A GENEALOGY OF IDEAS

THE AUTHORS

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INTRODUCTION

Why write another story about the peacebuilding field? Others have written at length about peacebuilding as a practice - its definitions, purposes, shortcomings and impacts. Existing accounts of peacebuilding tend to fall into three groups: engaging stories about individual peacebuilders and the places where they have worked, academic descriptions of frameworks and theories, or documentation of the adoption of peacebuilding by large organizations such as the United Nations (UN). To our knowledge, no one has focused on exploring how groups of early peacebuilding practitioners derived frameworks and theories of practice from their experience working with actual conflicts.

In this series of journals, we seek to fill that gap by describing the work of early unofficial and non-governmental peace practitioners and the current-day heirs to their approaches. Instead of telling stories about their careers, we will focus on the adventures of thinking and ideas of early peacebuilders by tracing how they influenced each other, how their ideas and models were changed, refined and reshaped over time, and how their experiences and lessons have given rise to formal and informal educational programs that are preparing others to be peacebuilders and justice advocates.

We call this publication *A Genealogy of Ideas*, because robust ideas also have biographies. They are born, they grow and change, and sometimes they are put to rest. We hope this genealogy is useful for: teachers and students wanting to understand the field of peacebuilding; for activists, leaders and citizens seeking better ways of coping with conflict, violence or injustice in their own communities; and for those who may feel called to enter into professions that promote peace with justice.

We are well aware that this is *one* story not *the* story of a complex and evolving field of practice. In fact, as we have conducted interviews for this project, we have become increasingly aware that there are many, many stories yet to be told about the ideas and practices for building a more just and peaceful world. We hope our publications help spark a robust conversation.

This publication is an invitation to each reader to join the conversation about ways to promote justice, peace and nonviolence.

THE WHEEL OF PEACEBUILDING ACTIVITIES

Too often the world is divided into "doers" and "thinkers" and the ideas and practical wisdom developed by the doers goes unrecorded. The concepts, applied theories, and practices we are describing in this series arose out of defying this dichotomy when early peacebuilders committed themselves to the pursuit of a reflective practice that combined doing, pausing to think about what they were doing and using academic research to better explain the problems they were addressing.

We invite you into this reflective process by posing a deceptively simple question. Think about the work you do in the world -- whether paid or voluntary. Are you a peacebuilder and you don't even know it?

If you start with the UN definition of peacebuilding as external interventions that are designed to prevent the eruption or return of armed conflict most readers would say they are not peacebuilders. But there is another approach to peacebuilding that grew up prior to and matured alongside the UN adoption of peacebuilding ideas and practices. This approach, which casts a bigger net and thinks more inclusively about what constitutes building peace, is illustrated by the Strategic Peacebuilding Pathways graphic (that we are referring to here as the "Wheel of Peacebuilding Activities."

The inner circle shows three key areas of strategic peacebuilding and the outer circle highlights sub-areas of practice and career focus linked to those three areas ("Strategic Peacebuilding Pathways," n.d.).

This graphic aims to answer questions such as:

- What does the field of peacebuilding practice look like?
- What are the potential career pathways for a strategic peacebuilder?
- Where do I fit in?

It can also be used to answer questions such as:

- What am I already doing that builds peace?
- How could I do something I already do differently to build peace?
- What else might I need to learn to become a better peacebuilder?"
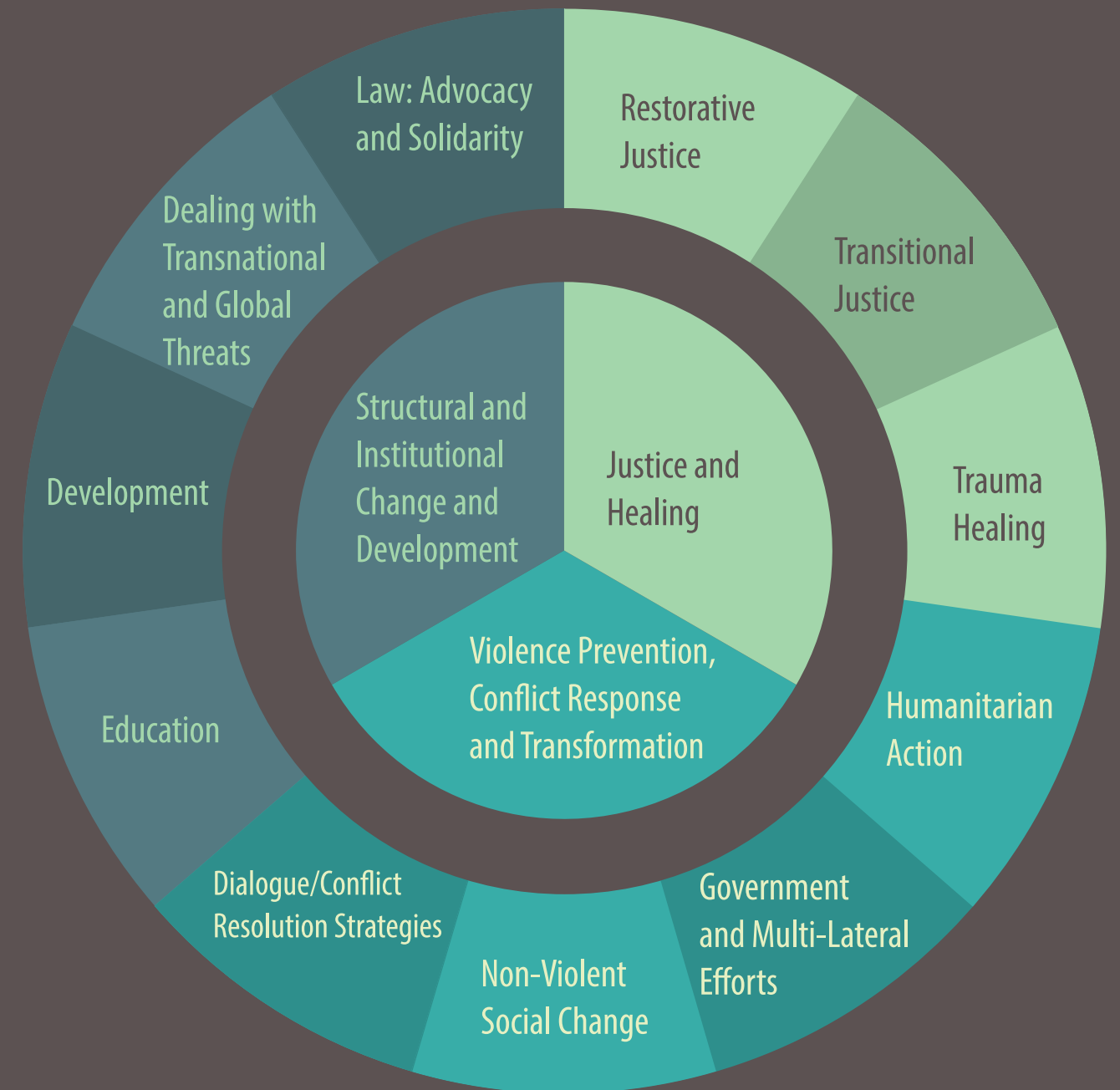
Graphic developed by John Paul Lederach and Katie Mansfield in 2010 at Notre Dame's Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies. Colors altered and the graphic's name changed from "Strategic Peacebuiding Pathways" with the permission of the graphic's creators.

ARE YOU A PEACEBUILDER?

When you think about your own work in the world, does the Wheel help you identify places where you are already building peace with justice? Or does it help you locate places you might join in? In their Wheel of Peacebuilding Activities, Katie Mansfield and John Paul Lederach have listed the following vocations to demonstrate the vast array of work that can be considered peacebuilding. This list corresponds to the outer circle of the wheel and highlights sub-areas of practice and career focus.

Restorative Justice
Addressing historical and ongoing harms against marginalized communities
Community-based restorative justice
National restoration processes (addressing historical structural harm)
Prison system reform

Transitional Justice
International Criminal Court or tribunals
Justice to address mass atrocity and human rights
National and local justice processes

Trauma Healing
Child soldier reintegration
Collective community healing
Refugee resettlement and services
Trauma therapy and counseling/social support
Victim support and reparations

Humanitarian Action
Crisis health care and social services
Human rights protection and monitoring
Humanitarian advocacy and law
Humanitarian emergency response
Information management for relief operations
Public health work related to structural and physical violence

Government and Multilateral Efforts
Civil-military relations
Demobilization and disarmament
Diplomacy
Intergovernmental organizations
Peace processes
Policy analysis and implementation
Post-conflict reconstruction

Nonviolent Social Change
Active nonviolence
Community organizing, mobilization or social action/movements
Issue-based educational campaigns
Media/journalism/writing
Minority and marginalized empowerment and civil rights advocacy

Dialogue / Conflict Resolution Strategies
Arts-based approaches to social transformation
Conflict monitoring and early warning
Cross-cultural contact programs
Inter-faith, inter-ethnic, and intercultural dialogue
Language interpreting or teaching
Mediation or dispute settlement
Reconciliation
Violence prevention or resolution

Education
Adult and civic education
Applying gender lenses to peace and conflict
Building peaceable schools
Educational reform initiatives
Local peacebuilding institutes and training
Investigating cultural and structural violence
Leadership development and training among historically disadvantaged groups
Service learning
University-based peace studies/ peace education/ peace research
Vocational schools

Development
Economic development
Gender equality work
Housing and urban development/redevelopment
Human and social development
Local and international development
Microfinance and small business development
Strengthening democratic institutions and participation
Sustainable development, sustainable agriculture

