created a new space for public discourse. This space in turn has changed the way individuals and groups communicate with each other. Such social interactions include, among other matters, how both the

politically marginalized and those who control power make conflict or peace with each other. We have seen traditional methods of political communication transferred to virtual space. What was once produced by printing presses and delivered by hand or by post mail is now posted on a website or e-mailed. The anonymity, speed, and safety that come with connecting through the Internet have allowed online communication to be a rich tool for both peacebuilding and conflict escalation.

Peace psychologists can now enjoy a wider array of data sources. Beyond using computer technology for experimentation and survey data collection, other ways of studying peace psychology can be implemented through more field-sensitive methods like case studies of online interventions; content analysis of text, audios, and videos; and computational advances in the social sciences like text mining and social network analysis.

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Part III
Transforming the World

Chapter 19
Translating Psychological Research into Policy, Advocacy and Programmes in International Development

Nikola Balvin

19.1 Introduction

The objective of this chapter is to share some of my newfound experience of what it is like to move from working as a peace psychologist in Australian academia to conducting research at an international child rights organization, where child survival, rights and equity form some of the main objectives. As I am an early career researcher, my reflections are best suited for a student audience and to individuals interested in how their university training in psychology might apply to the complex and dynamic field of international development. Although, reviewed by and benefitting from discussions with more experienced scholars and practitioners, the material in this chapter is largely based on my own experience and is offered as a reflexive process that initiates a conversation rather than as a measured and verified statement of reality. The views expressed are my own and do not necessarily reflect the policies and views of the organization I work for, the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF).

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19.2   What Is International Development?

As is common with complex concepts, simple, agreed-upon definitions are difficult. Overlap with other concepts is common, and different actors may emphasize the importance of different components. 'International development' is often used interchangeably with terms such as 'global development', 'human development' or 'international development aid'. Many functions fall under its extensive and ambitious agenda, including foreign aid, poverty reduction, disaster preparedness, human rights and others.

Foreign Affairs, Trade and Development Canada (CIDA) adopts a simple definition, describing international development as 'the activities that developed countries, called donor countries, like Canada carry out to help poor or developing countries lift themselves out of poverty and raise their standard of living to one that is closer to the standard of living we have in Canada' (CIDA, n.d.). The US Agency for International Development, better known as USAID, states that its mission is to 'end extreme poverty and promote resilient, democratic societies while advancing our security and prosperity' (USAID, n.d.). The 'twofold purpose' to assist developing countries while developing the donor country's own foreign policy interests is at the core of USAID's mission, but this is not the case with independent, neutral bodies like the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC, n.d.), Save the Children (2014) or Oxfam (2014). Other global organizations—like the World Bank's International Development Association (IDA), one of the world's largest sources of aid—focus mainly on assisting the world's poorest countries (those with GNI per capita below an established threshold, which in fiscal year 2014 was $ 1205) by providing loans and grants to 'boost economic growth, reduce inequalities, and improve people's living conditions' (World Bank, n.d.-a). The organizations mentioned here all share the goal of reducing poverty in poor countries, but also address issues of equality, human rights, standard of living and international relations.

In my work, and hence in this chapter, the term 'international development' is closely tied to the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). The eight goals were established in 2000 following the Millennium Summit of the United Nations (UN), and all UN member states, along with the world's leading development institutions, committed to them in the United Nations Millennium Declaration. From 2000, with an endpoint in 2015, the MDGs have provided a roadmap on how to meet the needs of the world's poorest and most disadvantaged. Several of the MDGs (United Nations, n.d.) focus on targets concerned with human survival, such as reducing child mortality, hunger, poverty and disease, and achieving universal primary education—issues of greatest concern in developing nations. Other goals pertain to issues that reach far beyond the borders of developing countries: gender equality, environmental sustainability, and partnerships for economic growth and development. Although the MDGs have resulted in unprecedented cooperation and effort to end global poverty, it is unlikely that all targets will be fulfilled by 2015 (United Nations, 2013).

As the world reflects on the 15 years of working towards the MDG targets, a new agenda for development is in the making. This 'post-2015' development agenda, also known as the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), will set a new roadmap for the field of international development and, although not finalized at the time of writing, is likely to introduce a new role for the private sector and to have a greater focus on sustainable development, accountability, partnerships, peace and stability (United Nations Global Compact, n.d.). It may also pay greater attention to mental health and other aspects of wellbeing—a contrast to the MDGs welcomed by many psychologists (Kuriansky, 2014).

19.3 Research in International Development

19.3.1 Psychological Research in International Development

At its core, psychology and international development share the same goal of making the world a more peaceful, prosperous and healthy place. Psychology focuses on improving the lives of individuals and groups, while international development usually works from the macro level, focusing on countries, institutions and communities. Peace psychology differs from other subdisciplines of psychology, such as clinical and counselling psychology, because it is concerned with the 'manifestations of interactions among a host of destructive inputs that are embedded in social, cultural and historical factors' (Christie, 2006, p. 6). It examines peace and conflict across different levels, including the macro level (e.g. the systemic and cultural origins of violence) and as such shares synergies with well-represented fields in international development like development economics and public health, which also often focus on the structural determinants of outcomes for large populations.

Despite the goals that psychology in general, and peace psychology more specifically, shares with international development, a perusal of the publications catalogue of any major international development organization soon illuminates that psychological research is not well represented. See, for example World Bank (n.d.-b), WHO (n.d.), and UNICEF (n.d.-a). The field is dominated by studies in development economics and public health led by knowledge giants such as the World Bank and the WHO. 'Psycho-social' research—a category under which much of psychological research falls—while important, is often limited to local projects that examine psychological wellbeing, child protection issues, early childhood development or social norms, for example. Research that falls under the umbrella of peace psychology is even less frequent and may manifest in the examination of peaceful attitudes and practices in studies of violence, peace education and peacebuilding.

This does not mean that psychological research is irrelevant to international development. Understanding mental health issues among under-researched groups like adolescents around the world is an important issue that is gaining attention through initiatives such as the Commission on Adolescent Health and Wellbeing—a

collaboration between the leading medical journal *The Lancet*, UNICEF, the University of Melbourne, Columbia University, the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine and University College London (Movement for Global Mental Health, 2013). The commission aims to put adolescent health and wellbeing on the global agenda and to build partnerships in research and training by bringing together academics, policymakers, practitioners and funders. At least two of the Commission's members are academic psychologists, who are contributing to research and advocacy in international development via this partnership (Patton et al., 2014).

Historically, psychological research has influenced several noteworthy UN and government initiatives, including the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization's (UNESCO) Culture of Peace. In his 1995 article in *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology,* the director general of UNESCO wrote how impressed he was with the well-known Robbers Cave psychological experiment of 1954 and what it offers to the understanding of the drivers of conflict and also collaborative behaviour. The experiments consisted of two groups of boys on summer camp who were first pitted against each other in the typical competitive manner of a culture of war, to later be reconciled through collaborative problem solving and cooperation to achieve common superordinate goals (Mayor, 1995; Sherif, Harvey, White, Hood and Sherif, 1961). He affirmed that the UNESCO Culture of Peace programme aims to build on the underlying principles of peacebuilding tested in the summer camp experiments to facilitate cross-conflict participation in which all parties are 'encouraged and supported to undertake human development as a common task and participate as equals' (Mayor, 1995, p. 6).

Another noteworthy macro level initiative greatly benefitting from psychological research is the Head Start Programme, which began in the USA in 1965 and has since been adapted to assist millions of children in other parts of the world, including the UK (where it runs as Sure Start), Pakistan (Yousafzai and Petrovic, 2013), Jamaica (World Bank, 2014), and more recently Serbia and other countries. In the USA, the programme promotes school readiness of young children from low-income families through the provision of integrated early childhood development services (Office of Head Start, n.d.). The spelling 'programme' is used in this chapter because it is a standard way in the United Nations to refer to service delivery and other interventions in fieldwork. It distinguishes this type of work from other types of 'program' such as computer, entertainment and TV. The programme originated as a part of President Johnson's War on Poverty and was pioneered by an interdisciplinary team of 13 professionals, including three developmental psychologists: Bronfenbrenner, Clark and Zigler. Zigler, who is often dubbed the 'father of Head Start' insisted that the programme be field-tested before its nationwide launch (American Psychological Association, 2004) and this and many other good practices associated with the programme have prevailed in other contexts until today. Millions of children have benefited from Head Start and the programmes that have been modelled on it elsewhere, providing an exemplary case of how psychological evidence can contribute to major policy and programming for disadvantaged children in high income as well as low and middle income countries. For other impactful historical examples of how psychologists have contributed to research in international development and to evidence-based policy and practice, including de-institutionalization of orphans,

school desegregation in the USA, and the development of policy standards regarding mental health and psychosocial assistance in humanitarian emergencies, see Wessells and Dawes (2007, pp. 275–279).

Through partnerships and collaboration, psychologists can also contribute to research that at first glance appears to be outside their expertise. The Transfer Project, which examines the effectiveness of social cash transfer programmes in achieving impacts for children in 13 countries in Sub-Saharan Africa, is one such initiative (Handa, 2014). Using randomized controlled trials (RCTs), or rigorous quasi-experimental designs, it compares outcomes on indicators like education, school enrolment, household wealth, food consumption, nutrition, HIV and agricultural activity between individuals and households who receive the cash transfer or a control or comparison group who do not. A cognitive psychologist is a member of the project's multidisciplinary team and assists with the measurement, analysis and interpretation of psychological dimensions including time preference, risk-aversion, mental health, subjective welfare and happiness (The Transfer Project, n.d.).

Another area familiar to psychologists that has gained recognition and momentum in recent years for its influence on development outcomes is social norms. Within UNICEF, social norms have been examined in relation to girls' education, sexual and gender-based violence (including practices like 'wife-beating': UNICEF, n.d.-b), female genital mutilation/cutting (UNICEF, Innocenti Research Centre, 2010), child marriage (Lee-Rife, Malhotra, Warner and Glinski, 2012) and violence against children more broadly. It is recognized that many harmful practices (e.g. female genital mutilation/cutting or domestic violence) are reinforced because of perceptions that they are acceptable behaviour. Similarly, gender-biased attitudes among families and communities and gender biases in the education system are a cause of lower school attendance by girls (UNICEF, n.d.-b). Eliminating these types of harmful social norms is an area where psychological knowledge and research can contribute to providing more equitable opportunities for girls.

19.3.2 *Data and Research in International Development*

The main difference between research in international development and that conducted in traditional psychological experiments is the explicit objective to apply the results to policy, programming, advocacy and other practical processes, in order to improve the lives of people in developing countries. The populations and topics of interest differ based on a particular organization's mandate, but the applied nature of the research sets it aside from the relational and theoretical objectives of some of the research conducted in university laboratories.

Research in international development, spans many disciplines and is conducted in all geographical regions of the world. Many nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), think tanks, research institutes and multilateral organizations like the UN conduct some type of research, sometimes as their primary function. Some UN agencies tend to focus on research in one sector, while others work across disci-

plines. For example, UNESCO—while also examining other topics—leads research in education (UNESCO, n.d.). The World Health Organization (WHO) leads health research, the World Bank champions issues related to development economics and poverty, and the Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO) focuses on food and agricultural activity. Agencies that work across sectors, such as UNICEF, tend to engage in cross-disciplinary research that focuses on their population of interest; in UNICEF's case, children.

Because, these organizations need to make policy recommendations to governments, the unit of analysis is often at the macro level, which is quite different from what most psychologists, who tend to focus on individuals and groups, are familiar with. Data used for this type of analysis are compiled from international household, health, and other types of surveys such as the USAID-supported demographic and health surveys or the UNICEF-supported multiple indicator cluster surveys (MICS), both of which contain nationally representative samples and provide detailed information on household composition, maternal and child health, HIV/AIDS, hygiene, child protection, nutrition, education, women's empowerment and other indicators of wellbeing (UNICEF, n.d.-c; The DHS Programme, n.d.). Administrative data, such as that obtained from a census, can also be used to inform decision-makers about the 'big picture' of what is happening in a country. Most countries have both an education management information system (EMIS) and a health management information system (HMIS), where data are collected at the facility level, such as in schools, hospitals or clinics (White and Sabarwal, 2014), rather than from households or individuals. Another important indicator for measuring a country's progress is income poverty, which is commonly derived from indicators of household income and consumption expenditure in surveys like the World Bank-inspired Living Standards Measurement Study (LSMS) Surveys (World Bank, 2005). Because, datasets from such sources capture vast amounts of information, covering thousands of individuals or households, they are a very useful—and often preferred—source for informing decisions about public policy and large-scale programmes, for example in setting up health and hygiene services.

Research—defined here as analytical work that collects and analyzes data to test a hypothesis or answer a specific question in order to provide new knowledge—goes a step beyond simply reporting and monitoring data, to fill a knowledge gap regarding issues and populations of interest in international development. Depending on the research question, studies can analyze survey or administrative data or collect new data from a specific sample. An annual exercise by UNICEF, The Best of UNICEF Research showcases the organization's most exemplary research efforts in a given year. The topics span the many sectors UNICEF works in, such as health, education, child protection, HIV/AIDS and nutrition, and also include multidisciplinary topics that cut across these areas, such as social protection. We can glean the variety of topics, methods, samples and research teams from the 2013 publication (UNICEF Office of Research, 2013). For example, a study on the reduction of child mortality in Niger (Amouzou, Habi and Bensaid, 2012) drew on nationally representative household surveys to develop new estimates of child mortality and examine factors that have contributed to a decrease in mortality. Another study

used mixed methods to evaluate the impact of South Africa's child support grant on children, and found that the grant contributed to increased height-for-weight scores and better performance at school, while reducing illness, risky behaviours and child labour (DSD, SASSA & UNICEF, 2012). Finally, a child protection study of Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian children recently returned to Kosovo from Germany applied qualitative methods, such as in-depth interviews and focus groups, to understand the situation in more detail (Knaus & Widmann, 2010). The results of the study detailed the bleak circumstances of repatriated children, including living in high-risk environments, poverty, statelessness, mental illness, low school attendance and a lack of social assistance and were used immediately to address the repatriation policies with the relevant governments. The three studies mentioned here underscore the very real issues that research in international development examines—including mortality, survival, education and other basic human needs and rights—and the potential of such research to produce results that can be immediately useful to improving the lives of participants.

The choice of topics and questions needs to be a strategic one. In the case of UNICEF, research needs to address questions that have the potential to positively impact children's lives and answer emerging national, regional and international development challenges. Sometimes these vital issues may be politically sensitive, particularly where they address national and global structural inequalities, but it is important that they are examined, particularly if they have the potential to be immediately applied to improve children's lives or are likely to reap benefits for children in the long-term. As well as addressing critical knowledge gaps, the results of the research need to be amenable to being turned into policies, guidelines for development programming, and advocacy materials and strategies. They also sometimes need to be in line with the priorities of donors and partners—including governments, the private sector or foundations like the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation.

A lot of research in international development is done in partnership with research institutes, universities, think tanks and other research groups. Working in such organizations is one way that psychologists can contribute to this field. The UN and other development actors particularly encourage partnerships with institutes from the low and middle income countries, because they ensure that local knowledge is captured in the research methods and the interpretation of findings. Such partnerships also strengthen relationships and build local research capacity. The transfer of skills from the global North to the South and vice versa is an important capacity building role of research in international development.

19.4 Application of Psychological Training to Research in International Development

The brief examples provided above illustrate that, wheras psychological knowledge and research are not at the forefront of international development, psychologists can nevertheless make an important contribution, particularly if they are willing to work

in interdisciplinary teams. In the following paragraphs, I will reflect on my personal experience of which aspects of my psychological training have been most advantageous and areas where I have experienced the greatest challenges.

19.4.1 The Advantages

The typical postgraduate psychology student receives at least 6 years of rigorous training in research methods, which includes study design, different options for data collection, advanced statistical analysis and questionnaire and inventory development. These skills are extremely helpful in a field where donors value quality metrics and where the experimental design, or randomized controlled trial, is often considered the 'gold standard' for measuring impact (Padian, McCoy, Balkus and Wasserheit, 2010; Davies, 2011). The university training I received in research methods allows me to judge the basic robustness of a study's methodology and data analysis even in instances where I am not well versed in the subject matter. For example, I recently reviewed a series of published studies on the benefits of nutrition services to children suffering from severe acute malnutrition (SAM). Even though I was not familiar with WHO standards for measuring malnutrition in children and could not assess the studies' quality in this area, I was able to see that its before-and-after design missed opportunities to control for the effect of various interventions across different sites. Similarly, I often see missed opportunities in studies that report frequencies, but do not conduct multivariate analysis to explore relationships between variables. My training to never state a conclusion unless it is backed up by evidence also makes it probable that I will spot instances where interpretations and recommendations may go beyond the evidence.

Another cross-cutting area in which psychologists tend to be well trained is research ethics. The strict requirements of signed consent forms or verifiable adult age of participants that are standard in high income countries may not be possible in field research in developing countries, where participants may not be literate or know their age. However, the sophisticated training psychologists receive in ethical principles such as considering the harms and benefits of the research, informed consent, privacy and confidentiality and appropriate compensation are integral to dealing with ethical dilemmas in the development context. Understanding how to prioritize the interests and safety of participants is extremely important in situations where an ethics board may not be available, participants may not know their own age, or family obligations may make it impossible for individuals to report on interpersonal violence and other types of abuse (e.g. ethical dilemmas, see ethical research involving children, www.childethics.com).

I have outlined above, some of the thematic areas—including social norms, violence, child development, mental health, and peaceful relations between groups— that are well represented in international development research and programming. In addition to this, knowledge about how an organization works and what motivates employees, makes effective leaders, focuses goals and creates strategies is

also useful to understanding the work dynamics in multilateral organizations. Social psychological theories are particularly helpful when working across cultures, which is common in international development. Finally, the literature in peace psychology speaks volumes to the study of intrastate conflict, intergroup and interpersonal violence, and ongoing prejudice and discrimination, and attempts to resolve them. The advantage of peace psychology is that it sees the individual within his or her geohistorical context and considers what can be influenced at the individual or interpersonal level, and where structural intervention is required (Christie, 2006). UNICEF, utilized this holistic approach in a recently launched multi-country study of interpersonal violence that examines individuals from a layered perspective that encompasses the groups, institutions and structures within which they are nested— from their immediate family and community to the structural influences of political systems, social norms, social movements, technology and other large-scale phenomena—which alone or in unison may affect violence against individuals (Maternowska, 2014).

19.4.2   The Disadvantages

The biggest disadvantages I have experienced as a psychologist working in international development are my insufficient training in analyzing large datasets to examine macro-level factors that influence the development of nations and regions, and my limited training in how to turn basic, as well as applied research into policy and practice. While psychologists receive sophisticated training in statistics, we are generally not great at working with large datasets, conducting macro-level analysis or constructing econometric models to evaluate the ex ante or ex post impact of possible or actual interventions. Our tendency to conduct research with sample sizes rarely larger than a thousand may seem irrelevant to decision-makers in charge of developing national policies and programmes and trying to build health, education or birth registration systems that improve the lives of millions. However, there are also some disadvantages to only analyzing at the macro level and leaving out individual differences. What does it mean for a girl with a disability in a rural area that her country's GDP has increased by 5 %? How does her country's wealth impact her sense of wellbeing, future outlook, and daily ability to get around? Economists tend to focus their analysis at the level of districts, nations or regions, while psychologists tend to look at the individual and group level, yet the linkages between how the individual contributes to and is affected by the structural determinants are examined less frequently. This seems like a missed opportunity—one that psychologists trained in multilevel modelling, which examines the links between the individual (micro), community (meso) and societal (macro) levels, could address.