Dealing with Transnational and Global Threats
Corruption and organized crime
Cultural and structural violence
Economic and social injustice
Environmental degradation and climate change
Gender exclusion and gender-based violence
Genocide and mass violence
Human rights violations
Human trafficking
Imperial domination
Nuclear and small arms proliferation
Poverty, hunger and homelessness
Terrorism
War

Law: Advocacy and Solidarity
Family law and domestic violence protection
Human rights law
Immigration law, immigrant services and education
Indigenous cultural preservation, solidarity and rights
International law and policy work
Labor and employment law/protection
Land issues
Migrant justice, migration and human trafficking
Work with youth: Child protection, rights, services

BEHIND EVERY IDEA IS A STORY ABOUT EXPERIENCE

The following story comes from interviews conducted with Katie Mansfield and John Paul Lederach in 2016.

The Strategic Peacebuilding Pathways graphic - what we are calling the Wheel of Peacebuilding Activities - was created in response to two different dilemmas.

1) How do you invite those who are documenting the work of one heroic leader of a major justice/transition process to expand their understanding of what is required for deep and sustainable peacebuilding? This is important if we want to avoid giving the false impression that one person alone or one activity alone can create sustainable peace.

2) How do you explain what alumni of a graduate program in applied peace studies are doing with their degrees, and in so doing talk with prospective students about what they might do with a degree in the field?

Katie Mansfield and John Paul Lederach were thinking about these questions while working at the Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies at Notre Dame University in 2010. Mansfield was Lederach's apprentice. She was also collaborating with the Kroc Institute's alumni office when Doug Abrams and Mark Nicholson of Idea Architects contacted Lederach regarding their effort to develop a program to honor the life and legacy of Bishop Desmond Tutu.

According to Lederach, the Desmond Tutu legacy group was heavily focused on truth and reconciliation work. They were using the term "peacebuilding" as a synonym for restorative justice, truth telling and forgiveness. This did not match Lederach's extensive experience, nor did it coincide with the way many others described peacebuilding. Lederach, who describes himself as a doodler, thought, "it could be helpful to offer a more expansive view of the field." Mansfield recalls that he started drawing and putting the ideas about peacebuilding practice into different boxes.

So, how did it morph into the graphic you see? Mansfield, who now specializes in weaving embodied practice into trauma healing and peacebuilding work, remembers she was stretched into a sideways bend while practicing yoga when it hit her that, "this graphic should be a circle!"

"The more we started to work with [the Wheel], the more it took on a life of its own" Lederach said. Others got involved. Mansfield and her co-workers in the alumni office were reviewing the results of a questionnaire completed by Kroc Institute alumni on their work, post graduation. The alumni office staff decided to map out alumni career pathways according to the Wheel.

For Mansfield "it all came together" as a result of her dual roles with the Desmond Tutu legacy project and the alumni office. As others, including Hal Culbertson, George Lopez and Joan Fallon at Kroc entered into the conversation, the Wheel became clearer, and - as always happens in this process - some things "fell off" the diagram and got lost.

According to Mansfield and Lederach, the three pieces at the center have time orientations, The Structural and Institutional Change and Development has a future orientation while Justice and Healing speaks to the past. Violence Prevention, Conflict Response and Transformation has a present orientation. However, Mansfield notes, the past is always present. In situations of long term and systemic injustice, past harms and the emotional and psychological marks they leave don't just disappear. Mansfield says, "You can't exactly say what work is past, what work is present but we wanted to make reference to the fact that all of these timeframes are part of the future."

Lederach acknowledges that some of the peacebuilding activities did not fit neatly into the temporal categories. This is why they did not draw the divisions in the interior circle to line up with divisions in the outer circle.

Mansfield has received largely positive feedback on the Wheel, "Different people email and say 'this is so helpful; we are putting it up in our department of peace studies so that others can see this is a real field of work.'" Lederach agrees, "A lot of people seem to appreciate that it captures the bigger picture of the field, and it also shows very concrete ways in which people find gainful employment." Most recently, David Smith used the Wheel in a new book *Peace Jobs: A Student's Guide to Starting a Career Working for Peace* noting "I use 'peacebuilding' to frame all international as well as domestic careers that are looking at conflict and peace issues" (David Smith, 2016).

Why tell this story?

This story demonstrates how heuristic devices or visual models grow out of collaboration. They emerge when we reflect on practice and receive feedback on our work. If those who wanted to honor Desmond Tutu had not been open to receiving information about how his celebrated work fits with different activities done by others, the conversations that gave rise to this useful model would have been cut short.

Once we put ideas into a model, there is a risk that the model becomes static, but continued commitment to reflective practice and dialogue can keep ideas and models fresh and alive. *In some ways, the models themselves become participants in the dialogue about practice.*

"Heuristic" comes from the Greek root *heuriskein* - to discover. A heuristic device helps people explore social realities and can be used to gain a general understanding of a situation. It is also a method of teaching wherein students can learn for themselves by applying the heuristic device to concrete situations.