Research in academic psychology is often theoretical, interested in contributing new knowledge on how different cognitive, social or behavioural processes influence each other. It is common to examine high-level concepts such as implicit attitudes, working memory and other cognitive processes. Research in international development examines issues like morbidity, mortality, malnutrition, hand-washing

practices or household food consumption and in comparison seems focused on basic survival. Its findings need to be applied to save lives, not advance theoretical knowledge of the mind. If an intervention—such as a policy or programme—is put in place, it is necessary to evaluate its effectiveness and examine whether it can be scaled up to save more lives. Like laboratory research, impact evaluations often use experimental designs, but the realities and ethical dilemmas of conducting such research in the field are a world away from the controlled environment of a university laboratory. For example, when tasked with evaluating cash transfer schemes as part of the transfer project, my colleague's team was not only in charge of a research process, but also had to address practical, ethical and often politically-sensitive issues regarding which districts would get the cash transfer and which would act as the control group in the first round of trials. But how to assign control groups in such a complex socio-political trial in an ethical, transparent way? Is it appropriate to use a computer program to randomly assign clusters to the control and intervention groups, or will the participants not understand the experimental validity of this and see it as biased or even corrupt? In one context, the team's approach was to involve representatives from key stakeholder groups in the decision-making and select an approach which was not only transparent, but also culturally acceptable to the participants. They resorted to assigning intervention and control groups by drawing district names out of a fish bowl in an open government forum. It was important to clarify to all stakeholders that the impact of the cash transfer was not yet known and that is why an RCT design was necessary. Should the trial prove successful, the benefits would be made available to other districts. To ensure transparency, the entire selection process of names being drawn out of the fish bowl was video recorded and documented and great efforts were made to ensure all stakeholders understood the decision-making process and outcomes. This is only one of many examples of how the desired methodology may need to be adjusted or changed to meet the political and practical realities of applied research. In another country, involved in the Transfer Project, decision-makers were concerned that control group participants would think that benefits were purposely withheld from them and as such the scale-up plan entailed complete saturation of a district once it entered in the programme. This political decision made it impossible to randomly assign households to a control group within the same district and the research team had to adjust the design to a rigorous *quasi*-experiment, which used district-matched case-controls as a comparison group (Balvin & Handa, 2014). Advising governments—who are often faced with limited resources—how to turn research results into policy or how to decide which group or area of survival to prioritize (e.g. is the provision of insecticide-treated mosquito nets more important than girls' education?) is another common challenge for which I received little training during my study of psychology.

One of the most important aspects of research in international development is its translation into action. Some sectors, including public health and social policy, have mastered in turning findings into policy recommendations or programmatic and advocacy guidelines. Traditional training in psychology tends to stop at teaching students how to objectively interpret their meticulously conducted studies, but the questions, 'What does this mean for the real world?' or 'How can I turn this

into policy?' are frequently not given the emphasis they deserve. Similarly, psychological teaching often focuses on individual processes and does not go far enough in connecting individuals to the social and political contexts which influence so much about how they function and how enabled they are to change their situation. For example, racism is not the sum of the prejudice felt by individuals in a given society, but rather an institutionalized phenomenon reflected in that society's history, laws, economic privileges and other power structures (Wessells and Dawes, 2007). A reductionist approach that works at the individual level can only address the interpersonal rather than the macro drivers of racism. Psychologists' limited training in translating research into action and their focus on the individual can be a disadvantage in a field where decision-makers look for evidence-based answers that can be scaled up to have an impact at the structural/macro level.

A final area that often does not get covered in psychology degrees, but is very useful in international development, is evaluation. The push by donors to monitor how money is spent and ensure that the desired outcomes and impacts are achieved means that most major interventions in international development are evaluated. Experimental and quasi-experimental designs, which are frequently applied in impact evaluations, are closely related to the research methods taught in standard psychological courses. Expanding psychological courses to cover other fundamental aspects of evaluations, such as how to develop a theory of change and key evaluation questions, or construct evaluative criteria (Rogers, 2014) would benefit psychology students who wish to use their skills in more applied settings.

19.5   How Can Psychological Research Be More Involved in International Development?

In the paragraphs above, I have mentioned a number of opportunities to expand psychological training to make it more relevant to research in international development, including: multilevel analysis that examines the relationship between the micro, meso and macro levels; an increased focus on applied research and turning findings into policy and programmatic guidance; and greater involvement in evaluation.

The key for psychologists seems to be to work in interdisciplinary partnerships, where their expertise is included in large projects that examine several factors (and sectors) that influence human wellbeing and development. We need to make a case for why psychological phenomena are integral to steering the health, prosperity and rights of a country's population in the right direction, but we also need to be flexible in how we work with other disciplines. Where an opportunity exists to include an entire, established battery or module in a survey, it should be pursued, provided that its results are also valid in the measured context. But sometimes, large surveys only have room for very few psychological questions, and the psychologist needs to be flexible in adjusting his or her approach in order to include the measurement of an interdisciplinary research project. This approach comes with its own set of chal-

lenges—such as whether a mental health or cognition construct can be measured with limited questions—but it is important that psychologists participate in these decisions to ensure that our discipline is more visible in the post-2015 development agenda.

Another key approach is to use methods that provide evidence that easily lends itself to sound policymaking. As already mentioned, randomized controlled trials (RCTs) are an effective research design for presenting evidence about the impact of interventions. The strength of such evidence grows when results are replicated across time and contexts. Other methods, such as longitudinal studies or realist reviews, are useful for assessing the impact of national policies over time. The tendency in international development is to look at large data sets and base decisions on numbers. Qualitative methods are less useful for national policy-making, but are integral to the in-depth exploration and understanding of *why* an intervention worked in one context but not in another, or for explaining complex cultural, socio-economic and other differences gleaned from a survey. Qualitative studies are also important for developing survey questions or adjusting them to a cultural context. Many research organizations that work in international development promote the use of mixed methods in order to triangulate results and have a deeper, methodologically sound understanding of a situation (e.g. the International Initiative for Impact Evaluation, n.d.).

Clearly, many clinical, health, developmental and other psychologists already use these methods frequently—the point is that psychologists do not use them frequently enough to provide evidence for policymaking in international development. For example, multilevel models—also known as hierarchical linear models or nested models (Vauclair, 2013)—are used by psychologists to examine issues such as how cultural values predict individuals' moral attitudes (Vauclair and Fischer, 2011). Vauclair and Fischer (2011) did this by fielding individual-level items from the Morally Debatable Behaviours Scale (MDBS) into the macro-level World Value Survey (WVS) to find that some personal attitudes were related to cultural values, while others were not. With the objective of international development to lift countries out of poverty, it would be useful to examine how national indicators of wealth such as the GNI and GDP relate to individual-level factors of subjective psychological well-being, such as happiness, life satisfaction, hope and aspiration.

19.5.1 *Working with Partners to Translate Research into Policy*

Using rigorous methods is only one component to ensuring that psychological research will be noticeable and useful to decision-makers. One of the most important aspects to turning research into policy is to choose the right topics and partners from the outset. As outlined in Sect. 19.3.2, UNICEF's research topics are strategically chosen and much of its work is in partnership with government bodies, civil society, NGOs, academic institutions and other UN agencies. When decision-makers are invited to sit on a research project's advisory board they are engaged with the research

question and findings from the start. When they are a partner in the research project and help to steer its topic, advise on its methodology, and share the financial cost, they are vested in its relevance, usefulness and application. For example, UNICEF's multi-country study on the drivers of violence against children is working with governments in Viet Nam, Zimbabwe, Peru, Italy and elsewhere (Maternowska, 2014). The countries were strategically selected because of the relevance of the topic in their context, availability of data, and willingness to share financial and technical responsibilities for the implementation of the research and its findings. This type of collaboration is as much a political process as it is technical research process, but a captive audience at the start is likely to increase the uptake of results at the end. To some academic psychologists, political collaborations may seem complicated or even biased, but they are often necessary if the research is to have an impact. A political collaboration may influence the topic and research question under investigation, but it must never influence the rigor of the methodology and analysis. The head start programme is a prime example of the influence and impact independent psychological research can have when interested government stakeholders are on board (APA, 2004).

When this type of collaboration goes smoothly, it is an efficient and straightforward way to maximize the impact of research. However, not all topics are amenable to collaboration. Sometimes there are important issues that decision-makers are not interested in or that they would prefer not to engage with because of the issue's sensitivity or complexity. In recent discussions with colleagues from the regions of Central and Easter Europe and the Commonwealth of Independent States, I learnt that while their national data collection systems are relatively sophisticated, some governments in the region are not interested in evidence-based policy. The data collection efforts serve the purpose of monitoring and reporting on the population, but decisions tend to be made based on morals, experience, budget and other non evidence-based approaches. The culture of evidence-based policy-making is yet to permeate some parts of the region.

In other cases, decision-makers may not just be disinterested in research, they may outright avoid and deny its findings. Sensitive topics such as violence against children, sexual abuse and HIV/AIDS have at times been met with denial from governments because they may be morally uncomfortable, too difficult to address, pose a reputational threat, and for many other reasons. The HIV/AIDS denialism that took place in South Africa under President Mbeki prevented AIDS patients from accessing antiretroviral drugs despite scientific evidence that suggested otherwise (McGreal, 2001). Climate-change denialism is another example of how strong scientific evidence alone may not be sufficient to convince decision-makers to act.

Where decision-makers are interested in a topic, working in partnership is an effective approach to increasing the likelihood that results will be put to use. However, where topics are sensitive, other strategies such as working with advocacy groups to lobby decision-makers, or using traditional or social media to raise awareness of an issue, need to be employed.

19.5.2   Packaging Research Findings for Impact

The strategic dissemination and advocacy of results is another integral component of ensuring research findings reach the desired audience and have an impact. Academics typically share their research by publishing in scientific journals and presenting at conferences, but this is often insufficient for capturing the attention of busy policymakers or influencing populations of interest.

There does not seem to be a silver bullet for how to capture the attention of a target audience and turn research into action. It is common practice in international development to summarize research findings in a policy brief, which selects the key findings from research and makes recommendations to policy makers in a succinct, policy-relevant manner. Ironically, this approach only works for some policy makers, with others preferring to learn about key developments from the more technical write-ups in journal articles. In other contexts, decision-makers may prefer to learn about research results at public events such as launches, meetings, conferences, workshops, seminars and round-tables; via traditional media like TV and radio programs; and increasingly through social media. One strategy that has worked well for many UNICEF country offices has been to engage government stakeholders from the conception of a research project and, where possible, to conduct and distribute the findings in collaboration with them. This may include involving them in identifying the research theme and shaping the research questions, ensuring they are well represented on the steering and review committees, co-branding the research report and coming together to promote the final product and advocate its recommendations.

The way research findings are packaged is also extremely important to the success of their uptake. A policy brief may work for government officials, while programmatic step-by-step guides may be preferred by practitioners who need to implement an evidence-based programme in the field. If the target audience is children and adolescents, the key messages may work well if they are made part of a TV or radio show or some other type of 'edutainment'. Others still may prefer the old-fashioned glossy report, which communicates key messages from research via nonspecialist language, personal accounts and eye-catching photographs (see e.g. UNICEF's *The State of the World's Children* report: UNICEF, 2013).

The importance of ensuring that the uptake of research is carefully strategized from the beginning has gained traction in recent years under the auspices of 'R4D' or 'Research for Development' (DfID, 2013b). The UK Department for International Development (DfID) has been a leader in this area, making it a condition that all DfID-funded research programmes "proactively plan and implement a research uptake strategy to maximize the likelihood that their research findings achieve an impact" (DfID, 2013a, p. 5). The Department has produced detailed guidance on how to achieve this objective, based around four components of research uptake: stakeholder engagement, capacity building, communication, and monitoring and evaluation of uptake. Effective stakeholder engagement should identify relevant policymakers early on, understand their needs and raise their interest in the project. Capacity building needs to support both the supply and demand for research evi-

dence. Sometimes key stakeholders do not have sufficient capacity to understand and implement the recommendations from research, and it is important that this type of capacity is assessed early on, both within the research team and externally among the target audience, and that support is provided to make research uptake possible (DfID, 2013a, p. 10). Similarly, the planning of a communication strategy needs to begin at the inception of a research programme and ensure that findings are accessible to both specialist and nonspecialist audiences. Findings need to be available in the relevant languages and distributed using a variety of formats accessible to the target audience (e.g. some of those described above, including journal articles, policy briefs, oral communication and edutainment). Finally, the monitoring of uptake must form a part of the research plan, with a log frame identifying the indicators against which success will be judged. Working with regional partners and focusing on policy outreach is high on DfID's agenda, and toolkits on how to 'design a policy influence plan', 'monitor and evaluate policy influence', and 'communicate research for policy influence' (DfID, 2012a; DfID, 2012b; see also DfID's Research for Development (R4D) Database, http://r4d.dfid.gov.uk/Default.aspx) are readily available in order to build capacity in research communication and maximize its 'real world' impact in low and middle income countries (DfID, 2013b). The explicit aim of research is to go beyond adding new knowledge, to help people 'on the ground'.

It must be noted that the uptake of research into policy is not sufficient for causing lasting social change. Harmful cultural practices such as female genital mutilation and cutting or child marriage continue in some countries despite their legal prohibition (Girls not Brides, n.d.). As Wessells and Dawes (2007) point out 'when progressive policies outstrip public attitudes, norms, and practices, they are at risk of becoming achievements on paper only' (p. 277). Psychologists and other researchers can only do so much to ensure their work leads to a greater good. Careful planning, rigorous measurement, partnerships and attractive packaging and communication may increase the likelihood of research to policy uptake, but they never guarantee its implementation and impact.

19.6 Ideas for Moving Forward

The 2014 International Congress of Applied Psychology (ICAP) dedicated a symposium to psychologists working at the UN (IAAP, 2014). One of the conveners introduced the topic by reflecting on what it has been like to discuss psychological issues with UN representatives: 'They don't really understand psychology at all! They equate it with being insane'. While slightly exaggerated, his sentiments echo my observation that psychology is largely absent from the agenda of international development. Yet, the same session went on to provide strong examples of how the various divisions of the International Association of Applied Psychology (IAAP) collaborate with numerous UN agencies (e.g. International Labour Organization, WHO), programmes and funds (e.g. UNICEF, UNDP), related organizations

(World Trade Organization), subsidiary bodies (Human Rights Council) and even representatives from the General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC).[1] A speaker from the Division of Education and School Psychology shared examples of work done with various parts of the UN on empowering girls through education, promoting peacebuilding in schools and strengthening focus on early childhood development. Another speaker from the Division of Economic Psychology summed up its plans to examine the relationship between national wealth and happiness to assist increased UN interest in this area. Impressively, the IAAP representative to the UN, Judy Kuriansky, described the considerable advocacy efforts her team undertakes with diplomats and other UN officials to put psychology on the development agenda. These include drafting statements, participating in ministerial reviews, organizing side events and, more broadly, using psychological research to make policy recommendations. Kuriansky has also been heavily involved in advocating for the inclusion of mental health and wellbeing in the post-2015 agenda. Hopefully her efforts are fruitful, and not only will there be fewer UN officials who equate psychology with 'being insane', but the populations of the developing world will benefit from the vast knowledge and practice of our discipline.

I do not wish to diminish the many stellar efforts and contributions of psychology to international development. Using my relatively short-lived experience of working in this field, I have shared my observation that psychology lags behind some of the more involved disciplines, such as development economics and public health, but that it has great potential to contribute to this dynamic area, which is helping to shape a rapidly changing world. The opportunities for positive impact are countless, and many decision-makers in developing countries seek the advice of experts on emerging issues. Psychologists need to be ready when such advice is sought and also prepared to advocate for its use when it goes unnoticed.

The majority of the world's people live in low and middle income countries, and forecasts for the poorest continent, Africa, suggest that the greatest demographic shifts will occur there. According to a recent forecast, four in ten people will be African by the end of this century, and by 2050 the continent will hold a billion children, making its child dependency ratio the highest in the word (UNICEF, 2014). Wouldn't it be great if the health, education, child protection and other systems that are being set up in some of Africa's poorest countries could benefit from rigorous psychological evidence and knowledge? Harmful social norms, risky adolescent behaviours, and poor teaching and parenting practices are only a few of the many negative outcomes that could be reduced with guidance from sound psychological research.

Not every psychologist will be interested in working in international development or otherwise contributing to the developing world, but for those who are, I hope this chapter has provided some ideas on how this can be achieved. For academics and other researchers, the effort may be as small as making research findings available in an accessible format and sending it to a policymaker, or as big as teach-

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[1] For a breakdown of the United Nations System, see: http://visiblebusiness.blogspot.it/2011/10/united-nations-system-organizational.html.

ing students how to turn research into policy, or partnering with a multidisciplinary team on a research programme in a poor country. Many opportunities already exist, and many more may come with the new post-2015 agenda, for psychologists to contribute to attaining healthy and peaceful lives for the world's poorest and most vulnerable people.

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Chapter 20
Program Evaluation: Why Process Matters

Michael G. Wessells

20.1   Introduction

In the humanitarian world, evaluations of peacebuilding programs are seen as important not only for satisfying one's donors but also for being accountable to local people whom programs aim to support (Buchanan-Smith & Cosgrove, 2013; Creswell, 2013). Yet nearly all practitioners have horror stories to tell about evaluations that are extractive, offensive, or even harmful to local people. During the war in Angola, for example, a Western psychologist's evaluation of a psychosocial program included asking war-affected people "What was the worst thing that happened to you?" This intrusive question awakened memories of horrifying memories and left some participants feeling highly vulnerable and overwhelmed. Unfortunately, the evaluation team provided little support, and the departure of the psychologist after a short stay triggered feelings of abandonment and of having been exploited.

The purpose of this chapter is to show how program evaluations can either contribute to or impede peacebuilding depending on how they were done. When the emphasis is strictly on technical considerations or the evaluation is driven by outsider concerns, there is a significant likelihood that the evaluation process may undermine or weaken the peacebuilding processes that the program had intended to strengthen. The chapter begins with an analysis of how evaluations often are frequently non-peaceful by virtue of using processes that are imposed by outsiders, objectify or discriminate against local people, or marginalize local beliefs and practices. Having examined why non-peaceful evaluations occur, it then suggests that critical reflection and action are the cornerstones of not only peacebuilding practice but also efforts to evaluate peacebuilding programs.

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20.2   How Evaluations Can be Non-Peaceful

Although evaluations are typically guided by good intentions, the manner in which they are designed and conducted may have negative unintended consequences (Allden et al., 2009; Bush & Duggan, 2013; Goldwyn & Chigas, 2013; Mazurana, Jacobsen, & Gale, 2013; Wessells, 2009). An evaluation process will be far from peaceful if it produces negative consequences such as fear and humiliation, loss of dignity, objectification and disempowerment, and marginalization of local beliefs, and practices. Extensive experience of diverse practitioners indicates that the risk of these consequences is omnipresent. Indeed, I have personally encountered each of the problems discussed below but have chosen not to identify particular agencies or programs since that might tarnish their reputation, when the problems apply to many different agencies. Fortunately, these consequences are far from inevitable. By raising awareness of these issues, we move collectively into a better position to present them.

20.2.1   Fear, Humiliation, and Loss of Dignity

National teams that implement programs frequently regard evaluations with fear and apprehension. Although these fears may be excessive, they may also have a basis in reality. A negative evaluation could cause a program to lose its funding and the program implementers to lose their jobs. Program implementers may also fear the humiliation that would result if, despite much hard work, the program received a negative evaluation. In such settings, the implementing staff would likely feel embarrassment and loss of dignity over having let down both their agency and the people they had wanted to support.

Some of the worst fears are associated with external evaluations, which are frequently used as a means of reducing bias. For example, national staff may worry that outsiders may not understand fully the program or appreciate the adversity and complexity that the implementers and the affected people have had to navigate. There may also be concern that outside evaluators will use methods and measures that either do not fit the program, the culture, or the wider context, or will work without adequate consultation with the implementing staff. Although these concerns may be based on perceptions, they may be based in part on the realities of previous experiences.

Fear also arises in affected groups or communities. In some situations, the fear arises when local people sense the fear, frustration, and sense of hopelessness of the national staff. Alternately, the fear occurs directly, without spread or mediation by national staff. In zones of political violence and armed conflict, for example, people frequently fear outsiders, who could be representatives of a government or political opposition group that had been persecuting them. The use of written forms such as surveys or consent forms frequently arouse concerns about who the outsiders represent and the implications of putting one's signature or thumbprint on a piece of

paper. As this example illustrates, even seemingly routine aspects of data collection may seem threatening to the local participants.

However it arises, a climate of fear is antithetical to a peaceful evaluation process. In addition to being a subjectively unpleasant emotion, fear makes people feel degraded and can undermine their sense of dignity at the moment in which they need most need it.

20.2.2   *Objectification, Disrespect, and Disempowerment*

A common problem is the use of evaluation methods that leave people feeling objectified, disrespected, and disempowered. For example, an evaluation of a peacebuilding program that had aimed to develop positive attitudes toward the "other" group in a post-conflict setting might use a survey instrument that is technically sound. Nevertheless, this process of data collection could leave local people feeling objectified. Following armed conflict, people frequently carry emotional wounds and need support and human reconnection. Yet the process of answering a survey can leave people feeling objectified and as being unsupported at a moment when they want support, relationships, and trust. Also, people in post-conflict settings usually have extensive needs for food, water, shelter, health care, and even security. To ask survey questions about attitudes toward the "other" group in such contexts can make people feel that the evaluators are disrespectful and inattentive to people's main needs.

These problems are amplified further if the questions asked or the manner in which the survey is administered, make local people feel as if they or the local customs are being put down or diminished. Consider, for example, what would happen if a survey on violence in a country such as Somalia asked about female genital mutilation or cutting, which is widely practiced. The participants would very likely become upset since they know that human rights standards prohibit such practices and that most researchers support human rights. Similarly, the widespread practice of evaluators in many low- and middle-income countries of using written survey and consent forms can highlight the power differential between the researchers and the participants, many of whom are illiterate.

Furthermore, the use of predetermined questions—either in structured qualitative methods or in surveys—can weaken the process of empowerment. This process is fundamental for community-driven action and the sense of agency that promotes psychosocial well-being. In such a setting, people often feel that they are simply reacting to questions put to them by outsiders, and they may actively suppress the things that are of greatest concern to themselves. Following the collection of data, evaluation teams seldom feed the data from the surveys back to local people, who see the evaluation as extracting from them while giving little back. The resulting feelings of being used and exploited undermine the trust and empowerment that are the foundation of effective, sustainable programs.

20.2.3   Discrimination

Evaluations often contribute inadvertently to discrimination. For example, peace-building programs are frequently implemented for former child soldiers in post-conflict areas with an eye toward enabling their healing and reintegration into civilian life (Wessells, 2006). Although these programs can do much good, they can also cause harm by aiding the former child soldiers but not other children, who may be equally vulnerable. In conflict torn countries such as Liberia, local people saw child soldiers as being better off than the people they had attacked since the child soldiers had weapons and access to food, medical supplies, and other necessities. The international community developed reintegration programs to support only former child soldiers. However, local people saw this as "blood money," that is, as a reward for the children who had attacked unarmed civilians. People who evaluate such programs may unwittingly continue such patterns of discrimination by, for example, focusing on the former child soldiers, asking them questions and talking with other people about them. Such a targeted evaluation approach reinforces the privileging of former child soldiers and stimulates frustration and anger among people who also have extensive, unmet needs.

20.2.4   Outside Imposition

International peacebuilding and humanitarian work, much of which is done by international non-governmental organization (NGOs), occurs in a context of power asymmetry and, in many developing countries, the aftermath of centuries of colonialism. Mostly the Western staff of international NGOs are seen as bearing the imprimatur of science, which can seem to local people as offering solutions to their problems. Local people, many of whom are displaced and penniless, are sometimes reluctant to offer their own ideas, looking instead to the NGO workers. The NGO staff, including well-educated national staff, are frequently enthusiastic about bringing to people the latest evaluation tools and support strategies. The result is an imposition of outside ideas that perpetuates structural violence.

A case in point is an evaluation of a large scale, NGO led psychosocial program that was implemented in Angola in 1995, in the midst of the decades long internal war that ended in 2002 (Wessells & Monteiro, 2001). Following the advice of prestigious Western clinical psychologists and psychiatrists, the program aimed to reduce the trauma that affected children by mobilizing communities around children's needs. It enabled children to play and engage in expressive activities, interact in positive ways, receive support from adults, and come to terms with their difficult experiences of conflict, loss, displacement, and sexual violence, among others. The Angolan team that implemented the program had been taught to evaluate the program using survey instruments that measured children's exposure to traumatic events and also traumatic stress reactions such as nightmares and cardiac acceleration. This approach was questionable since no validation study had been conducted to see whether high trauma scores on the instruments correlated with dysfunctionality.

Equally problematic was the top-down imposition of Western ideas about and measures of post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD). Neither Angolan staff nor community people had been asked what they saw as the most important psychosocial challenges to children's well-being. Subsequent interviews conducted by the author and Carlinda Monteiro, revealed that the staff had silenced their own questions and ideas because they were being advised by prestigious clinicians who carried the imprimatur of Western science. Adult community members, too, said that they had not wanted to present their own ideas since they were desperate for the help of outsiders and because, over the long years of the war, they had lost faith in Angolan culture and instead looked to Western science for help.

As it turned out, the Angolan team serendipitously began hearing stories from children that did not fit the trauma paradigm. A 10-year-old girl who had her village attacked and had seen her parents killed and her home destroyed said that the worst part for her was that she had to run away without having conducted the culturally appropriate burial for her parents. She explained that, according to local beliefs, the spirits of her parents were trapped and unable to transit to the realm of the ancestors. As a result, they were agitated and likely to inflict harm not only on the girl but also members of her extended family, community members, or anyone she came into contact with. Seeing herself as spiritually polluted, she said that she needed the support of a traditional healer, who could conduct a cleansing ritual that would rid her of the spiritual pollution and enable her to be around other people in safety.

In this case, which was by no means an isolated one, the exclusive focus on trauma was misleading since it obscured an understanding of the girl's problem and did little to point the way toward an appropriate intervention. Furthermore, the trauma focus marginalized the local beliefs and practices that were sustainable local resources and fit the girl's main sources of distress. This example, which fortunately was identified and corrected by the Angolan team, indicates how outsider knowledge and scientific concepts—even if they are a poor fit to the context and local culture—can be imposed on local people in ways that silence local understandings and practices. When this happens, evaluations and programs become instruments of colonial domination that reproduce patterns of social injustice and are antithetical to peace.

20.3   Why Non-Peaceful Evaluations are Widespread

Having considered how evaluations frequently are non-peaceful, it is important to reflect on why this is so. An understanding of the "why" is critical to the efforts to prevent unintended harm and change the institutions, policies, and practices that enable non-peaceful evaluations. An analysis of the "why" requires a systemic approach that considers political, institutional, and personal factors. An important theme is that evaluations cannot be considered as isolated, technically oriented actions but as extensions and reflections of wider processes.

20.3.1   Political Factors

Political factors may seem out of place in evaluations yet are omnipresent since evaluations, like peacebuilding programs, emanate from particular countries and donors that intermix humanitarian and political agendas. In northern Afghanistan post-2005, I was asked by an international US-based NGO to review the situation and the NGO's current activities. Although I viewed my activities as humanitarian, my presence and the presence of the NGO, whose activities were funded by United States Agency for International Development (USAID), had powerful political implications. In Afghanistan at that time, the boundaries were blurred between humanitarian and military action. Many Afghan people saw Americans as wanting to dominate Muslim people (Wessells, 2006). Inevitably, my presence was seen as part of the USA occupation or domination strategy—the antithesis of the peace that I had wanted to promote. My decision to end my work in Afghanistan reflected a critical appraisal process, the importance of which is explored below. For now, the point is that evaluations are extensions of programs that local people may see as tainted on humanitarian grounds since they are embedded within wider, political agendas.

20.3.2   Institutional Factors

Institutional pressures for better accountability, including having a good scientific evidence base for interventions, are as prevalent as they are strong. Although accountability and a good evidence base are important and desirable, the pressures to achieve them often lead to problematic practices in the field. For example, because numbers frequently speak to donors in ways that qualitative data do not, NGOs frequently make surveys their main tools of evaluation, even in cases in which the use of surveys alone is ill advised. Adding to the excessive reliance on quantitative data is the misguided idea, prevalent in the NGO world, that quantitative data are better than qualitative data or even that the latter are not scientific. These factors can lead to the privileging of outside approaches, particularly quantitatively oriented ones, that frequently have the extractive and marginalizing qualities discussed above.

Similarly, pressures for quick results—particularly in emergency situations—are built into the humanitarian architecture. To conduct programs, international NGOs and other actors typically have to raise funds from donors such as governments or private foundations, who in turn are accountable to their constituents for the appropriate, effective use of the funds. Donors such as USAID answer to the US Congress and follow its 1-year budgeting frame. They typically give funds in year-long tranches and require that agencies demonstrate significant results in that short-time frame. In large-scale emergencies, this situation results in excessive pressures for rapid measurement and quick results. The NGO may know well that a proper evaluation should come at the end of several years of programming. The fact that the NGO is required to show results at the end of a year can lead to the use of rapid surveys and extractive methods in hopes of obtaining continued funding. Quite often,

hastily conducted evaluations provide little space for deep listening or approaches that are participatory or empowering.

Donor priorities are also a key institutional factor. Concerned about children who are believed to be particularly vulnerable, donors frequently prioritize support for groups such as former child soldiers. In regard to evaluation, they require that programs demonstrate positive results for that particular subgroup. The problems of excessively targeted funding became conspicuous in Sri Lanka, which was hit hard by the 2004 Asian tsunami. International NGOs raised large amounts of money to support survivors of the tsunami in Sri Lanka. Meanwhile, little money was available to support people who had been affected by the multi-decade armed conflict in the tsunami-affected areas. The result was that for two adjacent villages—one tsunami affected and other worse off and conflict affected—only the former received funding support. As a result, family members in one village had nice homes and became wealthy by local standards, whereas the extended family members in the other village remained very poor and felt discriminated against. This pattern of discrimination was continued by evaluations of programs that had aimed to support tsunami survivors.

Institutional factors also constrain the roles of evaluators and may promote a culture of technical expertise. The humanitarian industry includes a large number of consultants (such as the author) who have received specialized training based on science. They make their living by evaluating and otherwise supporting humanitarian work, primarily in low- and middle-income countries. Because they are hired as "technical experts," they are expected to use their technical expertise—particularly their understanding of methodology and their state of the art knowledge—to evaluate humanitarian work. The default expectation is that they will use scientifically robust methods that yield the quantitative data that impress donors the most. In fact, NGOs compete for the best technical expertise and pride themselves on having the top consultants and academic partners.

Among academic institutions, donors, NGOs, and consultants themselves, there has emerged a mini-culture of technical expertise that privileges scientific knowledge, robust measurement, and the use of evidence to guide practice. All of these are important and have much to contribute to good practice. However, it is useful to reflect on how these priorities might also lead one astray. An NGO that hires a PhD as an "expert" consultant thereby looks to her to define the appropriate evaluation design, measures, and data collection and analysis processes. Even if she feels uncomfortable with being called an "expert" in regard to work in a country she may have visited before but in fact knows relatively little about, she will likely comply with tacit or explicit agency demands for rigorous methods and data. This enables the technical mindsets and imposition that were discussed above. In essence, consultants frequently do not feel free to deviate from their role as technical experts and to say things such as "I do not know what would be the best approach to evaluate this program." Such a statement could be a sign of humility and an important first step toward the critical, collaborative, grounded evaluation practice that is needed. Yet it may be avoided out of concern that it could be seen as an admission of incompetence or of poor fit with an assignment.

20.3.3   Personal Factors

Complementing or amplifying these institutional factors is a host of individual factors that can lead to non-peaceful evaluations. At the extreme end are individuals who have a "West is best" attitude, look down on local people, and bring Western science as "the answer" to the problems of developing countries without appreciating its boundaries and limitations. This type of hubris portrays one as "the expert" and encourages an orientation of speaking over listening and of disregarding the local understandings and skills that local people already have and could use to promote a quality evaluation. Worse yet, it could lead consultants to engage in arrogant behavior, to demean local culture as backward or harmful, and to engender in local people feelings of humiliation, anger, and frustration.

Aside from such extreme attitudes, more subtle qualities may also lead to non-peaceful evaluations. Primary among these are ignorance of the context and the lack of a self-critical attitude. Indeed, many outside consultants enter a country without understanding its sociocultural context or its history and current political and economic context. They carry with them ethnocentric attitudes that are difficult to articulate, much less manage. As a result, they are ill equipped to work in a manner that is respectful of local people and sensitive to cultural and contextual dynamics. What is more, consultants from western, northern societies may have an unquestioning view of the universality of Western science and methods. Consequently, they do too little to analyze whether and how science applies in the local context or to question whether the Western tools or measures have been validated in that context. They may impose outside ideas with little or no humility or appreciation for how they are reproducing patterns of colonialism. In short, they are in a poor position to respect the humanitarian imperative "Do No Harm."

20.4   Enabling a Peaceful Evaluation Process

Design- and conduct-peaceful evaluations require considerable sensitivity to context and the ability to navigate the welter of political, institutional, and personal obstacles identified above. Before evaluation work begins on the ground, one must make a host of decisions about the implications of working in the context, whether and how to work with the particular agency and donor, and the approaches that may enable a peaceful evaluation. Making good decisions requires sensitivity to power dynamics and ethical issues, critical thinking about one's role and approach, and a willingness to reposition oneself in the evaluation process. The need for critical thinking and reflexivity is hardly unique to evaluation. But it is of high importance in evaluation precisely because the culture of evaluation in humanitarian work has privileged technical aspects over wider human concerns. The ability to conduct peaceful evaluations requires critical thinking that helps to move away from the use of extractive, objectifying approaches toward the use of participatory approaches that support people's voice and dignity.

20.4.1   *The Importance of Critical Reflection*

Critical reflection begins with humility. It is strengthened by interrogating one's own motivations, role, orientation, and activities with an eye toward issues of peace, power dynamics, and ethics. Some of the kinds of questions that ought to be asked are illustrated in Table 20.1.

Asking these and related questions on a regular basis is an important step toward critical self-awareness and reflexive practice. The questions are part of circular think-act and observe-reflect cycles that are used on an ongoing basis to enable peaceful practice and evaluation work. Questions about one's motivation are essential since tacit motivations frequently impede a peaceful approach. If one's motivation were to publish or to test out a new, highly technical methodology, that could lead one to tacitly privilege technical concerns over those relating to participants' dignity and participation. Thinking about one's role is crucial because roles guide our behavior. Agencies often hire evaluators specifically for their technical

Table 20.1 Key questions that ought to be asked to enable a reflexive, critical approach

Topic	Questions that should be asked
Motivation	How do I come to this work?
	What motivates me to work on evaluations?
	How do my motives enable or undermine peaceful evaluations?
	Do I need to rethink my motives?
Role	Am I positioned as "the expert" or as a co-learner?
	Am I sharing power appropriately with national staff and local people?
	Does my role support the dignity and voice of local people?
	Does the fulfillment of my role unintentionally cause harm?
	Do I need to revise my role?
Orientation	Is my dress and demeanor respectful of local norms?
	Am I so time urgent and task focused that I do not think about promoting peace?
	Do I communicate directly or indirectly that science (and I) knows best and local cultural practices are problematic?
	Do I show interest in learning about local beliefs, values, and practices?
	Am I taking care of myself in ways that enable me to care effectively for other people?
	What can I do to make my orientation more peaceful?
Activities	How are my actions likely perceived by local people?
	Have I been tacitly favoring some people or subgroups (e.g., boys and men) over others?
	In my evaluation-related activities today, what did I do to show respect for local people?
	How am I doing day to day in sharing power?
	Thinking about recent evaluation activities, how could my activities be causing harm?
	What could I do better to prevent causing unintended harm and support dignity and peace?

expertise and to fill a strictly technical role. Reflecting on one's role can enable one to step down from the pedestal of the "expert" label or to educate the hiring agency about the value of taking a more participatory approach. Reflection on one's orientation is also a key part of critical self-awareness. Without this, one may send subtle signals to people about power relations and the dominant importance of one's own views. Because reflection is not a one-off event but rather an ongoing process, it is vital to reflect continually about how one is doing in regard to respect local people, including different subgroups and sharing power.

However, asking oneself questions will not by itself automatically lead to constructive personal change. In fact, the robotic asking of questions and the provision of simplistic, self-serving answers will do little to enable critical self-awareness and positive change. Reflexive practice does not arise from a checklist mentality. It entails a willingness to challenge oneself by probing one's own dogmas and hidden assumptions and making constructive changes as needed.

In order for critical self-awareness and reflection to lead to constructive change, three additional elements are needed. The first is authentic commitment to improvement of oneself and one's relations with other people. Without the commitment to grow and change based on one's observations and reflections, self-awareness can become self-indulgent. Alternately, it can be a warrant for self-loathing, passivity, and inaction. Second is empathy, which makes it possible to be more aware of oneself in relation to other people, seeing as if through the eyes of others. This element is probably best developed through a mixture of individual and group reflection. Third is an ongoing commitment to improvement. Although momentary insights can be highly valuable, evaluations are typically conducted in fluid situations that require continuing reflection, learning, and change. The quest for critical self-awareness and reflection is best viewed not as a one-off cycle of action and reflection but as a recursive, ongoing process that is part of a wider journey of becoming a reflexive practitioner.

20.4.2   Supporting Voice, Participation, and Dignity

Peaceful evaluations require careful reflection about the evaluation process before, during, and after the data collection. Each of these is discussed below.

20.4.2.1   Before the Evaluation

The process of making evaluations peaceful begins with careful attention to planning. Ideally, planning is conducted jointly with program staff and people from the community in which the program or activities have been implemented. Feelings of fear and objectification are likely to flourish in situations in which national staff and community people are not involved in the planning or do not even know the purpose of the evaluation, its timetable and activities, and how the results will be used. Thus,

explaining the evaluation process is the key. An even stronger approach is to enable the co-construction of the evaluation by local people and evaluation specialists.

Recognizing the grant-funded nature of many programs, it is a good practice to plan for the evaluation at the time the program was conceptualized, thereby avoiding the problems inherent in post-hoc evaluations. A useful first step is to frame the evaluation in a nonthreatening manner that emphasizes a collaborative approach and the aim of learning to strengthen practice. This could be done by calling the activity not an evaluation but a "joint evaluation and learning process," with the name tailored to the context. If the evaluation were initiated by the headquarters of an NGO, possibly with the inputs from an evaluation consultant, this type of framing signals the desire for a collaborative process rather than an externally imposed evaluation. It also signals that although a donor-required evaluation will be done, the evaluation affords the opportunity for genuine learning that can be used to strengthen the supports for local people. If done well, this type of approach can help to defuse the tendency to treat evaluation as a checklist or worse, as an onerous part of "dancing for the donor."

To be sure, constructive framing means little unless it is backed by a peaceful planning process. This requires careful attention to who is at the table and participates in the evaluation planning discussions. Both women and men should be included in the planning. If only men were included, the process will be discriminatory and will not benefit from the insights of women. If the evaluation process is to support community ownership and empowerment, then community members should be included fully in the planning process. In building an inclusive process, careful attention should be paid not only to gender but also to issues of ethnicity, religion, age (particularly if the program aims to support children), and social class.

Although full participation and power sharing by different people is desirable, the reality may be that the donor requires that the evaluation to be done in a particular manner. In many situations, a tension exists between meeting the technical requirements of the donor and meeting the wider needs of the process and project such as the need for inclusive planning and for generating learning that will be helpful in guiding improvements in the work on the ground. For example, an evaluation consultant or M & E specialists may at the outset "know the answer" of how the evaluation needs to be designed and conducted to satisfy the donor. In such situations, the voices of community people can rapidly be marginalized.

Although there is no set way of negotiating this tension, several guidelines are important to follow. First, take stock of whether a fully inclusive power sharing process is feasible under the circumstances. If it is not, because the donor demands a particular kind of evaluation, then it may be more appropriate to frame the process as "consultative" rather than as a "joint" one. Second, be honest and transparent. If one says that the process focuses on learning and features inclusivity and power sharing but the decisions are in fact made by "experts" working to satisfy external agendas, the likely result will be hurt feelings, social divisions, and disempowerment. Third, be creative. If, for example, one needed to collect survey data, it might also be able to develop concurrently a collaborative process of learning about the program through the use of participatory methods and qualitative data.

20.4.2.2   During the Evaluation

During the conduct of a peaceful evaluation, a high priority is to protect people's dignity. This includes:

- Treating people with respect
- Engaging contextually appropriate dress and behavior
- Following the cultural scripts in entering the community
- Adhering to local norms around gender and private discussions
- Building in time for conversations with people even if one is collecting survey data
- Being attentive and responsive to ethical issues such as informed consent, confidentiality, and raised expectations.

The data collectors should behave in a nonjudgmental manner, not recoiling even if participants give an answer that the data collector regards as wrong or silly. If procedures such as random sampling are used, it is critical to explain to people in accessible terms why some people rather than others have been selected. If concerns arise over being "left out," it may be useful to organize a separate discussion session or two. Such sessions not only give people voice but also provide useful information that may complement that obtained using surveys.

The use of participatory methods can contribute significantly to a peaceful evaluation process. Participatory methods and approaches such as narrative methods, outcome mapping, most significant change (Davies & Dart, 2005), participatory action research (e.g., Worthen, Veale, Mckay and Wessells (2010), participatory rural appraisal (Chambers, 1994), and photovoice, among many others. These methods support people by giving them a voice and learning from their perspectives, which may diverge from the researchers' preconceptions. The process of having researchers listen is itself supportive. Indeed, it metacommunicates that what local people say is important and that it is not the researchers who have all the answers. Especially when participants choose their own methodology for evaluating their work, they are likely to feel a greater sense of ownership over the process and the data collected. Correspondingly, they are more likely to use what is learned to make improvements in their approach. A key point, however, is that the participatory methods must be used in an inclusive manner. In many patriarchical societies, women are unlikely to speak up or to participate fully when men are present since doing so would violate local norms and roles. If, for example, an evaluation were being conducted in rural Afghanistan, the local gender norms might require the use of separate discussion groups for women and men.