TOOLS FOR THINKING AND TEACHING

Heuristic devices can help people think together and capture new insights about their circumstances and opportunities for positive action. New insights lead to revisions of the models, which is why we call this *A Genealogy of Ideas*. Just as the expression of biological genes can change in response to environmental influences, heuristic devices can also change in response to influences in new contexts. We hope you will feel free to critique, use, modify and play with the models and practices in these journals.

A Change to the Peacebuilding Wheel?

In January 2016, the W.K. Kellogg Foundation announced a new initiative aimed at truth telling, racial healing and transformation in the United States. "The goal of the multi-year project, which has garnered significant pledges of financial and moral support from a number of prominent organizations, is to 'address and transform present inequities linked to historic and contemporary beliefs in racial hierarchy'" (Jefferson).

Peacebuilding is often seen as something to be done in war torn countries "over there" and not something done in the United States. Yet peacebuilding and justice work are very much needed within the US. This is a significant dilemma in the field and something we want to challenge in our publications. If there is one lesson that individuals and organizations from more privileged communities can learn from their colleagues facing violence, it is that everyone needs to work in his or her own backyard, too. The field of peacebuilding will, in our view, reach a higher level of maturity when consultation and expertise flows in multiple directions. When those who have worked on reconciliation after war or sustained oppression (for example, in South Africa) are consulted by the participants in the Kellogg project, the field will have reached a new level of legitimacy both within the US and abroad.

Representatives from 15 of 70 partner organizations gathered in Richmond, Virginia in February 2016 for a planning discussion on the truth telling and racial healing initiative. Daryl Byler, the Executive Director of CJP reported that the participants engaged in a passionate conversation about the need to combine the terms "healing" and "justice." Fania Davis, Founder of Restorative Justice for Oakland Youth and one of the leading participants in the Kellogg Foundation's initiative, said in an interview with YES! Magazine that "the question now is how we craft a process that brings the healing piece together with the social and racial justice piece - how we heal the racial traumas that keep re-enacting" (Van Gelder, "The Radical Work of Healing"). Davis and other participants are arguing for doing justice that heals and engaging healing that promotes justice (Stauffer).

When we look at the Wheel of Peacebuilding Activities, the seeds of this conversation can be found in the inner circle's section "Justice and Healing." The outer ring can be used to identify concrete actions that might be used by the Kellogg partners, and this can help those working on the project identify lessons learned in other countries that might be useful in the United States.

Back to you…

Not everyone working on activities that involve issues of peace and justice self-identifies as a peacebuilder. "In the development sector, specialists who work with warring neighbors to place a water well in a neutral space may see themselves as peacebuilders, whereas the scientists developing the water purification systems for the well may not" (Greenberg et al, 2012, 25).

Would you or do you refer to yourself as a peacebuilder? Interestingly, some of the early peace practitioners featured in this series did not initially refer to themselves as such.

We turn now to a new graphic device developed specifically for this publication: a timeline that tries to integrate multiple stories about some of the origins of peacebuilding.

PEACEBUILDING: ONE STORY

1992: Sant'Egidio, a lay organization connected to the Catholic Church facilitates the mediation that brings an end to the civil war in Mozambique

1991 - Responding to Conflict established

1986: Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies founded at Notre Dame University ⭐

1986: International Alert founded

1984: Nairobi Peace Initiative founded

1982: Search for Common Ground founded

1981: George Mason University establishes ⭐ School for Conflict Analysis and Resolution

1980s: Roger Fisher and William Ury publish *Getting to Yes*. The study of negotiation takes on a win-win, mutual gain vocabulary.

1979: Mennonite Central Committee establishes the Mennonite Conciliation Service to encourage Mennonites and others to actively pursue peaceful rsolution of conflicts

1973 : University of Bradford, a Quaker institution in the UK, establishes the Department of Peace Studies, the first academic department of its kind ⭐

1972: All-Africa Conference of Churches and World Council of Churches mediates Addis Ababa agreement for Sudan

1971: Adam Curle publishes *Making Peace*

1970s: Mediation becomes the subject of scholarly analysis

1967-1970: Adam Curle in Nigeria during the Nigerian Civil War also known as the Biafran War.

1992: UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali puts forward *An Agenda for Peace* and "post-conflict peacebuilding" officially enters the UN language

1994: Center for Justice and Peacebuilding founded at Eastern Mennonite University ⭐ Mahbub ul Haq draws global attention to concept of human security. Conciliation Resources founded.