Participatory methods are also advantageous in regard to data analysis. For example, grounded analysis of narrative data (Charmaz, 2006) frequently entails back and forth dialogue between international and national members of an evaluation team and also between evaluation team members and local community people. By training local participants and engaging them in the process of analyzing data, one can gain from the depth of local understandings and also help to build capacities for analyzing data. Of course, it is important to maintain appropriate roles, as it would

be challenging for most local community people to conduct sophisticated statistical analyses. Yet the meaningful engagement of community members can contribute to a spirit of community ownership and motivate communities to take on board the lessons that come out of the evaluation.

At the end of the data collection and analysis, it is important for the evaluation team members to communicate clearly in regard to the usual community question "What next?" Appropriate answers to this question help community people to understand the full process and to not feel abandoned or exploited when the evaluation team leaves the community.

20.4.2.3   After the Evaluation

Feeding information about the evaluation findings back to communities is an ethical obligation (Allden et al., 2009), though feeding back is seldom done in practice. In Sierra Leone and Kenya, the process of feeding back to participating communities the ethnographic findings from research on harms to children had remarkable results. Its effect on dignity was apparent. Many people said that this had been the first time that an evaluation or research team had bothered to share its findings with community members. More important, community members used the information to ask "What are we, as a community, going to do to address these problems?" In essence, feeding back was a stimulus for community action to support vulnerable children. This kind of empowerment is among the best potential outcomes of any evaluation.

20.4.3   Two Exemplars

Two exemplars serve to illustrate diverse approaches to peaceful evaluations. The firs—from Cambodia—was part of a three country evaluation of World Vision (WV) child protection programs conducted by Philip Cook, the director of the International Institute of Child Rights and Development, and the author (the consultants) in 2013. The evaluation process began with collaborative dialogue and planning by the WV country offices and those of WV International. The aim was to conduct a participatory evaluation that would illuminate how well the WV activities supported the protection of highly vulnerable children. The consultants visited WV Cambodia offices and talked at length with the national staff about the context, their hopes for the evaluation, ethical and other challenges that might arise, and various methods that might be useful. These respectful discussions enabled mutual learning, collaboration, and power sharing, and they helped to guide the selection of the evaluation methods.

One of the main evaluation methods used was the most significant change technique (Davies & Dart, 2005). Because WV had engaged groups of preteen and teenage boys and girls in youth club activities surrounding child protection and

well-being, it made sense to ask these groups to talk among themselves about what had been the most important or significant changes that had occurred as a result of their youth club activities. Since the young people varied widely in age, they were divided into two groups of people 9–12 years, and 13–17 years, respectively, in order to encourage full participation and avoid domination by the older children. Working together with local WV staff who translated and put the children at ease, the consultants explained the task and asked them to draw pictures on a long sheet of paper telling the story of their activities and what had happened. They also asked each group to identify several important changes that had occurred.

With considerable enthusiasm, the groups of approximately 20 children each talked for 90 min about how the groups had formed and what they had done. Whereas some children—typically the youth club leaders—facilitated the discussion, others used crayons and colored markers to draw. Meanwhile, the national WV staff attempted to capture the children's exact words and encourage equal participation by girls and boys. Then, the children discussed which significant changes had occurred, with the staff helping to explain the task in ways that even younger children could understand. Next, they talked for half an hour about which of the changes was most significant. The children proudly shared the results of their drawing and discussion with the other group as well as with the consultants.

The children found this methodology empowering and respectful of their voices and views. The findings, which helped to illuminate the subjective experiences of the children, identified specific improvements that the program had produced. WV/Cambodia staff, who were proud of the children's creativity and accomplishments, fed this information into the wider evaluation process. They were also pleased because they had helped to shape the evaluation process, acquired new skills, and gained insights that they could use to strengthen their programs and activities. Overall, this was a far cry from the fearful, impositional process that many evaluations embody.

The second exemplar is from Sierra Leone and illustrates how surveys may be used as part of a peaceful evaluation process. To learn how to strengthen community-based child protection, a group of international NGOs, UN agencies and donors formed the Interagency Learning Initiative on Strengthening Community-Based Child Protection Mechanisms and Child Protection Systems. In Sierra Leone, this work, which began in 2011, has been conducted in three phases. First, teams of trained national researchers lived in 12 rural villages and used ethnographic methods to learn about harms to children and what families, communities, and the government already did to prevent and respond to those harms (Wessells et al., 2012). Local participants in the 12 communities found this process supportive and appreciative of local people's efforts. When the findings were fed back to them, local people asked "What are we going to do about them?" thereby, setting the stage for subsequent action research. Importantly, they commented that the feeding back process was highly respectful though rarely done by evaluators and researchers.

In phase two, the researchers constructed a survey that measured locally defined risk and well-being outcomes for children. Working in the same villages, the researchers asked randomly selected villagers to think of a child who was doing

well, tell the four things that showed the child was well, and identify which one was most important. This free listing procedure for identifying well-being outcome areas complemented the ethnographic methods that had been used to identify risks or harms to children. Both methods were highly respectful of local people's views. Using the outcome areas, the researchers developed and field tested a survey instrument that measured children's risks and well-being on a population basis, following a public health approach.

Phase three consisted of action research in which communities chose the child protection risk that they most wanted to address. Then they developed and implemented community-driven actions to reduce and prevent that risk. This was an empowering process in which the community chose the issue (they chose teenage pregnancy) and determined the intervention, which entailed collaboration with the government and consisted of a mixture of family planning, sexual and reproductive health education, and support of young people's life skills. The survey was used at the start of the planning process to collect baseline data, and 1 year following the implementation of the intervention. A planned collection of survey data yet another year later has been disrupted by the Ebola crisis.

Although it is too soon to forecast the long-term results of this ongoing research (but see Stark et al., 2014; Wessells, 2015), community people have found this to be a peaceful evaluation process. Even the questions from the survey did not seem imposed since they had built upon local people's views. The fact that some of the same researchers had worked in all three phases helped to build a spirit of relationship and trust. Most important, the action-research approach enabled people's agency and avoided the problems associated with an extractive approach. The participating agencies and the Government of Sierra Leone are currently using a similar process to implement and document the effects of a new national Child and Family Welfare policy. This bottom-up approach to strengthen the national child protection system is popular in this mostly rural society because it respects local people and builds on what families and communities already do to protect children.

20.5 Conclusion

Keeping in mind all that has been said, it is now possible to suggest a definition of peaceful evaluations. Peaceful evaluations are reflexive, respectful, context sensitive processes of learning about and documenting the effectiveness and sustainability of particular programs or processes. They simultaneously promote the voice and dignity of the participants and avoid psychological violence and injustice associated with harmful practices that stir fear, objectification, discrimination, and stigmatization.

It is important to note that although this chapter has focused on peaceful evaluations, the points it raises apply with equal force to research. In many contexts, researchers set out to test the effectiveness of an intervention but do so with a technical focus only. This may lead to the use of methods that objectify the participants

or to use measures that marginalize local beliefs and practices. In this manner, well-intentioned research can inadvertently undermine people's dignity and leave them feeling disempowered. Fortunately, such problems can be avoided through a critical, reflexive approach, as has been outlined above.

The path toward peaceful evaluations is simultaneously feasible and challenging. In working on evaluation in humanitarian settings, it is a key to keep in mind three core principlesas follows:

- The choice of evaluation approach and methodology should reflect not only technical considerations but also human, programmatic, and ethical considerations.
- All humanitarian work—including evaluation efforts—should promote dignity and empowerment, contribute to humanitarian accountability, and respect the humanitarian imperative Do No Harm.
- Habits of critical reflection are the foundation of peaceful evaluations as well as key ingredients of ethical humanitarian practice.

Conducted in accord with these principles, evaluations can contribute significantly to human well-being, resilience, and peace.

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Chapter 21
Writing Peace Psychology: Creating High-Impact Peace Research Scholarship

Michelle LeBaron

21.1 Introduction

A good story reaches out and engages readers, whetting their appetites to learn more. Journalists know this and so do traditional storytellers in cultures around the world. Good peace research writing should do the same: it should be compelling and intriguing, inviting readers into critical and dialogic engagement. In this chapter, I aspire to model effective writing, implementing principles of plain language as I explore effective ways to write, communicate, and publish research.

My thesis is simple: good peace research writers write effectively for their intended audiences with elegant, accessible prose, demonstrating conceptual clarity as they highlight the practical and policy implications of their work. Achieving writing like this, however, is not simple. It requires practice, skill and attention. Most importantly, good peace research writers communicate peaceful ideas, not only in substance, but in the course of the writing itself.

Of course, peace research writing is not always as vivid as colloquial stories, nor as captivating as a headline. There are good and bad reasons for this. Scholarly writing standards emphasize the importance of validity and reliability even in qualitative work, as well as clear attribution of others' ideas. While these requirements can spawn writing with a fragmented or dry quality, such challenges can be ameliorated by following the principles of plain language. Scholars too often use the passive voice to qualify or omit things not definitively known, and mask their own opinions. Peace studies writers may adopt static or conservative conventions that are at best staid and at worst pallid or unreadable in an attempt to legitimize their relatively new discipline.

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In mentoring new or early career scholars, I have too often encountered writing that is unnecessarily circumscribed in terms of style, content, and impact. By the time a scholar reaches her terminal degree, she may have been buffeted by so many critiques or journal rejections that she dare not step outside the strictures of the "least-likely to offend" writing style. Yet this conservative and guarded approach to writing limits not only a work's readability, it also seriously limits its potential impact. Given the vital importance of peace research and its much-needed contribution to the crucial project of shifting global trends from destruction to constructiveness, communicating about it well has never been more important.

21.2 Assumptions about Peace Research Writing

The approach I suggest proceeds from assumptions about the essence of peace research writing, its strengths, challenges, and imperatives. Its strengths include that—at its best—it is:

- Rich with compelling narratives that can and should be woven into work even when the content is primarily theoretical, conceptual, or research-informed.
- A powerful counterpoint to conventional ways of seeing the world that amplify the perceived inevitability of armed conflict and even eventual global destruction.
- Potently influential and powerfully engaging, influencing wide circles of policy-makers, thought leaders, and members of global communities.

At the same time, peace research writing faces challenges including:

- Writers' tendencies toward dichotomous expression, framing peace as the opposite of conflict—an unhelpful approach given the complexity of each of these constructs.
- readers' skepticism in light of the powerful discourse of *real politic* and other "realist" and "rational-actor" ways of seeing the world.
- Media's tendency to hyperbolize vivid coverage of conflict at the expense of more nuanced, peaceful narratives.

Together, these strengths and challenges yield imperatives for effective peace research writing:

- *Multiple worldviews* including political perspectives should be acknowledged whenever possible—even as particular viewpoints are being presented—to inoculate against easy dismissal and charges of naiveté.
- The human *shadow*—our capacities for conflict, power, revenge, greed, and selfishness—must not be ignored, but owned and acknowledged as important aspects of individual and collective psyches.
- Claims should be made using *aesthetic*, *emotional*, and "thinking" language, covering a wide spectrum of modes and levels of communication.

These imperatives will set up peace research writing for success, facilitating its accessibility to a wide range of readers and listeners, and communicating its core points in the most potent ways possible.

I offer this chapter as a voyage toward effective peace research writing, beginning with a series of questions meant to guide the aspirant in the beginning stages of a writing project. I then elaborate principles of plain language and discuss their application to peace writing. Following this, I present seven habits of effective scholarly writers, integrating the imperatives named above. Finally, I discuss research networks and ways of disseminating peace writing to the widest possible audience. Two appendices contain detail on research metrics and a wide range of dissemination channels.

21.3   Embarking

A project begins. Perhaps it arises from a funding opportunity, a real world problem, or the next stage in a collaborative project. As a project first beckons, it is time to consider the writing process. Some initial considerations are:

- Which questions are you trying to answer? What are your overall goals for this work?
- Whose writing or work has inspired you, scaffolding your inquiry to a higher level?
- Who might be—or who do you wish were—interested in this work and its related products?
- For which contexts might the proposed work be relevant? Which communication and mobilization vehicles are most likely to reach this and other audiences?
- What purposes does it need to serve for you and others involved?
- How can you best document the process of developing the research and knowledge mobilization plans?
- Which interim or ongoing communication strategies will feature in—and advance—your work?
- How will you invite and sustain dialogue on your ideas?

Social research often serves multiple purposes including addressing practical questions, generating new understandings about complex phenomena, and linking theory to novel situations. It is also a necessary part of career development and promotion; forming, developing, and sustaining professional relationships and building the field. Effectively translating social research into words is as important as any outcome because poorly conceived or documented work will at best have little impact and at worst undermine the credibility of the field. Some writing-related questions to ask about the research process are:

- How can the work be framed and ultimately shared to optimize meaningful early and sustained engagement for a given audience?
- With whom is communication important? Should it be one-way, multichannel, or multidirectional? Consider how to communicate and potentially dialogue over time with research subjects, related or affected people or groups, colleagues in the same or different fields (including those likely to disagree with you), members of communities of practice, relevant policy-makers, leaders, and the general public.
- Are there ways to gather reflections and narratives in the course of the work to add particularity and vitality to the writing?
- How might journals, blogs, intranet or internet sites, or other vehicles be used to seamlessly share your ideas and findings?
- What kinds of writing and publication venues are likely to reach your desired range of groups and communities?
- Who might not be in the range of those you imagine reaching, yet be desirable readers?
- If collaborative writing is contemplated, what approach will you take to ensure high quality, consistent engagement, respect for all voices, and a coherent product?

If you are seeking funding, writing is a necessary part of obtaining support. Funding applications are often the first time ideas set out systematically with related theories and previous research. Given strict space limitations and unknown referees, you may feel pressure to parse words carefully with a "no-nonsense" tone. But be careful not to confuse the need to be concise with the perceived inevitability of moribund writing. Writing that is lifeless and static is unlikely to succeed; grant adjudicators and prospective employers appreciate elegance and vitality in communication.

Once you receive funding, develop and implement a communication plan in relation to your research. Think outside the box. In addition to scholarly articles, how can you expand your audience? Can letters to the editor be written for print or online sources? Are there radio, television, or blog-talk programs that can be used to interest others in the work? Which community audiences might have an interest in the research? Which platforms for written exchange or dialogue can be used at various points in the work? Who might be a member of your target audience or a critical friend to provide advance feedback on written work? Who is likely to disagree with you in ways that generate new conversations or broaden a line of inquiry that may have "gone cold?"

21.4   Before Setting Sail

Once you have mapped out a project and considered some of its writing aspects, do not leave the safety of the dock until you know something about plain language. In the next section, I outline plain language principles, discussing their implications for writing that reaches across both scholarly and general audiences. Inherent in a

plain language approach is good working knowledge of grammar, punctuation, and structure. When in doubt, look up the rule; doing so today is far easier than in pre-Internet times.

21.4.1 What Is Plain Language and Why Is It Important?

Albert Einstein's wife Elsa once asked her husband to explain his work (Whiteman 2000). "Couldn't you tell me a little about your work? People talk a lot about it, and I appear so stupid when I say I know nothing," she complained. Apparently, Einstein struggled briefly to simplify his ideas but then advised: "Inform them that you know all about it but can't tell them, as it is a great secret!". Einstein's response typifies many scholars' unwillingness or inability to explain their work to the unini-tiated. In peace research and scholarship, this attitude is unacceptable and irrespon-sible. Understandings of how to foster and stabilize peace are simply too vital to be relegated to debates amongst scholars that do not include broader audiences. For this reason, and for comprehensibility, plain language is essential.

The general principle is this: each piece of writing should be constructed in a way that best serves the reader, conveying ideas with the greatest possible clarity. As plain language expert Robert Eagleson (n.d.) writes,

> [i]t is language that avoids obscurity, inflated vocabulary and convoluted sentence con-struction. It is not baby talk, nor is it a simplified version of the English language. Writers of plain English let their audience concentrate on the message instead of being distracted by complicated language. They make sure that their audience understands the message easily.

Consider this example of a sentence in an abstract:

> In this article, the interrelations of anxiety and fear will be explored using a multifacto-rial analysis juxtaposed with triangulated positive anecdotes, and the dynamics of these phenomena examined in turn for their implications for peacebuilding interventions in post-conflict societies.

Would you keep reading? Here is an alternative for the same sentence:

> Here, I examine how anxiety and fear interrelate, and how they can be countered by posi-tive interventions to foster peacebuilding in post-conflict societies.

The second sentence is simpler, shorter, more active, and inviting. It is also written in the first person. I have taught hundreds of law students and graduate students in disciplines from psychology to political science. Nearly all of them arrive with the same handicap: An assumption that the third person voice is required in credible scholarship. When permitted or required to write in a first-person voice, they report finding writing easier, more interesting, and enjoyable. Their readers do, too.

As peace scholars want their audiences to read beyond the first sentence, they should know about and apply plain language principles. Below, I summarize what plain language experts say about the elements of writing. In this approach, tech-niques for writing clearly are emphasized, including structure, design, content, and vocabulary. These elements and related advice are summarized below:

21.4.1.1 Structure

Present information in ways most likely to be effective for intended readers, including using logical subdivisions and clear signposts. Construct readable sentences and paragraphs, and use effective headings, subheadings, sections, topic sentences, and transitions. Pay attention to structure, create sentences that keep the subject near the verb (with both near the beginning), and use the active voice whenever possible. Average sentence length should vary for variety and ease, but generally will be between 15 and 20 words. Putting the strongest point at the end of a paragraph will emphasize its importance.

21.4.1.2 Design

Use clear typefaces and font sizes. Helpful amounts of white space in documents, and elements like color or different fonts will enhance readability. Avoid underlines because of their associations with hyperlinks. Give preference to designs that accent consistency throughout the document. In scholarly writing, design also concerns the number and length of footnotes or endnotes; do not include information in footnotes or endnotes that is central to your argument, and generally keep them as concise and few as possible while linking to important associated ideas and giving appropriate credit to others.

21.4.1.3 Content

Demonstrate clarity in what is selected for inclusion. Superfluous information should be excluded, while narratives, examples, and other helpful or engaging material can be incorporated to enliven data, bring life to lists and contextualize material. In scholarly writing, content requires careful editing to produce germane, elegant work that conveys energy, conviction, and credibility. Omit unnecessary details, and give your writing to people in the groups you hope to reach for feedback and suggestions before submitting for publication.

21.4.1.4 Vocabulary

Choose words that are resonant with the intended message and responsive to the lexicons of probable and potential readers. Shorter, familiar words are generally better than longer ones, and wordy phrases such as "with reference to," "in the event that" and "prior to" should be eliminated. Avoid double negatives, and be consistent, using the same term for the same thing throughout the work. Define any jargon or field-specific terminology upon first use, and avoid the use of acronyms whenever possible.

The advantage of this "elements approach" to plain language is that it focuses on the "bones" of the work. While many publications have their own prescribed formats for publications, there is still latitude for authors to contribute to design and structure. But do not be fooled into thinking innovative structures or designs are positive for their novelty alone. For example, I recently received a request from a major Canadian publisher to review a peace psychology manuscript. The author had summarized the major points on each page with a sentence or two set off to the right that functioned like a "Coles Notes" version. The publisher was anxious about whether this approach was effective. While such an approach could be useful in some contexts, I found the marginal summaries in this case both distracting and patronizing; they reached for essence but succeeded only in grasping oversimplification. If the ideas were so easy to boil down to a sentence or two per page, I wondered why the entire book should be published or read at all. And if the ideas were not easy to boil down, what function did the summaries fulfill? The format may have been effective as a guide to a piece of complex legislation or as a layperson's marker in a technical research study, but in this narrative work, it was not. Effective writers consider novel formats, but always measure them against the goals of utility and clarity.

The second category of plain language advice for peaceful writers addresses outcomes. In this approach, the focus is squarely on how well readers are able to understand and *use* a document. Proponent Ginny Redish (as cited in Cheek, 2010, p. 8) explains the "outcome approach": "A communication is in plain language if the people who are the audience for that communication can quickly and easily:

- find what they need
- understand what they find
- act appropriately on that understanding."

While this approach is obvious (if not as widely influential as it might be) for writing legislation or contracts, it may seem less relevant to scholars. Regardless, its applicability is worth considering. If peaceful writers want to have powerful impacts on others' actions, these words of plain language expert Joseph Kimble (cited in Cheek, 2010, p. 9) give pause for thought:

> Plain language is … the style of Abraham Lincoln, and Mark Twain, and Justice Holmes, and George Orwell, and Winston Churchill, and E. B. White. Plain words are eternally fresh and fit. More than that, they are capable of great power and dignity: "And God said, Let there be light: and there was light. And God saw the light, that it was good."