1995: The UN's concept of peacebuilding is expanded to address all conflict phases and establishes an inter-departmental Task Force to identify peacebuilding activities for UN agencies to undertake

1997: John Paul Lederach publishes *Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies*

2000: Catholic Relief Services and the Center for Justice and Peacebuilding co-sponsor the Mindanao Summer Peace Institute

2000: Elise Boulding publishes *Cultures of Peace: The Hidden Side of History*

2003: UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan says that different parts of the UN should work together to devise country specific peace-building strategies

2004: *A More Secure World* report recommends establishment of Peacebuilding Commission and Peacebuilding Support Office

2005: UN establishes Peacebuilding Commission, Peacebuilding Fund and Peacebuilding Support Office

2005: The Global Partnership for the Prevention of Armed Conflict (GPPAC) hosts a global conference in New York City

2005: Responsibility to Protect endorsed

2007: the UN Secretary-General's Policy Committee agrees on a conceptual basis for peacebuilding to inform UN practice

2008: the document *United Nations Peacekeeping Operations: Principles and Guidelines* is approved

2010: UN Report on women's participation in peacebuilding published

2012: UN report focuses on the need for inclusivity and institution building in peacebuilding

Inner ring (Wars and conflicts)

1981-1990: Contra War in Nicaragua

1989: Fall of Berlin Wall

1994: Apartheid ends in South Africa

1994: Rwandan Genocide

1991-2001: Yugoslav War

1975 -1979: Cambodian Genocide

2001: 9/11 attacks. War on Terror begins

2003: Invasion of Iraq

2011: Start of the Syrian Conflict

1971: The 3rd Indo-Pakistani War

1967 -1970: Biafran War

Apartheid in South Africa

The Cold War

2016: Present

Timeline markers

1965, 1970, 1975, 1980, 1985, 1990, 1995, 2000, 2005, 2010, 2015

Legend

- Civil society
- Quaker
- Mennonite
- Catholic
- United Nations
- ⭐ Educational Institutions
- Wars and conflicts

PEACEBUILDING: ONE STORY
WORKING WITH THIS TIMELINE

Who started doing peacebuilding first? When, where and why? At first this seems like a rather silly question. Anthropologists would argue that every human culture devises ways of keeping the peace by managing disputes and reconciling harms within the community and with neighboring communities (see for example, Nader & Todd, 1978). So why even ask these questions? To understand the current state of the field, we believe it is critical to look at how it developed. There are lessons that were learned in the early days that remain relevant today. Considering the genealogy of ideas gives us a deeper understanding of the work. Put simply, history matters for understanding the present and moving toward the future.

The United Nations adopted *An Agenda for Peace* in 1992. Many authors start the discussion of peacebuilding at that point. Highlighted with a thick blue line on our timeline, the UN brand of peacebuilding is often seen as the dominant narrative in the field. We want to challenge that narrative -- or, in more peaceable terms -- we want to expand that story by including smaller civil society organizations and individuals such as Adam Curle, Elise and Kenneth Boulding, John Paul Lederach, Hizkias Assefa, Jim Laue, Sue and Steve Williams, as well as organizations such as the Community of Sant'Egidio, Mennonite Central Committee, Responding to Conflict, Search for Common Ground, International Alert and Conciliation Resources. One purpose of this timeline is to weave together the stories of unofficial peacebuilding and UN peacebuilding. Both groups are engaged in an ongoing conversation on reducing violence, promoting justice and increasing sustainable peace. And both "sides" have contributed valuable insights and practices to that ongoing endeavor.

The roots of societally-based peacebuilding

Societally-based peacebuilding refers to activities that aim to reduce violence and promote justice and which are not initiated or led by governments. Lisa Schirch currently divides her time between part-time teaching with the Center for Justice and Peacebuilding and working to promote mutual understanding and coordination among state-based, societally based and UN-sponsored promoters of peace and security. Her most recent work is a three year project coordinating a global network to write the *Handbook on Human Security: A Civil-Military-Police Curriculum* accompanied by a set of 40 peacebuilding case studies on Local Ownership in Security.

For the purpose of this journal, Schirch sat down with colleague Catherine Barnes to discuss the creation of bridges between the UN and local groups working on peace (Barnes and Schirch 2016). Their interaction is chronicled in the last section of this journal. A podcast of that discussion can also be found here:

http://emu.edu/now/
podcast/2016/05/05/a-genealogy-of-
ideas-catherine-barnes-and-lisa-schirch/

The backbone of the timeline on the previous pages comes from three places: an article entitled *The Conceptual Origins of Peacebuilding* (International Association for Humanitarian Policy and Conflict Research (aisbl), 2007), Adam Curle's obituary, published in The Guardian (Woodhouse, 2006), and the website of United Nation's Peacebuilding Fund ("2. What is Peacebuilding?," n.d.). Mohammad Rasoulipour did the visual conceptualization for this infographic.

According to Schirch the genetic code of conflict resolution/management/ transformation, peacebuilding and restorative justice originates in the work of nongovernmental actors.