An outcomes-focused approach to plain language stresses that there is no one way to write. Material should be presented in a way that conveys ideas as simply as possible, but no simpler. Structural and other choices should be made according to the intended audience. In scholarly writing, this means complying with the general requirement of situating work in relation to other authorities while questioning conventions that obscure meaning or impact. As already stated, scholarly conventions perceived by peace writers may lead them to communicate in suboptimal ways. These examples illustrate common pitfalls and effective alternatives:

- *The passive voice*: The passive voice eliminates the subject in a sentence. Replace *It is thought that …* with *I believe …* or *Experts say…*
- *Passive verb tenses*: Passive verb tenses communicate sentences in the order of object-verb-subject. Strive for active sentences instead (subject-verb-object). Replace *Peace is brought about by multiple actions* with *Multiple actions foster peace.*
- *Redundant or unnecessary words*: Replace *The purpose of this system is to provide…* with *This system provides…* Avoid phrases like *In the event that* which can almost always be replaced by *If.*
- *Unnecessary technical terms or jargon*: Can you translate this sentence into something most people with a high-school education would readily understand?

> If any provision of this act or the application thereof is held invalid, that invalidity shall not affect concomitant provisions or applications of the act which will be given plenary effect without the invalid provision or application, and to this end they may not be regarded as indissoluble, but are provisionally severable (Professional Writing Style n.d.).

Here is my attempt at making this provision accessible to a public audience without distorting its meaning:

> If a court says any part of this legislation is invalid, the rest of the Act will remain in effect.

Of course, jargon is sometimes necessary to convey precise meanings, especially to audiences of peers. Still, questioning and analyzing assumptions about jargon is a useful discipline. Awareness of acronyms, technical terms, and possibly pretentious language is important when translating a piece of scholarly writing for a wider, more general audience. When a complex term is the only choice to convey an idea, explain what you mean by it, and give an example. Do not assume readers will understand meaning from the context; when in doubt, explain. Anticipate readers' likely questions, answering them when possible. Good editors are invaluable in helping writers see where more explanation is needed.

Another aspect of plain language is solutions-focused writing. It is much easier to critique and deconstruct others' ideas than to suggest possible ways forward. Readers will both understand writers' intentions more clearly and feel more encouraged when paths to positive outcomes are discussed alongside critiques.

Outcomes-based plain language stresses the importance of asking potential audience members to read a document before it is circulated. Experts are famously unaware of the exclusive effects of their disciplinary and complex language. Peace psychology writers can show leadership by incorporating plain language wisdom into their work, thus leveraging its influence and modeling good practice for their colleagues across the academy. After all, famous quotes are only ever those written in plain language!

Implementing plain language principles in your work will not only ensure wider engagement with and impact of your ideas. It is also helpful in securing funding, getting jobs, communicating across disciplines, fostering breakthroughs, sharing important insights, and improving general literacy about peace. Good writing also helps your public-speaking abilities, as it forces you to understand your subject

matter at a conversational level. Finally, plain language is far more likely to effect successful communication across cultures, both disciplinary and social. Given the interdisciplinary nature of peace research writing, these advantages are essential.

21.5   Leaving the Harbor

Committed to plain language, you are ready to set sail. In the next section, I present the seven writing habits of effective peace research scholars.

21.5.1   Habit One: Befriend Structure (Organize, At Least After the Fact)

I was never good at making outlines before drafting an article or a chapter. The first few I wrote came out in whatever form they emerged, after which I tried to tame them into something readers could follow. Perhaps this is because the first writing I ever did, at about age five, was poetry. I trusted emergence, and knew that putting pen to paper (in a precomputer age) was a reliable way to start. I grew accustomed to devising a structure after the first or even the second draft of a piece of writing. This worked well enough, particularly because the draft itself gave me a "muddied canvas" from which to proceed. Myfanwy Pavelic, a Canadian visual artist, speaks of having to place paint on a canvas before beginning a portrait because a blank canvas is too intimidating (Personal communication). Yet there were ways in which this way of working was both inefficient and challenging. Disorganized clumps of ideas can be difficult to assemble into neat progressions, and making order of a tangle of wool is often harder than taking care not to tangle it in the first place. I neither sought nor received guidance on organization or the writing process, though guidance was surely available to me. Somehow, I believed that I had to solitarily wrestle with structure and organization in a mysterious, unknowable process. Having finally attained a real faculty position at the advanced age of 37, I was not about to humble myself to seek help at the university writing center!

Over time, I became better able to organize my thoughts before putting fingers to keyboard. As I am highly visual, I began to mind-map, drawing webs of words, and images with beautiful pastels on banner paper to set out the bones of my ideas. I put large "stickies" on walls and installed a whiteboard in my office. The beauty mattered. My love for pastels and colored pencils magnetized the process of conceiving structure by drawing me toward it, replacing earlier aversion with curiosity. As my later research focused on kinesthetic intelligence and the importance of the body (our physical bodies, not the body of an essay!) in peace writing and work, I also started dancing ideas into form. I would rent a studio, gift myself with 2 or 3 hours and—with a close colleague or alone—explore the ideas' resonance in movement and sound. Consistently, I found that movement helped animate and constellate

ideas in useful ways; as they found physical form, they also found ordered relationships to one another. Over time, my writing process grew increasingly intertwined with the shapes and patterns that emerged through movement. Composition became a choreography of discovery, with motion an avenue for manifesting inner inklings into outward forms. After dancing a set of ideas, I found it far easier to compose a working outline. This became vitally important for me when I began writing books. In my experience, a book emerges far more easily when the writer knows the skeleton long before the skin is grafted onto the bones.

These approaches, while helpful to me, may not work for others. A friend who struggled to complete her doctoral dissertation found relief and momentum in using voice recognition software after I observed that her largely extemporaneous public speeches were as graceful as her scholarly writing was stilted. Others report that reading their work aloud (even alone) helps them gather words into accessible and concise order. For some, dialogue with others or conversations with mentors early in a project help prevent ideas from tangling. I notice that reading others' work whose writing I admire—whether fiction or nonfiction—before writing, fosters better word choice and composition in my own.

So, befriend structure in ways that attract—or at least function—for you. Organizing ideas need not be an ordeal. Rather, it can be a pleasure analogous to choosing the right stationery and ink color for a handwritten letter. It need not be frustrating, though it can be. When it is frustrating—as it is, at times, even for the most experienced writers—get help by changing modes of working, inviting others' assistance, taking a break, or all three!

21.5.2   Habit Two: Acknowledge Shadow and Light

Put *you* in your work. Who? Yes, you, in full-spectrum splendor! Readers like the whole world—are hungry for heart and wholeness. Clinical, detached writing hasn't enough soul, and this is a problem especially for writing about peace. Peace and related processes are mysterious, elusive, and slippery. Just when you think you have found an elegant account or way forward, a counter-example appears. We write about negative peace and positive peace, peace vacuums, and peace dividends, but still we have not touched peace in all its complexity. In the most compelling work on the subject I have ever read, M.C. (Mary Catherine) Richards (1998) an American educator, potter and writer, struggled with the chimeric qualities of peace. Near the end of her life, she was asked to write a chapter on peace and conflict in a remarkable but little-known book titled *Fabric of The Future: Women Visionaries Illuminate the Pathway to Tomorrow*. She accepted the offer, observing that she had lived in intentional (and very conflictual) communities, and had dealt with conflict all her life, so was well equipped to write about it.

Surprise and frustration bled into despair as she wrote draft after draft of a chapter that just did not work. Failure to capture the nuances and complexities of peace and conflict was particularly acute for M. C. Richards with her artist's sensibilities. She found that no matter which sources she read to seed her thinking, or which

methods she used to massage language, her writing felt woefully inadequate and embarrassingly naïve. Then, one night, she had a dream. In the dream, she was in her home in the San Francisco Bay area. A neighbor came over, distressed by the sight of a huge fire on the horizon. As it came toward their homes, emergency personnel told them to evacuate immediately. As they quickly packed bags, M.C. was distressed at the sight of her life's work—her most precious pots—left behind on metal shelves. Just then, a man appeared an acquaintance who directed a local craft school. He stood near the pots, as calm as if it were an ordinary day. She and her neighbor urged him to leave, but he just stood there, in silence.

The dream continued as M.C. and her neighbor ran away. When they returned days later, they were devastated to see that the fire had indeed burned through their neighborhood, selectively destroying and damaging homes and precious things. M.C.'s home still stood, though the fire had coursed through it. Shaking, she went inside the burned frame, straight to the room with her pots. They were there, intact! Even more surprising, the man was there, too. Standing next to the pots, he observed, "Everything is still here. Only the color is deepened." With this, she realized an essential truth about people in the midst of peace and war, that—as vessels—"we are deepened by our capacities for darkness and for light" (Richards, 1998, p. 234).

The chapter M. C. Richards wrote so fluently embraces the polarities that nudge us toward wholeness; it fundamentally changed how I think about peace and war, and me in them. Here are some of the jewels of her work:

> When colour deepens, it adds both darkness and light to itself; it contains more colour. Goethe said that colour is "the sufferings of light." **The sufferings of light**! That is, what light undergoes, we undergo… It is an inner light that wakes in the lustrous stone. It is our darkness, our guilt and guile and greed and hopelessness that, undergone like a fire, may flame through our consciousness, through our sense of ourselves, deepening our capacities, changing into coloured light. Though we may feel annihilated in the process, we are intact (Richards, 1998, p. 234).

As peace writers, we must not deny or try to occlude the shadow parts of ourselves that animate revenge, violence, or attraction to the energy that attends war. Nor should we, in a quest for elegant framing and phrasing, reduce complex, crystalline labyrinths to simple maps that cannot possibly have explanatory value. Embracing complexity, we use a full-spectrum vocabulary for useful heuristics. Aesthetic and emotional, theoretical and narrative—diverse constellations of ideas produce deeper, richer sounds that resonate with the complexities of peace and war much more than monotonous accounts. Like M.C. Richards', our writing will be stronger when we draw on our own experiences, owning the twin pulls of harmony and disharmony in our lives.

21.5.3   Habit Three: Choose Metaphors Carefully

It was a hard-won peace.
I'll begin by attacking the weak points in that argument.
Winning peace is difficult.

All three of these "opening salvos" come from war. Replete with imagery of attack and aggression, they prime readers for opposition, resistance, and struggle. Writers who use war metaphors in relation to peace are giving conflicting messages, undermining the nuanced points they intend to make.

Metaphors are sensory ways of connecting one idea with another. As they resonate with sound, visual imagery, and sensations, they are more likely to lodge in consciousness than more abstract vocabulary. Metaphors are rich in information; they are tightly wrapped buds that convey textures of perceptions, felt experience, emotional tenor, and intensity. They are useful in peace writing because they give windows into making meaning, perceptions of agency and potential trajectories of situations or arguments. Metaphors communicate symbolic information about identity and worldviews without evaluating or challenging. Gregory Bateson wrote that metaphors are at the very root of learning: We expand understandings by seeing commonalities between one thing and another. As an early systems thinker, he saw systems in the natural world as metaphors for human processes. To him, change and transformation arise in circular, dialogic patterns that feature respect, co-learning, and cooperation.

As Lakoff and Johnson (2003) point out, metaphors should be used with awareness, given their power to shape meaning. The ubiquity of images of war and games in media and popular culture accounts of argument, negotiation, conflict, and peace processes has slipped undesirable frames of fierce contention, unrelenting aggression, and winning at all costs into the collective consciousness. Surprisingly, such metaphors are also used by peace writers, albeit unconsciously. Indeed, many metaphors have become so embedded in language that many have become what Lakoff and Johnson call "unmarked" metaphors—those that we no longer consciously recognize because they have become conventional or idiomatic. The term "bear market" no longer conjures a literal bear, for example. Nor do we think of the term "bullets" connoting point form in writing as connected to ammunition. Sleeping within our writing, these unmarked metaphors reach from dreams into reality, shaping understandings of conflict as war or ritualized battle in the form of games. As unquestioned parts of our lexicon, war and game metaphors function as self-fulfilling prophecies. Thoughtful peace writers comb their work for metaphors, especially unmarked ones, and consciously choose metaphors that frame peace and conflict with spaciousness and vitality.

Lakoff and Johnson suggest that journey metaphors are more generative than war metaphors, signaling mutuality, forward momentum toward a desired endpoint and even beauty. This chapter has been organized around a type of journey metaphor, the voyage, intended to invite and welcome you, the reader, into resonance and shared experiences. Was it marked or unmarked for you? Consider whether you noticed it and whether it had the desired effect. Not all metaphors work for everyone.

Much of my writing is about cross-cultural peace and conflict. This adds complications to metaphor choice because many metaphors may not translate well across cultures. Below is an account of a conversation between two French coworkers featuring cooking metaphors, ubiquitous in France. See whether you would be able to follow it without the explanations in brackets.

A: You know that problem you had with the IT department?

B: Listen, for me *the carrots are cooked*. [That does it]

A: Yeah, but you really ought *to put some water in your wine*. [Tone things down a bit.]

B: I found it really *hard to swallow* and what he said is still *sitting on my stomach*. [Difficult to accept]

A: Listen, *you can't have the butter and the money from the butter*. [You can't have it both ways. Once you've eaten the butter, you won't be able to sell it.]

B: You know, I can *feel the mustard getting up my nose*. [I'm getting very annoyed.]

A: You should let them *stew* for a while. [You should leave them with the problem.]

B: But it's a shame because *it's a really good vintage* [it's a good year] as far as the students are concerned.

A: I think you should *cut the pear in half* [compromise] or else, *it will be the end of the beans*. [There'll be no return.] (E. Spencer & S. Mayart, personal communication, 2004)[1].

In this case, food becomes a *lingua franca* for a conversation about conflict. Food connotes nourishment and pleasure, and is a comforting and easily accessible realm from which to draw metaphors. Even so, across cultures metaphors may need elaboration. When writing about peace or conflict, consider images that will create bridges for the widest possible range of intended readers, and use them with awareness of their potency.

21.5.4   Habit Four: Encompass Beauty

Beauty is a word that has fallen out of favor in the academy. Recognizing that it is highly subjective and that representational beauty is not the goal of post-modern artists, I argue that beauty is a legitimate focus for peace writers. Why? For three reasons: beauty is compelling, it attunes the mind to much-needed harmony and gracefulness, and perceiving beauty even in the midst of tragedy fosters resilience.

My late friend and teacher John O'Donohue, an Irish theologian and poet, wrote one of his last books on beauty (O'Donohue, n.d.). "The world is not simply there," he reminds us. "Everything we see, we view through the lenses of our thoughts…. So much depends on your mind: How you see yourself, who you think you are,

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[1] The French translation is:

Au fait, à propos de ton problème avec le département informatique?
Ecoute, en ce qui me concerne, *les carottes sont cuites*!
Oui, mais tu devrais vraiment *mettre de l'eau dans ton vin*.
J'ai eu beaucoup de mal à l'*avaler*. Ce qu'il m'a dit *me reste sur l'estomac*.
Ecoute, *tu ne peux pas avoir le beurre et l'argent du beurre*.
Peut-être, mais je sens que *la moutarde me monte au nez*.
Tu devrais les *laisser mariner* un moment.
C'est dommage, quand même, c'est vraiment *un bon crû* cette année.
Je crois que tu devrais couper la poire en deux, sinon, ça sera *la fin des haricots*!

how you see others, what you think the meaning of life is, how you see death, belief, God, darkness and beauty are all determined by the style of mind you have (O'Donohue, 2012)." John cited Blaise Pascal's advice: *In difficult times, you should always carry something beautiful in your mind*.

The age-old quest to define beauty is elusive. Beauty should not be confused with glamour or image, but refers instead to what John called "the more rounded substantial becoming" (O'Donohue, n.d.) with its attendant deepening and attention to peaceful qualities like harmony, spaciousness, and elegance even in the midst of great pain. Noticing beauty does not mean denying the horrors of violent conflict, but acknowledging that moments of symmetry, kindness, and unexpected poignance attend the horrors as well. As Reed Johnson (2003) of the *Los Angeles* Times writes:

> War, we all know, is hell. But war is also beautiful. It is the savage lyricism of 'The Iliad', the epic sweep and microscopic precision of a Bruegel battle scene, the solemn symmetry of a photograph, published in Life magazine in September 1943, of three soldiers lying dead on a New Guinea beach, their dark bodies pressing into the light sand.

What can peace writers do to evoke beauty in their work in ways that may foster resilience? Choosing a vocabulary rich in sensuous, textured language is a beginning. Vivid accounts draw readers into the complexities of peace and conflict, stirring feelings and desires to act. Given that resilience involves finding coherence after trauma, beautiful language itself can be a route through conflict into a peaceful state from which change can be born.

Beautiful language calls us to wakefulness. As John O'Donohue (n.d.) wrote, "[w]hen you beautify your mind, you beautify your world. You learn to see differently. In what seemed like dead situations, secret possibilities and invitations begin to open before you." Peace psychology writing, done well, invites readers into new possibilities and perspectives. Beautiful language does not mean poetic flourishes or over-wrought prose. Elegant, simple, and evocative writing draws readers into creative dances with new and complex questions.

21.5.5 Habit Five: Invite Dialogue

There is nothing worse than didactic writing, and it also tends to be low-impact. Even the most open-minded reader feels defensive when accused or remonstrated. In our contemporary world where so many issues compete for attention, invitational writing will facilitate more engagement than accusing, shaming, or arraying a host of compelling statistics.

Scholarly writing—whether reporting quantitative data or promoting a new theory—will spark more engagement if written dialogically. One way to invite dialogue is through narrative. A specific story, singular and well told, always has ripples far larger than its bounds. I saw this very powerfully when evaluating a binational dialogue process on abortion. Pro-life and pro-choice advocates strongly disagree on policy and even the meaning of abortion. Is abortion the only logical choice in a democratic society, or a sign of moral depravity? It depends on your point of view.

Conflict continues in the media, legislature, and courts, without changing minds or hearts, and—at times—the conflict has turned violent.

Personal accounts create change. They may not change peoples' political views or the meanings they attach to abortion itself, but they change perceptions of each other. As perceptions change, feelings change, and violence is defused.

In one dialogue, a woman told her story of an unexpected pregnancy to a group of 20 people, half pro-life and half pro-choice. With her very human struggle in the foreground, both those who supported and those who opposed abortion received her eventual choice with empathy. Listeners dabbed at their eyes as she described her dilemmas in an abusive relationship including financial struggles and a chronically ill child. Her eventual decision to offer her child for adoption was not the center-piece of her story as much as a thread in a tapestry, one piece of the whole cloth of her life. Narratives implicitly invite readers to remember themselves and others in complex and nuanced lives, side-stepping labels and dichotomous classifications.

Singular stories can also be explicitly connected to the "bigger stories" of the collective. In a piece about conflict over agricultural land reserve designations, for example, a farmer's personal story lends a vivid anchor to a discussion of policy and process alternatives. Stories evoke resonance in readers who begin "listening more closely" to the words on the page.

Other ways to invite dialogue include posing questions, offering a range of alternative perspectives, writing conversationally and avoiding closed narratives. Give readers space to find their way into dialogue with ideas, and your work will be read more widely, and by more appreciative, engaged readers.

21.5.6   Habit Six: Connect Across Boundaries

At the outset of any piece of writing, be clear about your intended audience. But think outside that audience as well. If policy-makers are your intended audience, for example, writing for the public and scholars as well may increase the odds of policy impact.

An example comes from a piece I was asked to write for the *Harvard International Review*. The work, written with then-graduate student Jarle Crocker, examined how and why cultural factors are essential to effective political analyses. While we framed it in ways to appeal to a policy audience, it has since attracted attention from a far wider group including intelligence analysts, intercultural consultants, and political strategists. Why? The language is accessible, not unduly technical. It follows plain language principles, parsing arguments in digestible chunks, and offering scaffolding for those whose backgrounds are in another area of scholarship. Examples illustrate the key points. And, it touched a nerve, written during a time when Huntington's "Clash of Civilizations" theme was widely discussed.

Whomever you write for, consider whether people outside that circle will find it permeable. If not, do what you can to enhance accessibility. Much of the plain language advice pertains here: avoid and define technical vocabulary and acronyms,

reduce ideas to their simplest form but no simpler, consider analogies that connect one world of ideas to others. Disciplinary boundaries may feel formidable, but if your work as a political scientist is not accessible to a sociologist or mine as a legal scholar is not comprehensible to a psychologist, then more work is needed. Even better is work that can be read, understood, and enjoyed by audiences outside the academy. Peace writing is, ideally, world-changing writing. To change the world, you have to reach across boundaries.