In the United States, she cites the Civil Rights Movement as a crucial moment for thinking about community organizing and tapping into systems of power. For countries in the Southern Hemisphere, Schirch describes a vacuum wherein states were not providing public services to citizens. As a result, civil society began challenging elites and protesting corruption while also pushing for infrastructure like health care and education.

Religious organizations also worked to fill in the gap in cases where the state was absent or corrupt. Schirch explains that in some places such as Kenya, the Philippines and South Africa, indigenous civil society groups were and are mobilizing on behalf of public interests, creating institutions and working to make a better life for people. Some of the civil society groups developed around peace and security functions.

Schirch says "[t]he emergence of the Nairobi Peace Initiative is one of the earliest examples in the 1980s of that institutionalization: that civil society had expertise in peace and security and could really maneuver and bring things together in a way the state did not have the capacity for. It was not a challenge to the state. It was a complement to the state" (Barnes and Schirch, 2016). The founding of the Nairobi Peace Initiative in 1984 is listed on our timeline.

Schirch also points to South Africa as a country that has developed some of the most sophisticated peacebuilding support systems in the world, "Because they have grown it from their own experience, they organized, they did community organizing, protest movements and now they are making policy proposals; they are doing conflict resolution, conflict transformation at the national level in their own country and all over Africa and in the world. In Guatemala, in Brazil, in many parts of Asia, internal civil society movements have become institutionalized and have a significant capacity to contribute to peace and security." The inner circle of our timeline shows the official end of Apartheid in South Africa while for the simple (and perhaps problematic) reason of space, the contexts of Guatemala, Brazil and elsewhere are not included.

OUR PROCESS:
CREATING THIS TIMELINE

Just as there was a great deal of dialogue around the creation of the Wheel of Peacebuilding Activities featured at the beginning of this journal, our timeline also sparked several discussions. Every way of telling a story is a way of not telling the whole story. Including certain events and people while not even mentioning others and then placing those selections on a professionally designed graphic can imply that this is the only story that matters. We want to repeatedly remind ourselves and our readers that this is *a* story not *the* story of peacebuilding.

This particular timeline is influenced by our location and past experiences. We both work for the Center for Justice and Peacebuilding, which is included on the timeline. We believe our organization is an important part of the story, but it is certainly not the whole story. We have tried to achieve balance in telling a story that includes us and we welcome feedback on how we have navigated the challenge of locating our own organization inside a larger set of actors and events.

Why Mennonites, Quakers and Catholics?

Looking at this timeline, you may ask yourselves "why focus on Mennonites, Quakers and Catholics as the alternative streams of peacebuilding?" Not everyone doing early peacebuilding was religious, but many of the earliest peacebuilding practitioners were faith-rooted. Organizationally, churches and councils of churches often had the reach and the standing as moral leaders to reach into situations of violence. Individuals and organizations with faith commitments created values-oriented forms of practice for promoting justice while reducing violence, and used their relationships to spread those practices into communities experiencing violence.

While values and religion are not the same thing, religiously-based individuals and groups are sometimes more explicit about their values and more inclined to connect their values into their thinking and practice without apology. From our interactions and those of our colleagues we think that the sample of secular organizations we have chosen to include on our timeline are also inspired by deeply held values commitments that shape what they do and how they do it.

Reintroducing the question of values

Some academic programs teach conflict resolution or peacebuilding with an emphasis on the neutrality of those doing the work. Schirch and Barnes (2016) discuss some of the early tensions in academic programs when practitioners arrived and found courses that were organized around frameworks and practices derived from mediation and negotiation (as those practices had developed in the United States). Their experience points to continued tension between the process of professionalization and standardization that justifies offering a degree in something and the creativity and artistry of developing new practices in response to problems on the ground. Even today, professional publications about how to build peace rarely articulate the practices of deep listening, honoring human dignity, compassion, empathy and care that arise from the practitioner's value commitments. For an exception to this trend, see John Paul Lederach's *The Moral Imagination* (2005).

Many publications that trace the history of the field also neglect the value-based origins of

early peace practitioners. Those publications tend to be written with an eye to technical, professional practice. They extract the models and diagrams developed by individuals such as Curle and Lederach without acknowledging the value frameworks that deeply informed their actual work.

To illustrate, Oliver Ramsbotham, Tom Woodhouse, and Hugh Miall in their frequently used and cited *Contemporary Conflict Resolution* (Ramsbotham) dedicate significant time to unpacking and explaining heuristic devices and the practices of negotiation and mediation developed by Curle and Lederach. They only mention the religious affiliations of Curle (Quaker) and Lederach (Mennonite) in passing. For example, "His [Curle's] philosophy of mediation is essentially a blend of values and experiences from Quaker practice, with the knowledge of humanistic psychology absorbed in his early professional career, both of these experiences being tempered and modified by his experiences in the field" (p. 54). There is a footnote next to "Quaker practice" but the note does not explain Quaker practice; it directs the reader to other accounts of Quaker mediators. Nor do the authors discuss Curle's interest in Buddhism. As a result, the models are presented as value-neutral heuristic devices.
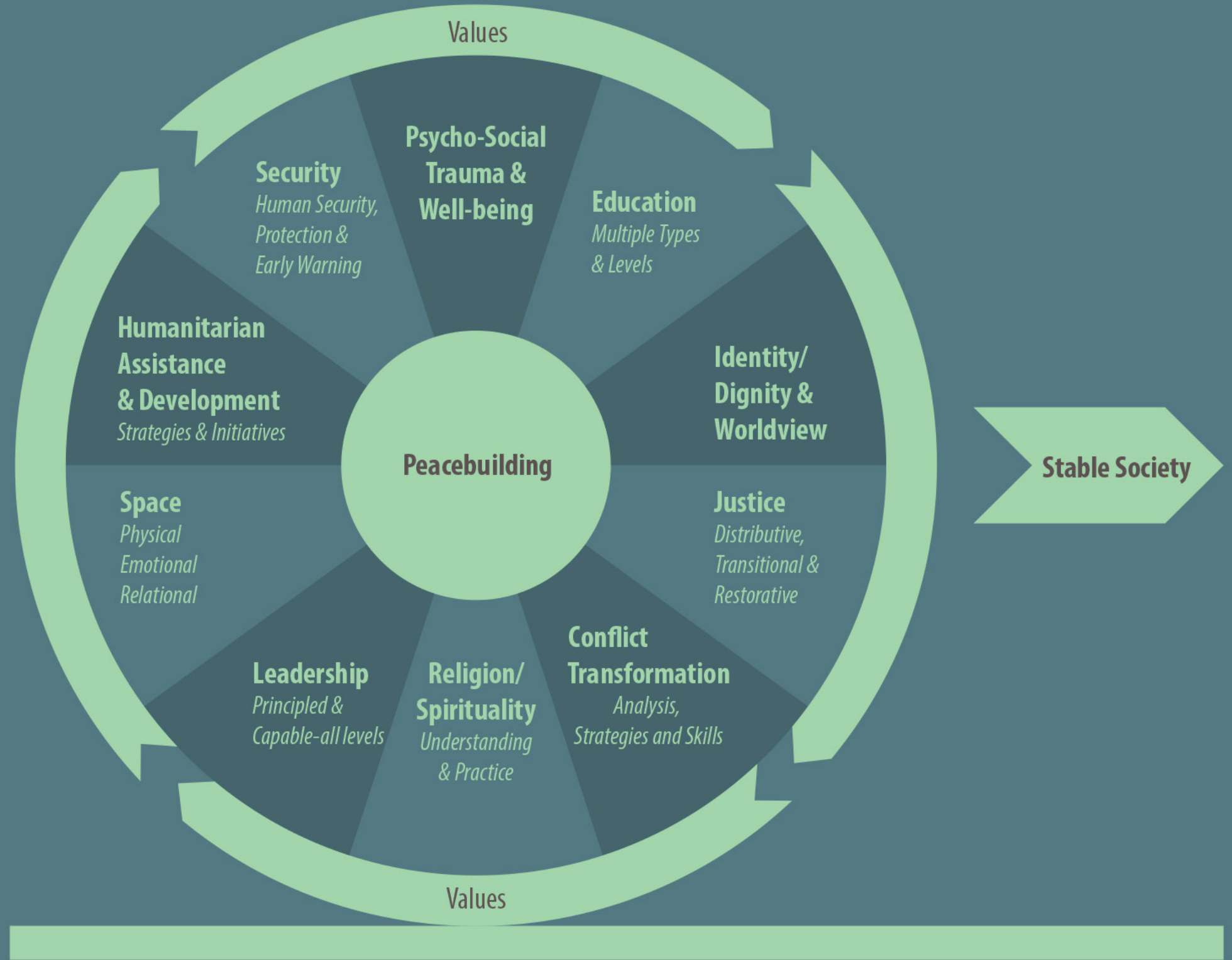
We will be exploring many of these models in our next publication in this series and we will try to connect the underlying value assumptions back to the models. This connection leads to implications for how we do the work. In this way we will strive to unpack the values that inform peacebuilding as well as the techniques or tools used by peacebuilders.

Explicitly including values in a heuristic device

Remember the Wheel of Peacebuilding Activities at the beginning of this journal? Here is another wheel developed by Barry Hart (2008, p. ix). Hart has dedicated his academic work and practical experience to the importance of integrating an understanding of the effects of trauma when working to build peace. As with the first wheel we shared, Hart wanted to explain what is required for peacebuilding and he wanted to emphasize the values that he argues "drive" the wheel of peacebuilding forward towards a stable society.

Societal stability, Hart says, refers to safety, adequate health care, economic and social justice, good governance and the ability to build and constructively maintain relationships and supportive social systems (2016). Each piece of the wheel can be seen as a potential entry point to peacebuilding: starting points to move toward a more stable society.