Another sense in which it is important to connect across borders is geographic. If your article is about a remote region of Mexico, address its potential applicability to other Mexican or global regions. Extend the impact of particular accounts by identifying threads that may link to other places, times, or peoples. While no theory of peace and conflict is universal, seek ways to make theoretical connections between more than one case study or location. Use lexicons that bridge different locations and times to help readers see the broader applicability of your work.

One of the most troublesome perceived gaps is between theorists and practitioners. Do not accept this dichotomy. Every practitioner has theories, and every theorist worth their salt has a real connection to practice, if only in imagining the application of their work. As my mentor, Dr. Jim Laue, used to ask, *Yes, but does it work in theory?* Good peace writers do not separate the world into these two categories; they pursue and acknowledge that the theory/practice gap is only an arbitrary line drawn between two starting points. They do what they can to connect them on a line that was never separate in the first place.

Finally, connect across levels of analysis. Personal and interpersonal aspects of peace are often embedded in international ones, yet these realms are too often seen as separate, airtight containers. In fact, principles of peace and related ideas like theories of change have interesting, synergistic application across these dimensions. While they do not map exactly one onto the other, learning at one level can generate interesting questions about its pertinence at another level. Not only is this practice of looking across dimensions fruitful for what it may yield, it has a higher likelihood of engaging readers. For example, if I can see some applicability in my neighborhood of a strategy being used in a post-conflict setting elsewhere in the world, it is more likely to animate my ongoing thinking.

21.5.7   Habit Seven: Write From the Heart

Too many scholars retreat into a technical, hollow voice when writing—one that they would not use in the classroom or in dialogue with colleagues. I recall reading a piece by a colleague years ago whose recent doctoral thesis had addressed what makes good and peaceful conversations. Replete with hermeneutic labyrinths, it led good readers down a garden path of dialectical extremes, intersubjective dichotomies, theoretical conundrums, and discursive admonitions. Extracting the gold of how to foster peaceful conversations from this piece required patience and dedicated reading. When I asked her about the distant, theoretical voice in which it was written and the incongruence of that voice with her subject, she replied that the academy required this voice.

I reply—to this scholar and others who labor under that assumption—no, it does not! Ideally, literate readers should be able to grasp the essence of a piece whether or not it is squarely in their discipline or sub-discipline. Theoretical foundations are vitally important to the work of peace psychology. Yet we must never lose sight of the larger aspiration of the field: To influence those outside the halls of the academy. Policy-makers, leaders, activists, people with a thirst for understanding peace in all its complexity should all perch on the shoulder of the writer composing her work, reminding her to speak as plainly as possible, and with heart.

What is it to speak from the heart? It is to consciously use evocative, feeling language when framing and developing more abstract work. It is to fulfill the longing spoken of by the visionary Pierre Teillhard de Chardin (n.d.), when he wrote, "There is almost a sensual longing for communion with others who have a large vision. The immense fulfillment of the friendship between those engaged in furthering the evolution of consciousness has a quality impossible to describe."

Ask yourself what you want from your scholarship and writing: practical goals like securing a job or tenure almost certainly sister other, deeper goals of turning the world's attention toward peace. Political strategists realized centuries ago that the way to peoples' hearts are through stories. No turgid exposition ever convinced a general to reverse the course of an army. For every finished piece of writing, ask yourself the following questions before pressing "send":

- Are the words as elegant and compelling as possible?
- Do they touch the heart as well as the mind?
- Is there sensing, feeling language in my piece?
- Are there poetic nuances in the work: how are rhythm, cadence, symmetry, asymmetry, texture, and flow a part of my writing?
- Does it sing? Does it bless? Does it intrigue? Does it invite? Does it penetrate the surface of ideas to the soft places underneath where silence is invoked to communicate those things that cannot be said in words?

Write, dear scholar friends, from the heart.

21.5.8 Spreading the Word: Research Networks and Dissemination

How do you communicate with others' hearts and minds? The final section of this chapter examines research networks, followed by an appendix listing scholarly journals that publish peace psychology work, and associated impact factors (Table 21.1).

Research networks are growing very quickly. By the time this chapter appears, it may already be dated. This rapid growth is accompanied by increasing competition among sites and debate over their value and policies. Many users maintain profiles on a variety of sites in order to be searchable, but do not actively use the sites themselves.

Table 21.1 Rankings and citations of journals relating to peace psychology

Journal	SJR indicator	Impact factor	Quartile	Publisher	Country of publication
Journal of peace research	4.979	2.280	Safety research Q1 Sociology and political science Q1 Political science and international relations Q1	SAGE Publications	UK
Journal of conflict resolution	3.302	1.373	Business, management, and accounting Q1 Sociology and political science Q1 Political science and international relations Q1	SAGE Publications	US
Conflict management and peace science	2.034	1.082	Political science and international relations Q1 Economics and econometrics Q1	SAGE Publications	US
Political psychology	1.885	1.771	Social psychology Q1 Experimental and cognitive psychology Q1 Clinical psychology Q1 Philosophy Q1 Sociology and political science Q1 Political science and international relations Q1	Blackwell Publishing	UK
Aggression and violent behavior: A review journal	1417	2.119	Psychiatry and mental health Q1 Clinical psychology Q1 Pathology and forensic medicine Q1	Elsevier	UK
Aggressive behavior	1.351	2.269	Arts and humanities Q1 Psychology Q1 Developmental and educational psychology Q1	Wiley-Liss, Inc.	US
Journal of interpersonal violence	0.932	1.162	Clinical psychology Q1 Applied psychology Q2	SAGE Publications	US
Psychology of violence	0.880	2.059	Social psychology Q2 Health (social science) Q1 Applied psychology Q2	American Psychological Association Inc.	US
Terrorism and political violence	0.825	0.646	Safety, risk, reliability and quality Q1 Sociology and political science Q1 Political science and international relations Q1 Safety research Q1	Routledge	UK
Cooperation and conflict	0.748	1.053	Strategy and management Q1	SAGE Publications	UK

Table 21.1 (continued)

Journal	SJR indicator	Impact factor	Quartile	Publisher	Country of publication
Studies in conflict and terrorism	0.661	0.439	Safety, risk, reliability and quality Q2 Sociology and political science Q1 Political science and international relations Q1 Safety research Q1	Taylor & Francis	UK
Peace and conflict	0.568	N/F	Political science and international relations Q1	Routledge	UK
International peacekeeping	0.474	0.487	Political science and international relations Q2	Frank Cass Publishers	UK
Journal of aggression, conflict and peace research	0.433	N/F	Social psychology Q3 Health (social science) Q2 Sociology and political science Q2 Law Q2	Pier Professional, Ltd.	UK
Social justice research	0.414	0.905	Sociology and political science Q2 Anthropology Q2 Law Q2	Springer New York	US
Defence and peace economics	0.364	0.397	Social sciences (misc.) Q2 Economics and econometrics Q3	Routledge	UK
Studies in social justice	0.345	N/F	Sociology and political science Q2 Law Q2 Gender studies Q2	Centre for Studies in Social Justice (University of Windsor)	Canada
Journal of international peacekeeping	0.333	N/F	Virology Q3 Infectious diseases Q3 Pharmacology Q3	Brill	Netherlands
The journal of poverty and social justice	0.332	N/F	Public administration Q3 Sociology and political science Q2	The Policy Press	UK
Education, citizenship, and social justice	0.319	N/F	Education Q3	SAGE Publications	UK
Conflict resolution quarterly	0.264	N/F	Psychology Q3 Law Q2	Wiley-Liss Inc.	US
Global change, peace and security	0.216	N/F	Sociology and political science Q3 Political science and international relations Q3	Routledge	UK
Journal of peace education	0.205	N/F	Education Q3 Sociology and political science Q3 Political science and international relations Q3	Routledge	US

Table 21.1 (continued)

Journal	SJR indicator	Impact factor	Quartile	Publisher	Country of publication
Peace economics, peace science and public policy	0.187	N/F	Management, monitoring, policy and law Q3 Sociology and political science Q3 Political science and international relations Q3 Economics and econometrics Q4	Berkeley Electronic Press	US
Peace and conflict studies	0.141	N/F	Safety, risk, reliability and quality Q3 Safety research Q4	Network of Peace and Conflict Studies	US
Peace, conflict and development	0.123	N/F	Political science and international relations Q4		UK
Peace review	0.113	N/F	Safety, risk, reliability and quality Q4 Safety research Q4	Routledge	UK
Journal of peacebuilding and development	0.109	N/F	Safety research Q4 Political science and international relations Q4	South North Centre for Peacebuilding and Development	Zimbabwe
Contributions to conflict management, peace economics and development	0.103	N/F	Strategy and management Q4 Development Q4 Business and international management Q4 Sociology and political science Q4 Political science and international relations Q4	Elsevier	Netherlands
Canadian journal of peace studies	N/F	N/F		CPREA	Canada
Peace and change: A journal of peace research	N/F	N/F		PHS and PJSA	US
Peace and conflict: Journal of peace psychology	N/F	N/F		APA	US
Social justice: a journal of crime, conflict, and world order	N/F	N/F			

Some sites cross the divide between social and academic networking, including *LinkedIn* and *Twitter*. *LinkedIn* is a professional social networking site that offers a platform for interdisciplinary dialogue. Surprisingly, academic discussions on *Twitter* are more widely followed than those on any of the more formally constituted research networks.

The most well-known research networks are *Research Gate* and *Academia*, followed by others such as Mendeley, Epernicus, and VIVO. Below Table 21.2 lists a few of these commonly-used websites.

Scholars use research networks like these to:

- Network and build their careers by
  − creating searchable profiles
  − discovering job opportunities
  − posting work and sharing papers, and
  − tracking views and downloads of their work
- Learn about current research by
  − finding peers
  − following discussions
  − commenting on others' work, and
  − sharing links
- Help complete or publicize their research projects including
  − recruiting research assistants
  − finding recommended papers and
  − posting raw data.

Research networks like these have many potential benefits including allowing users to upload manuscripts without cost, peer-review or editorial delays. Research results are therefore more widely available at an earlier point without copyright restrictions(Clarke, 2013). This allows for freer and more widespread engagement with ideas, and may result eventually in higher quality journal and book publications. As user Jim Woodgett (2014) writes: "It's definitely a positive sign to see increased use of forums for exchange and community building that break down some of the stuffiness and hierarchy associated with academic research."

Table 21.2 Commonly-used websites for academics

Research gate	www.researchgate.net
Academia.edu	www.academia.edu
Mendeley	www.mendeley.com
Epernicus	www.epernicus.com
VIVO	www.vivoweb.org
Scientist solutions	www.scientistsolutions.com
SciLinks	www.scilinks.org
Researcher ID	www.researcherid.com
ORCID	www.orcid.org

At the same time, research networks are generating controversy as they grow in popularity. They risk being shut down or sued for uploading illegal or copyrighted material. Critics of research networks point out that some

- have embedded scams or hidden agendas
- include obvious or less-obvious user-pay requirements
- upload content or share contact information without permission
- generate a lot of spam, and
- use competition (such as statistics of fellow scholars publishing more prolifically) to scare users into contributing content to their site.

The two most well-known research networks, *Academia* and *Research Gate*, are similar to one another (see Table 21.3 below). Reported statistics reflect that *Research Gate* has more regular visitors, users, and papers than *Academia*. The sites' methods of data analysis are not the same, however, so it is not clear whether these numbers are valid. *Research Gate* offers 14 million papers to its users, while 3 million have been uploaded to *Academia* (Cutler, 2013) .

As *Academia* is accessible to everyone, it has a higher web presence overall, while Research Gate restricts access to users with an academic email address. On *Academia*, users can post links to their papers rather than PDF files themselves. This enables viewers downloading papers directly from repositories, increasing authors' points on these platforms (Kotsemir, 2013). On *Research Gate*, users must upload the entire text of their work, not just a link. For peace psychology scholars, the criticism of *Research Gate* that its papers tend to the conventional may be an important consideration.

Research Gate has also been criticized for sending spam and "sleazy practices… to trick users into inviting colleagues or uploading papers (Dickie, 2014)," and apparently creating "fake" or automated profiles of researchers who have not given permission to be on the site. These concerns are not commonly expressed about *Academia*; apparently, every profile on the site is user generated, not created from free-access material. Still, Academia has less reach and fewer downloads than *Research Gate* (Table 21.3).

> "They do send you a lot of spam," biologist Billie Swalla (cited in Van Noorden, 2014) says, "but in the past few months, I've found that every important paper I thought I should read has come through *Research Gate*."

Mendeley is another popular research network, primarily used for managing and storing documents. It is known as a "reference manager," though it is sometimes used as a social networking site. It has over 3 million users, and is now owned by publishing giant, Elsevier. The three sites have different uses: *Academia* is best used for promoting papers posted elsewhere, *Research Gate* is best for discussion and exchange, and *Mendeley* is best for organizing your own e-library (Cutler, 2013; Garcia-Milian, 2011; Reips, 2012). These sites are not necessarily in competition, given these complementary purposes (Van Noorden, 2014). Depending on your motivations, needs, and career stage, it may be wise to join all three.

Table 21.3 Comparison of Academia and Research Gate. (Cutler, 2013; Van Noorden, 2014)

Academia.edu	Research Gate
283 regular visitors	1589 regular visitors
11 million users	4.5 million users
3 million papers uploaded	14 million papers accessible
Open to everyone (higher web presence overall)	Restricts access to users with an academic email address
Links can be posted instead of whole files. This means viewers can download papers directly from repositories, increasing points on these platforms	Whole files must be uploaded, not only links
Does not have a social engagement metric	Has an "RG Score," to compare to others (social engagement metric)
No spam complaints	Sends a lot of spam
Profile on this site are user created, not automatically generated from free-access information	Allegedly creates "fake" or automated profiles of researchers who may not want to be featured on the site
Criticized for being less well-known than *Research Gate*	Criticized for tricking users into recruiting colleagues or uploading papers
No comments found about the discoverability of unconventional subjects	Hard to find articles on non-mainstream subjects

21.6 Reaching the Shore

Whatever your choices about research networks, be sure to create time and space for writing well. Applying the practices and habits discussed in this chapter will add to the impact and momentum of your writing. The work of peace psychology has never been more important in the history of the world. All sorts of voices are needed, from every global region. With diversity will come creativity and a wide spectrum of good writing. Yet all good writing will feature common threads as described in this chapter. I hope this work has inspired you to write more, and more accessibly. May your work flourish!

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Chapter 22
Conclusion: Peaceful Research by Peaceful Means

Diane Bretherton and Siew Fang Law

22.1 Peace Psychology Emerges from Psychology

The authors contributing to the first part of this volume drew heavily on the research literature of peace psychology as a subdiscipline of psychology. The first chapters described the roots of peace psychology within the parent discipline and discussed key themes that capture the interest of peace psychologists, surveying the content of current peace psychology journals.

The authors in the first part of the book concede that quantitative approaches are currently dominant in the psychology and their development can be seen as a methodological strength, providing a variety of measurement tools for the researcher to draw upon, as well as a substantial literature that investigates the causes of individual violence. Qualitative approaches that analyze texts and other materials, rather than numbers, are increasingly being used in peace psychology to be more inclusive and give voice to individuals and communities who have not so far been well represented in the research literature. The debate between qualitative and quantitative methods has some heat, but can constitute a false dichotomy. A more integrated approach that triangulates different kinds of data to support inferences and interpret findings was recommended. This is not the same as mixing methods in an unthinking way. Rather, the word "integrated" is used to mean a more thoughtful analysis and synthesis of methods, based on critical and reflexive social theory.

The underlying philosophical assumptions of empiricism are not usually made explicit in quantitative research articles but rather are shared in a tacit manner. While the strong empirical roots of psychology are admirable, and have made pro-

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found contributions to our understanding of violence, there are also limitations. One of the main limitations to emerge is that psychology as a discipline is often seeking universal understandings about the human condition, but the population of research subjects and researchers is quite limited. A more representative sample of humankind would draw from a much wider range of cultures, worldviews and life circumstances and could examine the similarities and differences empirically. In this volume, we paid attention to what Anthony Onwuegbuzzie and Abbas Tashakkori in Chapter 6 call "the geography of peace" and tried to include theory, practice, researchers and research participants from different regions of the world.

Peace psychology has an ethical base; a belief that violence is wrong and that values such as equality and social justice should be promoted, underpins the work of peace psychologists. Psychology as a profession does have codes of ethics and researchers in many countries must submit their project proposals to organisations such as universities or hospitals before gaining permission to proceed. We wondered whether professional ethics is an umbrella rubric that would cover the ethics of researchers and practitioners in peace psychology. Would it be sufficient to abide by the professional codes of conduct? Or does peace demand something more?

In Chapter 7, Marc Pilisuk, Melissa Anderson-Hinn and Gianina Pellegrini critique the ethics of not only individual psychologists but also of the discipline as a whole. They suggest that the historical role of the army in the development of psychology and current employment practices have slanted the discipline towards a military model. While their argument and evidence apply to the USA, those of us who come from other parts of the world are likely to concede that psychology in other countries around the world tends to be modelled, on and dominated by, the worldview, beliefs, practices and publications of psychology in the USA (see also Cole, 2006; Denmark, 1998; Arnett, 2008). In drawing attention to the way in which interventions are ethically limited if they are not contextualised, Marc Pilisuk, Melissa Anderson-Hinn and Gianina Pellegrini reinforce the call for mixed, or more properly "integrated", methods in research. If the basic problems are coming from structural violence at a macro-level, then micro-level interventions will have limited value and impact for building peace, unless they serve to make participants aware of the macro-level oppression, and begin a process of social transformation. As well as looking at the spread across space, the geography of peace, we need to think about what level of the human ecology (Bronfenbrenner, 1977, 1979) is being studied. Triangulation and integration of data across levels, the micro-, meso-, exo- and macrosystems will strengthen research.

Historically, psychology in its struggle to be recognised as a science (Hergenhahn, 2009) has come to be widely used in the measurement of variables such as "intelligence" that are not directly observable. In experimental situations, there is an emphasis on precision and control. It is not always clear how the findings are to be implemented in the context of real-life situations, which are less precise and controlled, or who will apply them. That is, there is no action plan for applying the findings of psychology, nor a mechanism that provides a feedback loop for informing laboratories and academics of the results of the applications.

As the field of peace psychology has matured, so its focus has broadened out from individual violence to also acknowledging and appreciating the importance of structural violence (Galtung, 1985; Christie, 2006) that is located in social structures and collective institutions, rather than in episodes of physical violence. The idea of peace has also been enriched so that it is no longer seen just as the absence of violence, but also includes the construction of the social and political structures that promote positive peace. This change of emphasis, to a focus on positive as well as negative peace and from the separate individual to a socially connected self in context, parallels the developments in interdisciplinary peace studies.

Moving on to the second part of the book, with its extended range of imaginative approaches, we should not leave the lessons and insights of the first behind. They are the ground from which further innovation grows. In particular, we have a mapping of the theories and themes of peace psychology (Chapter 2 and 3) that show links with the traditions of psychology, develop the idea of structural violence and peace, and point to a new dimension of subjective/objective violence and peace. The quantitative methods chapter (Chapter 4) gives an excellent overview of measures that can be used by peace psychologists and also points to the importance of using macrosystem data to contextualise research. The qualitative chapter (Chapter 5) gives us an overview of methodological approaches that will help locate the later chapters and relate them with one another. The chapter on mixed methods (Chapter 6) foreshadows the second part of the book providing an integrated model of research that can employ a synthesis of quantitative and qualitative methods, based on critical theory. Chapter 7 provides a moral imperative for making some changes to the way in which we do psychology.

22.2 Peace Psychology as Part of Interdisciplinary Peace Research

If peace psychology is to take its place in collaborative interdisciplinary peace research, then acceptance of a wide range of methods provided by the quantitative/qualitative spectrum will be needed. As research endeavours stretch outwards and reach for new strategies, then the underlying philosophy of knowledge needs to be explicit and hence our terminology shifts from "methods" to "methodologies". The underlying theory will be explicit rather than implicit, as well as critical and reflexive.

The chapter in the second part of the book are clustered into four streams: postcolonial methodologies, participatory and workshop methods, using the creative arts in peace research and technological innovation. These clusters were not a priori categories but rather thematic links that seemed to emerge and bring some order to the dazzling array of imaginative approaches. The clusters can be seen as streams, which originate in different places but start to converge and pick up momentum as they flow together and begin to form a strong river. A river is an apt metaphor, because a river is constantly changing and, over time, can flow through different

channels while still retaining its identity. The clusters are not mutually exclusive: postcolonial approaches often use participatory methods and the creative arts. All the approaches can use computer software and electronic communication as part of their designs, and advances in computer technology match the increasing complexity of peace research, making it possible to import pictures and films, maps and drawings, as well as numbers and words into the planning, design, implementation and communication of research.

As researchers reach out to more diverse communities, they may find that the research methods they have used in the past do not always work. To state the obvious, a written questionnaire will not be valid if we try to gather insights from participants who are illiterate. To obtain a meaningful response the way in which data is collected will need to be tailored not only to the nature of the research question, but also to the attributes of the people involved in the research. Developmental psychologists, being used to adapting designs to the age of participants, will be aware of this. The variable being studied may be the same, but the way in which it is studied may need to differ. For example, infants might be observed, young children involved in a game or activity, adolescents engaged in a discussion, adults given a questionnaire, and the elderly interviewed in person. An example of this flexibility was some work Jacqueline Bornstein completed on the qualities of peacebuilders. She used a qualitative analysis of the autobiographies of Nobel Peace Prize winners to draw out the attributes of peacebuilders (Bretherton and Bornstein, 2003). She then interviewed members of Psychologists for Peace in Australia about their work as peacebuilders. In a follow-up study in UNESCO Associated Schools in Australia using a workshop method (2004, 2007), the children in a class were divided into small groups and each small group created a short role-play to "show what a peacemaker does". The word "peacemaker"rather than "peacebuilder" was used as this better fitted the children's understanding. The plays were then performed for the whole class. Many of the "peacemakers" shown did actually use force or coercion to stop bullying or settle disputes. However, when asked to rank the "peacemakers" from the most to the least peaceful the children tended to choose the nonviolent problem solutions. That is, they could recognise that non violent solutions were more peaceful even if they could not construct them, much in the way people learn to understand a language before they can speak it well themselves. The class discussions were very fruitful and interesting, and following the research the teachers had more insight into the children's thinking as well as material to work with in future lessons. The attributes being studied in each case were the qualities of peacebuilders, but the methods changed to match the different populations being studied.

Postcolonial methodologies challenge the positivist view of the nature of knowledge and explore ways of researching *with*, rather than *on*, communities who have less power, such as indigenous peoples. Polly Walker, in Chapter 8, gives an *insider* perspective of an indigenous research paradigm and introduces the idea of epistemic violence. Historically colonisation has marginalised and discounted the knowledge, experience and even denied the humanity of indigenous peoples. Indigenous approaches are holistic and include not only the arts but also meals, ceremonies, rites, customary activities, dreams and visions, in their sphere of knowledge.

In Chapter 9 David Mellor concludes that some codes of ethics in the West are ethnocentric and actually provide a vehicle for the colonisation of research. He makes the point that the picture of humanity that can be drawn from psychological findings, as remarkably intelligent but also subjective and fallible, swayed by emotional biases, is often applied to research subjects, but rarely to researchers. The cloak of being the researcher somehow allows the investigator to leave behind his or her personal vulnerability, weaknesses and prejudices. It is sometimes useful for researchers to experience some level of vulnerability, as it helps them empathise with participants who experience vulnerable situations, or are represented as being vulnerable in research. Anouk Ride, in Chapter 10, details a number of methods to involve indigenous participants in the analysis and interpretation of data. Her workshops for local writers allowed participants space to function in culturally familiar collective ways and to arrive at consensus about the meaning of interpretations.

22.3   Peace Practice and Peace Research: Participatory and Workshop Methods

In this volume, we tried to find a balance of authors and to reach out to peace psychologists from diverse cultural backgrounds. From this some new ideas emerged. Latin and South America are known for their use of participatory methods, but there is a tendency to use the methods in practice without uncovering the deeper philosophies. Looking more closely at the underlying intentions of these methods, their deep affinity to postcolonial approaches is apparent. The intention of the participation for Freire (1970) is not just to get involved but rather to make people more aware of the oppression in their lives and to teach them that change is possible. We were particularly interested in the idea of analectic principles, put forward by Maritza Montero in Chapter 11. In the past, psychologists have studied images of the enemy and tried to counter the tendency to create oversimplified and antagonistic images of out-groups (see, e.g. Sande, Goethals, Ferrari and Worth, 1989; Psychologists for Social Responsibility, n.d.). However, an analectic approach seems to go further, than this. The analectic approach actually seeks out difference and invites it into a dialogic relationship.

In analectic approaches, the attitude towards the other is central. In what way do we approach people who are deeply different from ourselves? Analectic principles suggest we try to enter into dialogue with that which is other and in doing so will extend ourselves. So this idea is also about transformation, not so much of the social structures but rather of our knowledge of reality. It is a deep counterweight to epistemic violence. This is an important idea in peace psychology, as if we enter any research project with this kind of intellectual humility, the attributes of peaceful interaction will walk with us into the room. Equality, listening to the other, respect, the assortment of good traits that we would want to see in a peacebuilder, flow naturally from this orientation.

Participatory and workshop methods provide a grassroots approach to social transformation and peacebuilding. Participatory action research comes from a philosophical tradition of becoming conscious of oppression and then as a group taking action. Cycles of action and reflection inform each other. Through participation in the process, participants gain confidence in their own power to raise their voices and make changes. Participatory methods can be used in both peacebuilding projects and peacebuilding research, there is no separation between practice and research. The participants enjoy and learn from the group activities and dialogues. As well as researchers giving voice to marginalised people, the people learn from the experience to speak out and act for themselves. Brinton Lykes and Alison Crosby (Chapter 12) talk about the Mayan women deconstructing the discourse of women as "victims" and gaining the confidence to exhibit their work and testimony. While the women have experienced gross violations of their human rights, the methodology of the research sees the women respectfully, as able to create knowledge and participate in decision-making. Serge Loode (Chapter 13) talks about participants coming "out of the shy box" to speak up (and to organising a Community Café for 300 people). These approaches acknowledge the importance of the local context and involve people in research to address their own concerns. These methods are dynamic and interactive and stress the role of groups and communities in building peaceful relationships.

22.4   Negotiating Peace Psychology Research

Conflict resolution is sometimes seen merely as a topic that peace psychologists might study. In our view conflict resolution is also a way of looking at relationships and a set of tools that will be helpful in implementing peace research projects. Here, we use the term conflict resolution to cover a range of techniques that aim to resolve differences in a collaborative way rather than by deception, force or coercion (Deutsch, Coleman and Marcus, 2006; Fisher, 2006). These techniques include processes like negotiation, mediation, conciliation, facilitation and reconciliation (Kressel, 2006; Ramsbotham, Woodhouse and Miall, 2011). The aim of conflict resolution techniques is to find integrative solutions that as far as possible address the needs and concerns of all parties. There is not one correct answer but a range of solutions. Courses in conflict resolution provide a framework of stages to work through and a set of people skills, often termed micro-skills, like listening and paraphrasing, asking open questions, setting up ground rules with participants, constructing an agenda, collaborative problem solving and drafting agreements (see e.g., Raider, Coleman and Gerson, 2006). Briefly the stages are to first map the conflict, then to listen to the other party(s), taking a mental note of their needs and concerns. Then each party expresses their own viewpoint, trying to be clear about needs and concerns. The aim of the conflict resolution process is to avoid becoming locked in to positions, and to understand the needs and concerns that underlay the positions of all parties, so a more flexible approach is possible. "Concerns" is a

nonthreatening way of talking about fears and anxieties. Then a range of possibilities or options can be brainstormed. Options that meet the needs and concerns of each party then form the building blocks for crafting solutions. Conflict resolution techniques are recursive, so for example, if there is an impasse a mediator will take the parties back to an earlier stage.

At the earliest stage of a research project there is quite a lot of negotiation involved. As well as becoming familiar with the research literature, the researcher will need to be aware of the requirements of the university or funding body. Potential participants will need to be contacted and discussions about their needs and requirements undertaken. The university or funding body may have an ethics committee. Mapping the conflict, deciding who the stakeholders are, analysing the needs and concerns of each will help the researcher phrase a proposal that is appealing to all parties and allays anxiety. To be aware of the context in which peace research is done it will be important at this stage to go out into the community where the study will be conducted and learn about it, as well as reading the research, and this will involve talking to people and working out who might be effected by the research. Acknowledging community leaders and communicating clearly with them will build a strong foundation for the research. Finding the common ground and stressing it in any written materials or presentations will help build understanding and good will. Given the constraints of many universities and organisations it may not be possible to undertake a completely participatory project, but being clear with participants about limitations will help maximise the space for participant engagement. There may be a need to negotiate within the research team about who does what jobs and the order of names that will appear on publications.

Having listened to and appreciated the needs and concerns of the parties, the next step will be to brainstorm some options. Our authors have discussed conflicting paradigms such as quantitative versus qualitative approaches, indigenous versus nonindigenous paradigms, and these will need to be negotiated and integrated by the researcher in selecting a method. At this stage it is useful to be open to many possibilities and to think about how they match the needs of the different parties. As shown by our chapter authors, there are a range of different ways to approaching research and the integrity of the research depends on it being meaningful to the participants, as well as acceptable to the research establishment. The research method may start with more imaginative approaches and still end up with some interesting statistical results.

It is important also to negotiate agreements about what will happen with the results. Sometimes it is necessary to plan for more than one report. A more learned publication for the researcher, a more accessible publication for the participants and the general public, or the participants might publish or display their work.

During the process of the research, there will be many decisions to make and it is helpful to record these decisions, letting readers know what the process was, why some paths were not taken. It is tempting to smooth out the narrative and omit some of this decision-making process, but this is less helpful for the researchers who will follow in your footsteps. Think of when you are giving someone directions along a track. How helpful it is to alert them to a junction where there is a path you should

not take and tell them why to avoid that path. This provides good guidance for most travellers, but also allows an adventurer to decide to take the risk of trying the other path. This is akin to the reflective stage of action research, where what does not work can be as informative as what does work. Or the negative findings of a quantitative project, where finding the data does not fit the predicted pattern is as important as confirming a hypothesis. That is, we are recommending the researcher track and share progress along the route taken, with its winding paths, dead ends and rocky stretches, rather than just recording the results, the destination reached.

We have mentioned how a researcher may be doing fieldwork in a particular context and then leave when the data collection is finished. In this case, the researcher and the research will tend to be weighted towards the institutional practices, and the local population may not receive a fair benefit from the research effort. On-going collaborations, where the researcher goes back on regular visits, like the project described by Brynton Lykes and Alison Crosby in Chapter 12, or even a live-in researcher like Anouk Ride who wrote Chapter 10 help ensure locals benefit from the research.

An important idea of conflict resolution is the idea of transforming, rather than avoiding conflict. That is, it is important to listen to bad news, the perspectives of those who differ from us, even to those who are being critical of our conduct. As Maritza Montero took us more deeply into the underlying philosophy of analectic and consciousness-raising methods, we can see there is a shared ground. The analectic and consciousness-raising methods surface conflicts which are structured into oppressive political arrangements but are in many peoples' minds below the level of awareness. In both conflict resolution and analectic approaches, the importance of being open and able to listen to uncomfortable information, even to invite it in, is prime.

Our point then is that there are many points of congruence between research in peace psychology and conflict resolution processes. As research becomes more collaborative then conflict resolution and facilitation skills will be very helpful in being able to negotiate with parties to the research, conduct of consultations with participants, gain support and build positive relationships. As Anthony Onwuegbuzie and Abbas Tashakkori suggest in Chapter 6, Critical Integrative Research and Evaluation (CIRE) team leaders should consider using peacebuilding techniques to ensure a maximally collaborative and cooperative research team.

22.5   Using the Creative Arts in Peace Research

The chapters on the creative arts show how the arts can provide a space and means for participants to express themselves. As well as providing clear representations of peoples' perspectives, the arts can bring some added spirit, energy and light to the research process, which then becomes emotionally richer. There is a space for expressing a range of emotions. There is room to engage the whole person, with physical movement and humour. Chapters 14, 15, 16 and 17 provide examples of

how stories, drama, photography and music can be used to explore, research and build peace.

Using the creative arts can serve to equalise relationships within a group. In a predominantly verbal classroom the students who are confident and skilled in speaking up can come to dominate the group. This may be well intentioned. Sometimes the students are just trying to help the teacher keep things rolling by coming up with an intelligent comment. Quieter and less verbally articulate students, or those with less familiarity with the dominant language, may have a lot to offer the group but lack the confidence to speak up. Using different forms of expression can draw out quieter students, who may be much more articulate when the mode of communication is changed. Other talents, like playing an instrument or being able to draw well, can shine out and draw the respect and admiration of other students. The highly verbal and apparently invulnerable student may suddenly be shy when asked to participate in a role-play or movement exercise, making them seem less intimidating and more loveable to the other students. Workshop structures allow for space for diverse talents and sources of knowledge to be utilised within the group. If some people in the group are not able to write, or not able to write in the dominant language, they can contribute to a discussion that is recorded by someone else in the group.

The creative arts provide an excellent vehicle for representing and exploring different perspectives, for looking at things from different angles. For example, participants can take different roles in a scenario, or watch the whole process as an audience, or explore variations in the script. That is cognitive complexity can be fostered.

Another advantage of using the creative arts is that they are challenging and exciting, countering the image of peace as a passive state, which is not very exciting or desirable for young people. In our work for peace, we try to counter the passive concept of negative peace and project a view of peace that is active and engaging, filled with challenges and opportunities, opening up a wider and more wonderful world. If the methodology embodies this concept of peace as a dramatic engagement with life, then it is not only providing information about peace, it is enacting peace. We agree with Anthony Onwuegbuzzie and Abbas Tashakkori who in Chapter 6 suggest that research and practice should not only be about peace, but should also model peace.

The creative arts can also be used to navigate difficult political situations. For example, the approach taken by Jacqueline Bornstein in Chapter 17 is quite indirect. It is not possible for a Westerner to go into educational institutions in Indonesia and start asking questions about the human rights of minority groups. However, using music to build respect for, and greater understanding of, minority groups was possible.

Anouk Ride (Chapter 10) cautions that while a narrative approach was particularly apt in her context, not all creative arts are apt in different circumstances. She cites two examples of the misuse of the creative arts by Western aid agencies. Agencies used cartoons in the post-tsunami period and were seen locally as trivialising suffering in the Solomon Islands. Also cartoons had played a role in aggravating the

"tensions" and were probably a media to be avoided at that time. In Aceh, Western trauma workers tried to use dramatic methods. Song, dance and acting that involves any touching was inappropriate for mixed gender context in a strict Islamic community that had up until that time had very little contact with the international world. She also notes that the participants in her project did not use the arts as a form of individual or self-expression, but rather as a form of expressing community events and arriving at consensus about the interpretation of those events. The use of the arts must connect with local epistemologies and modes of expression, must build on a deep understanding of the culture and mesh with the cultural landscape.

22.6   Technological Innovation Supports Creative Approaches to Peace Research

Advances in technology also open up new pathways. Internet and social media can be used in peace psychology research (Chapter 18). The development of the Internet and social media has created a new space for public discourse. This space has in turn changed the way individuals and groups communicate and interact. Traditional methods of political communication can be transferred to the virtual world. Connecting through the Internet has allowed online communication to be a rich tool for both peacebuilding and conflict escalation. Peace psychologists can use the Internet and social media as a means of communicating with each other, with participants and with the public. Computer technology is widely used for survey data collection but can also be used for more field-sensitive methods such as case studies of online interventions and content analysis of text, audios and videos

Improvements in software allow for diverse forms of data, pictures, drawing, videos as well as words and numbers, to be stored in an organised way, coded and analysed. Readers will recall that Serge Loode (Chapter 13) used a computer-assisted facilitation technique. Participants can be involved in the data-collecting process, for example taking notes for the group directly onto the computer and making them available to the group on the data projector, or on to a white board that is then photographed. The projection of computer data allows a researcher to share results dynamically, for example bringing up a project on NVivo and allowing participants and researchers to examine and question the raw data. The organising function of such software allows for the sharing of data in a way that strengthens its scientific value, meeting standards such as reliability, validity and ensuring that the research can be replicated.

Computer technology can enhance cooperation between peace psychologists, making it possible to collaborate and consult quickly and efficiently across distances, and this enhances international links. As mentioned in the introduction, we used internet to connect with authors and Dropbox to collaborate with each other in the process of editing of this book.

22.7 Peace Psychology at an International Level

The final section of the book looks at how peace psychologist use research findings to promote peace at an international level and contains some suggestions as to how the role of peace psychologists in this arena might be strengthened.

Quantitative researchers are often critical of qualitative researchers for using small samples. Ironically, however, Nikola Balvin points out in Chapter 19, that from the perspective of the large international organisations those quantitative psychologists are themselves seen as using small samples. Peace psychologists, as they reach for a better understanding of structural violence and peacebuilding are, as Daniel Mayton outlines in Chapter 4, beginning to use much larger data sets and it would be best practice for smaller scale projects to use macrosystem data to locate and triangulate studies.

International organisations and funding bodies are open to funding participatory peacebuilding projects, but may use an independent evaluation to provide evidence of the effectiveness of an intervention. This can lead to a situation where the program is developed under one paradigm and evaluated under another. The evaluation might yield results that are pleasing for funders, but this practice is incongruent and not scientifically valid. In Chapter 20, Mike Wessells, who is a very experienced practitioner/scholar, draws on his experience to show how many of the abstract themes explored earlier in the book play out in practice. The ethical consideration to *do no harm* can easily be infringed by international organisations in the drive to exhibit expertise. The example of the survey question during the war in Angola, where a Western psychologist's evaluation of a psychosocial program included asking war-affected people "What was the worst thing that happened to you?" is a chilling reminder of the callous disregard that distance can confer on human relationships. His tips for a peaceful evaluation will be invaluable to readers, not only in the international arena, but also in the reflective stage of action research and peace workshops. We also will introduce the idea later in this chapter that peace psychologists should also use peaceful evaluation in reviewing and commenting on each other's work.

Throughout the book the authors stress the importance of communication: communication with and amongst participants, bringing participants voices into the research literature or the public domain, and using different media to communicate. In Chapter 21, Michelle LeBaron makes an inspiring plea for peace psychologists to "write to change the world". There may be a need for a number of different reports to go to different audiences, rather than just the readers of learned journals. Reports might include short and accessible reports or presentations for participants and communities; clear, precise papers with policy implications for large organisations, or summaries for newsletters and web posts. Throughout the book we have seen that it will not only be the researcher who is writing to change the world. A participatory approach recruits participants who will also be writing and working for peace. Examples mentioned by our authors include participants publishing volumes (Chapters 10 and 14), exhibiting their work and interpreting the work of others (Chapters 12 and 16), organising a large event (Chapter 13) becoming

advocates and giving testimony (Chapter 12) influencing policy (Chapter 16) and creating a bottom up ripple effect. There is also a need to create spaces to publish more academic work that integrates research and practice. It can happen that highly participatory programs are stripped of their flesh and blood as they go through the reviewing process, so they appear in high-ranking journals in a more conventional form, one that leaves out the secret ingredient of their success, which is the dynamic, interactive relationship of researchers and participants.

22.8   Issues Emerging from the Volume

To this point in the conclusion we have considered some of the key points made by each chapter, following the sequence in which they appear in the book. Here, we consider a number of ideas that emerge from the volume as a whole.

22.8.1   Relationship of Self to Others

Peace building is about relationships and so the orientation of the self to others is a basic concern. One of the important ideas from Maritza Montero and the participatory methodologies is the idea that the individual self is actually dialogic, intrinsically a self in relation to others. In this view, human relationships and the language that connects them are the substrate of human existence. The separate individual that is the focus of so much psychological research, is in this philosophy, something of an artificial or cultural construct. As Mary Breheny and Christine Stephens note in Chapter 14, even a diary is not solitary and has an imagined reader.

The analectic approach is to welcome those who are different and unknown, to seek them out and invite them in to one's inner world. Only through dialogue with others and their different worlds can we increase our consciousness and more fully know ourselves. Hence, the quest for peace is both inner and outer. The self can be collective and apply to the groups I identify with. Other then becomes that which is different to the groups with which I identify. The process of learning about others will mean encountering some difficult information. That which seems natural and normal may be challenged and called into question. To remain open to new ideas and to cope with challenging information requires emotional maturity and the capacity to deal with conflict in a constructive way.

In peaceful research the researcher is not seen as separate from the world, a distant, objective and neutral observer, but is rather part of it, a citizen of the world. The researcher will need intellectual humility rather than a sense of superiority and to review the research process on the basis of new learnings. Researchers and research participants alike are engaged in a dialogical process and will learn from the research process and the relationship between the researcher and the participants is a vital aspect of the research.

22.8.2 Subjectivity

In Chapter 3, Noraini Noor and Daniel Christie review the 2×2 matrix of violence and peace building and add the new dimension of subjective/objective violence. Clearly subjective violence is important, and a focus on the subjective aspects would provide psychology with a niche in interdisciplinary peace studies. Galtung has identified cultural or symbolic violence. In Chapter 8, Polly Walker introduced the idea of epistemic violence. Bringing together these diverse elements to develop a more systematic schema of the operation of subjective violence at all levels, from the individual through groups and nations to the global order is a task confronting peace psychology as a field. The opposite pole, "objective", is more problematic as various authors such as Anthony Onwuegbuzie and Abbas Tashakkori (Chapter 6) suggest that we live in a post-positivist world where the proposition that we can know reality in an objective way is questioned. Polly Walker (Chapter 8) notes that since the time when psychology set out to establish itself as a science like the physical sciences, physics itself has shifted and that indigenous epistemologies can find common ground with contemporary physics.

22.8.3 Role of Affect

In fleshing out the subjective dimension, the role of affect in peace psychology should not be neglected. Working with the victims of trauma is an accepted role for psychologists in international work, but confining our study of emotions to this domain would be deeply reductionist. While some conflict resolution models tend to see emotions as a block to reaching resolution, as indeed they can be, emotions also play an important role in creating peace. Anger over injustice can mobilise people to take action, empathy can move people to offer aid to others, motivation to try and resolve differences can bring people to the negotiating table. Sometimes these same emotions can, under different circumstances, impel people to violence: anger leading to hitting out, empathy with one group fuelling hatred of another, and the wish to resolve and make friends leading to a compromise which fails to stand up for the truth and justice. The creative arts bring the whole person back into the research process and offer an opportunity to put feelings back into psychology. Treating the creative arts as simply an "intervention" to be measured in a pre- and post-test model will desiccate these methodologies and dry out their vitality. So, it is our hope that in further developing the subjective dimension peace psychology retains a space for emotions. After all our purpose in peace psychology is transformative and it is emotions that will move people to change. It is almost a truism to say that the methods used should match the research question and we are adding to this the injunction that the methods used should match the participants, engaging them actively in the research process.

22.8.4   Cognitive Complexity

The analectic orientation that is the foundation of participatory methods has a converse, which is that more cognitive complexity is called for. To accept that there are other ways of seeing the world and to try to enter into a process of fully understanding those different views make a demand on our cognitive resources. Understanding the world in a way that allows for other to have vastly different ways of knowing, being prepared to call one's habitual ways of being in the world into question, calls for complex cognitive processes.

The volume as a whole talks about the need to be flexible and creative in research, rather than adhering to a fixed idea or mechanical approach and expecting other people to fit into a predetermined mould. We could see this as a process of democratisation, bringing the research to the people, rather than expecting them to step up to it on the researcher's terms. Peaceful research will mean matching the method to meet the needs of the participants as well as the research establishment.

22.8.5   Importance of Process

Conflict resolution and dialogue methods invest in process. The belief is that a good process of communication will produce more effective collaborative outcomes. The mediator provides a space and a set of rules that shape conversation, but does not tell the parties what the outcome should be. There is an element of trust and faith in people to craft their own collaborative solutions. This sentiment is echoed in this volume, for example, in the attention we have given to the editorial process (Chapter 1), the process of PAR (Chapter 12) the way in which conversations are guided in the community café method (Chapter 13), and the emphasis on process in evaluation (Chapter 20).

22.8.6   Reconciling Dichotomies

In editing the book, we came across many concepts expressed as opposites: insider or outsider, war and peace, science and art, quantitative versus qualitative research methods, and indigenous versus nonindigenous paradigms. Black and white thinking, placing attributes in two mutually exclusive categories did not seem either truthful or peaceful to us. Reality has more shades of grey, and peace has less clear cut boundaries. On the other hand ruling out the use of opposite word pairs left us bereft of vocabulary to express ourselves. We resolved this conundrum by thinking of the opposites as poles of a continuum, rather than falling into mutually exclusive categories. Anthony Onwuegbuzie and Abbas Tashakkori use this idea of a continuum in Chapter 6 to locate peace as lying on an interactive continuum that is anchored by negative and positive peace.

22.8.7 Language

Language is always in the background but rarely in the foreground of psychology. If we plan to become more inclusive and extend the range of people who are involved in psychological research, as research participants, theorists and researchers, then language will be both an asset and an obstacle. English is the dominant language of psychology and to reach out to other language groups we need to draw in people who speak languages other than English. And psychologists should be encouraged to learn languages other than English. Even a stumbling effort to master another language provides huge benefits in terms of understanding other worldviews and communities and also in building better relationships. Just translating existing materials and exporting them to other cultures is insufficient. Using local intermediaries is more helpful as they can listen and understand body language as well as the spoken word, as well as translate for the English-speaking researcher. Given the importance of communication in peacebuilding, and the importance of narrative methods of research in peace psychology, the case for working in collaboration with linguists is clear.

22.8.8 Participation at Every Stage of the Research Process

Contributing authors show how participants can be involved in each stage of the research process. The selection of research questions can be drawn from the field as well as from the literature. Data collected from, or by, participants can take diverse forms, depending on the research questions and the characteristics and preferences of the participants. Participants can be involved in the recording, analysis and interpretation of results. And the participants can help with communicating the results in diverse forms.

Participatory approaches align peace research with peace pedagogy. Through joint enquiry groups can learn that the transformation of social structures towards a more peaceful society is possible and create ways to build peace together.

22.8.9 Long-term Commitment

Peacebuilding is a long term commitment. As Micheal Wessells has pointed out in Chapter 20 pressure for quick results can undermine sound evaluation. The call for quick results can lead to a "cookie cutter" approach, where a particular mould is applied irrespective of the local conditions. Peaceful research focuses more on nurturing long-term relationships and making sustainable changes. This requires patience and effort and recognising that the locus of change is the participants.

22.8.10   Peace Is Not Passive

An insight that lies beneath and links the diverse chapters is the idea that peace is not passive but rather is an active endeavour. Peacebuilding involves facing up to some quite uncomfortable realities, such as political oppression, racism, sexism and other matters which some groups might prefer to sweep under the carpet. Far from being nice and warm and fuzzy, the peacebuilder needs the courage to bring the unspoken to the surface and into open conversation, and the patience to learn about the context and find the best ways to raise the topic. The peacebuilder's efforts may build capacity and mobilise people. The peacebuilder is able to wait and identify the moment to raise consciousness of power imbalances and question structures that promote violence. These qualities of peacebuilders apply to peaceful researchers.

22.9   Integrating Quantitative and Qualitative Approaches in the Study of Systems

Having described a number of exciting nonnumerical approaches to research in peace psychology, it is useful to reflect on the role of statistics once again. Is quantitative psychology, with its linear measurements and controlled studies simply a "master narrative" that is redundant, or even a colonising agent that needs to be pushed aside?

   We suggest that statistics are very useful in establishing the existence of structural violence and monitoring progress towards a more just system. For example, the study of the experience of racism by Aboriginal people is enriched by information from statistics relating to employment, health, education, life expectancy and the justice system at the national level. The statistics help contextualise the experience that is related in individual interviews. The individual accounts in turn humanise the statistics, and convey the suffering involved in a way that moves others.

   Nikola Balvin (Chapter 19) suggests that to influence policy at the international level peace psychologists need to learn to be more comfortable with using statistics relating to the macrosystem. Dan Mayton touches on this point in his chapter on quantitative methods (Chapter 4) and brings a number of measures like the Peace Index to our attention. We are not suggesting that psychologists will necessarily collect these statistics, but that greater familiarity with them, and the more frequent use of macrosystem indexes and databases which already exist, will help peace psychologists gather information to contextualise research and create integrated designs. In Chapter 19, Nikola Balvin recommends the increased use of nested designs that link variables from a smaller system to variables from the larger system in which they are embedded.

   It may be useful to think of the nested approach as a slice of pizza. If we map out the ecology of the world, then we can take a slice that includes the location of the study. If the unit of analysis is the individual then the rings on the slice will be

the micro-, meso-, exo- and macrosystems outside the person. If the unit of analysis is the macrosystem then the smaller systems will be rings closer to the centre of the pie. Reference to the rings will provide information to locate and triangulate the study. The information may be numerical but need not be so. Macrosystem data could, for example, be in the form of national narratives or religious texts (Fig. 22.1).

A deeper challenge is presented by lack of statistical methods that have isomorphism with the nature and causality of violence, conflict and peace. Here, it is not just a matter of triangulating data from one level of the system to another. As Rachel
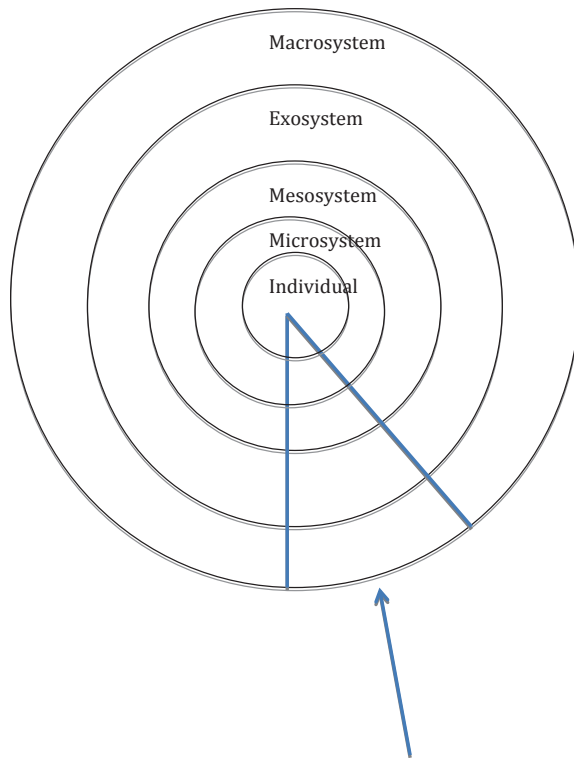
First, locate your study in the slice. In which layer would you place your study? For example, a study of bullying might be located in a school (microsystem).Then think about: What is the relationship between the school and connected microsystems such as the children's families (mesosystems). How might a culture of bullying link to the other systems? Is toughness and the use of force promoted in the media or are there public campaigns against bullying (exosystem)? Are there policies about bullying formulated by state education authorities (macrosystem)? Who is bullied? Is there a history of transition and dislocation in the neighborhood? Is the pattern of bullying similar to that of schools in other countries? Are there patterns of bullying that suggest racism or sexism? What information is available on these patterns in the wider society? The information might serve to contextualize and enrich the study or might lead to a nested design.

Fig. 22.1 Locating research in the human ecology

MacNair points out in Chapter 2, conflict and peace are cyclic, with a process of mutual escalation or de-escalation. Conflict can be seen as a series of moves. Mary Breheny and Christine Stephens point out in Chapter 14, when people describe a conflict they are likely to produce a narrative, to tell a story that moves through time: he did this and then I did that and then he…and so on. In such accounts, the earlier moves provide justification for the next moves, with the emphasis on the other as the provocateur.

The methods of quantitative psychology do not model these interactions well and tend to better represent snap shots taken at one time. In psychology, time might be dealt with in a design that has time one, then time two, with an intervention in between. Or time might be dealt with in a longitudinal way, again time one, then time two and three or more, but with nature taking its course in between. Conflict does not fit this model because the first action provokes or influences the second action that provokes or influences the third action, a chain reaction rather than one factor causing the other. In a conflict scenario, both parties are likely to see the other as the provocateur and the outside observer can see a duet that builds or de-escalates conflict. Guttman (1947) argued strongly that measures that we use should evolve from and resemble in shape the real-world data. We should, for example, he said establish through scalogram analysis, whether a variable is linear, rather than assume it is.

In psychology, the statistics tend to measure a point in time, a state, rather than the movement over time, the process. The mutual determination of conflict and peace is not captured in designs that try to isolate one causal factor at a time. The interactive nature of conflict and peace, their co-creation, means that dyads or groups may behave differently than might be predicted by studying each individual or element separately.

There are some statistical techniques that aid in the study of such processes, but they are not widely used or understood. For example, social network analysis models the way in which dyadic interactions build an emerging structure of group relationships. Lusher (2012) uses social network analysis to show how interactions between boys in school and men on a football team construct masculinity norms that are linked to varying attitudes to violence, depending on the group dynamic. He notes that

> while indeed macro changes must be made for a peaceful world, micro changes 'from the bottom up' are also important. Social network analysis offers insights into these micro-relations and gives us the potential to understand how people interact with one other; and the effects that social connections may have on individuals (for example by creating norms of behaviour) (p. 170).

Wilkinson (2012) dealt with interactions over time when he analysed and modelled turn-taking patterns in mediation processes. He used a Markov chain approach to predict later moves from earlier ones. Earlier turns influence not only the next move but, he found, "a current turn exerts structural effects well beyond the next turn" and "prior turns may influence both current and future turns" (p. 179).

There is a need then for statistical approaches like these, which better reflect the complex and evolutionary nature of social interactions, and the capacity of social interactions to change attitudes and consciousness. Such statistical approaches

would do better service to the methodologies described in this book than does an evaluation at the end of a program. In practice, we sometimes use an approach that is driven by the statistics we know and want to use rather than those that best match the shape of the phenomenon being studied.

There are some statistical methods used in individual psychology that have the advantage of allowing the dimensions or scales to grow out of, rather than being imposed on, the data. These can be adapted for studying violence and peace at different systemic levels. For example Q sort methodology was developed by Carl Rogers to look at personal growth within a phenomenological epistemology. This method is now used by political scientists to study deliberative democracy (Dryzek, 2000, Niemeyer, Ercan and Hartz-Karp 2013). Another measurement strategy that allows for a great deal of participant input is the repertory grid. While Kelly (1977) used the technique to study individuals, there is no reason why it could not be used to, for example, study attitudes of individuals or groups to different nations, or to surface the dimensions used to interpret texts or pictures. This differs from the usual approach in which the researcher selects the rating scales (and hence decides what the most important dimensions of judgement are). It would be helpful to become more aware of the range of measurement techniques that match a more interactive and inductive approach to research and to be able to work in collaboration with mathematicians and statisticians who can create new approaches. Wilkinson had to write his own programs to analyse his data, rather than use the existing statistical software packages, and few of us have that level of technical skill.

22.10   Reflections on the Process of Compiling this Volume

While the methodologies presented in the book are active and engaging, reflection is an essential part of their magic. Simply replaying or retelling violent events can actually increase rather than decrease discrimination and stereotyping. Balvin and Kashima (2012) and Rachel MacNair (Chapter 2) warn that talking about violence might actually increase stereotyping or make people more aggressive. The art is in using these creative methods to bring ideas up in discussion, raise awareness and encourage reflection about self, other and the relationship between them. The change comes from the process of reflection and altered consciousness.

As outlined in the introduction, we hoped to use peaceful processes to guide the editing of the book. One of the ways we approached our task was to try to be inclusive in our choice of authors. Obviously, we wanted high-quality contributions and were thrilled to have such eminent contributors. But we also tried to include a range of different regions of the world, a balance of gender, and to include early career researchers as well as established academics. Sometimes this involved working with authors whose first language is not English and this can introduce some communication problems. However, the benefit is huge, as different perspectives and new ideas are included and the discipline becomes more inclusive and comprehensive.

As mentioned in the introduction, once we received the chapters we sent them out to peer reviewers, who like the authors were drawn from different regions of the world and were at different stages of their careers. The process was blind and sometimes quite an inexperienced reviewer was commenting on the work of a very well established author. We did find in this task that while most of the reviewers were extremely helpful and made a substantial contribution to the book, some review comments were severe, and more in line with the cut and thrust of a competitive intellectual arena than a co-operative endeavour for peace. There is ample material from organisational and educational psychology on how to provide feedback in a manner that is constructive and results in improvement to a product or performance, without eroding a person's self esteem. It seemed that different epistemological standpoints influence the reviewing process. People evaluate within their own paradigm and bring this to bear in their criticism. This would not be a big issue in a dialogue situation where different perspectives can be discussed and clarified. Using multiple reviewers provides something of a buffer but in a blind reviewing situation the writer usually has little comeback. In working on this book, we found that the very experienced writers were very good at handling criticism and making judgements about when and where to make changes and when to dig in and challenge review comments. However, inexperienced writers might need a more nurturing environment and more specific advice about how to improve their work. Michelle LeBaron (Chapter 21) calls this solutions-focused writing. It is, she points out, much easier to critique and deconstruct others' ideas than to suggest possible ways forward. Readers will both understand writers' intentions more clearly and feel more encouraged when paths to positive outcomes are discussed alongside critiques.

It was wonderful to work in a cross-cultural collaborative editorial team. Many dumplings were consumed during our editorial meetings and new insights were gained over lunch. Despite the difference in our ages and cultural backgrounds, our partnership has been equal, pleasant and mutually supportive and respectful. Often, after the editorial meetings, Siew Fang eagerly tried to apply her new insights in her current academic roles, and found opportunities to reflect on her experience with Di in the next meeting. Di was very grateful to Siew Fang for her energy, new ideas and capacity to co-ordinate material. And she learnt a great deal from discussing the ideas of the contributing authors with Siew Fang.

22.11   Peace Research by Peaceful Means

Some criteria for peace research were identified by a number of chapter authors. Valuing *equality* leads to the development and use of methods that encourage *participation* and allow research participants to take a role in decision-making at each stage of research. Peace research should be *representative* and *reach out* to the wider world, *giving voice* to those who have been silenced and marginalised. To do this, peace research will need to be *flexible* in its methods, selecting approaches that suit

the cultural context and individual talents of participants, while locating themselves in wider economic, social and political contexts.

Although the methods will vary they can be *integrated* and will include an element of critical social theory and *reflection*. As well as respecting the technical requirements of empirical psychology the methods will aim for *authenticity* in representing the voices of participants with *integrity*. The approaches to research described in this book call for more than the application of standardised tests. *Complex cognitive* processes will be required: divergent and creative thinking, collaborative problem solving, the ability to analyse and synthesise material and the ability to think in a critical and reflective way.

Peace psychologists increasingly work as members of an interdisciplinary team and so will need to be open to using a variety of methods and approaches. The researcher will need to co-operate and collaborate with other researchers, with participants and other stakeholders, so practical conflict resolution and advocacy skills will be needed. As researchers from different fields have differing epistemologies, conflicts and misunderstandings will arise and conflict resolution skills will be called upon.

To locate their work peace psychologists might use data from different levels of the human ecology (Bronfenbrenner, 1977, 1979) from the small systems of home and community, to the larger arenas of national and international development. Data from different levels of the system will be drawn upon to confirm inferences and interpretations.

Peacebuilding is about building human relationships, and the social, political and economic systems that support constructive human relations. Therefore, peace research should build strong relationships, such that research is not just about peace, but is in itself an experience of peace for researchers and participants alike.

It may seem from this book that the researcher needs superpowers to be both a quantitative and qualitative researcher, be a practitioner as well as a researcher, be an effective communicator and group facilitator, keep up with technological innovations in research software and the use of the social media, master new statistical techniques, and understand different cultures and languages. Of course this is not possible. The peacebuilder needs to work in a team and draw on the talents of others. A peaceful research team should acknowledge the diversity of talents, respect differences and value a variety of contributions. Unfortunately, in the contemporary world, many institutional reward systems force researchers to operate in ways that counter peaceful principles, for example, ranking and track systems that promote competitiveness among individual researchers (see e.g., Grewal, Dearden and Lilien, 2008 & Locke, 2011) and exclusionary practices (Amsler and Bolsmann, 2012).

A strong feature of this book is the congruence it brings between practice and research. The researcher is treated not as a disembodied objective investigator who sits outside the reality of the participants' world, but rather as an immersed and socially connected person. Understandings about human nature derived from psychology apply to the researcher as well as to the participants (Paris, 2010). All researchers and participants are involved in the planning, implementation and evaluation stages and the follow through from the research. Everyone is fallible and so

collecting evidence from diverse sources, dialogue, critical appraisal and reflection about inferences is necessary. Ideally, working together will maximise the efficacy of collective action for peace and the dialogic methods used will increase the awareness and consciousness of researchers and participants. In this way, the methodologies do not draw a false dichotomy between inner and outer peace, but link inner peace to active engagement in, and understanding of, the world.

The benefit of engagement in peacebuilding for researchers and participants is not merely being helpful to others, but also in creating an environment which is more secure and fulfilling for oneself, extending and emancipating one's own consciousness and developing one's own emotional sensibility. It is stepping onto a path to a life that is engaging, rewarding, adventurous and filled with wonder and accomplishment, in the company of friends. For what we cannot do alone, we may be able to achieve together.

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