Playing with the wheel metaphor, Hart argues that the values we bring to peacebuilding work "inflate the tire" that runs around the segments that capture different activities involved in peacebuilding. A flat tire will not get you very far. According to Hart the tire is inflated by values associated with each area of practice with focus on "human needs, rights and dignity as well as beliefs," (2008, p. ix). No heuristic device can capture everything. In this case, the specific values are not written on the wheel. This can be an entry point for good conversation among those working in different areas. Remember, good heuristic devices spark conversations.

Values

Security
Human Security, Protection & Early Warning

Psycho-Social Trauma & Well-being

Education
Multiple Types & Levels

Humanitarian Assistance & Development
Strategies & Initiatives

Identity/ Dignity & Worldview

Space
Physical Emotional Relational

Peacebuilding

Justice
Distributive, Transitional & Restorative

Leadership
Principled & Capable-all levels

Religion/ Spirituality
Understanding & Practice

Conflict Transformation
Analysis, Strategies and Skills

Values

Stable Society

Peacebuilding Wheel

CREATING THIS TIMELINE
continued ...

Highlighting particular actors

We are very aware that our timeline is largely a "White" story - featuring protagonists who are of European descent. We highlighted the individuals on this graphic because they are repeatedly cited in the literature on peacebuilding. We recognize that this is largely due to the fact that they have published their work, particularly their heuristic devices, which have been passed down through academic programs. In other words, their ways of knowing made it through the sieve of academic writing. This leads to pressing questions around who has resources for higher education, who has access to publishers or even who has the time to write.

A simple timeline can underscore issues of power and representation. In their words, Sue and Steve Williams asserted that, "Not to include local people smacks of neo-colonialism, as well as great arrogance in presuming that an outsider's ignorance is preferable to an insider's knowledge," (Williams 71). Pugh, Cooper and Turner (2015) point out that, "Regardless of whether intervention has been initially consensual or coercive, all peacebuilding operations involve the exercise of power and illustrate relations of power between actors at the global, regional and local levels" (2). The knowledge and practices of local peacebuilders have often been documented differently, through films such as The Wajir Story (Maletta 1998) and through grounded research projects such as the Reflecting on Peace Processes (RPP) research project organized by the CDA Collaborative (2012). While we have not focused on local peacebuilders working in their own contexts here, this is something we will explore in upcoming journals. In the meantime, if you are interested in the stories of local people promoting peace even during times of war, see Mary Anderson's book Opting Out of War as well as *Confronting War* (2003).

The arc

Why is our timeline an arc and not a straight line? The visual aspect of our timeline required a good deal of consideration. How could we show the interplay between UN peacebuilding and civil society-led peacebuilding? We toyed with braiding the two timelines together, but it was difficult to contain the contents on a double page. The resulting graphic was messy and cluttered. Luckily, artist Mohammad Rasoulipour got on board and bent the timeline into an arc. The new shape and style allowed us to communicate a key idea: after almost 25 years of UN involvement in peacebuilding and approximately 15 years of competition and cooperation between civil society peacebuilders and the UN, the conversation about what is required to build and sustain authentic peace seems to have circled around to a place where the UN and civil society groups are now wrestling with shared dilemmas -- including dilemmas articulated by individuals and groups doing some of the earliest work in the field:

Is peacebuilding done best by locals (insiders) or by outsiders?

Is peacebuilding based on technical knowledge or does it really rest on a capacity for reflective practice?

Should peacebuilders focus on short-term interventions or long-term engagements?

When teaching others about peacebuilding do we emphasize best practices or adaptive creativity?

Following the lead of Barry Johnson (1992), we are going to call these dilemmas "polarities to be managed." A polarity exists whenever there is tension between two positives. For example, we all manage the polarity of autonomy and connection in our relationships. We need both autonomy and connection to thrive and grow; the secret to thriving is in managing the tension between these positives. We think that telling a more complete story about the origins of contemporary peacebuilding practices will help us better understand both ends of a variety of polarities.

Academic Institutions

At the same time practitioners were developing new ways of addressing violence, some universities started organizing programs of study to focus on peace, peacemaking and conflict resolution. George Mason University started their graduate program in conflict management, now the School for Conflict Analysis and Resolution, in 1981. Five years later, the Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies was founded at Notre Dame University. Eastern Mennonite University started their graduate program in conflict transformation, now the Center for Justice and Peacebuilding, in 1994. We selected programs (noted on the timeline with orange asterisks) that were primarily designed to transfer knowledge from field practice to another generation of potential peace promoters; we set aside programs that are more focused on explaining or studying conflict and violence. We discovered that we could attach specific early practitioner names to the programs we chose to include. For example, Curle was associated with the program at University of Bradford in England and Lederach with Eastern Mennonite University and later with Notre Dame in the United States.

These academic institutions represent a major shift in the field. During the 1990s and 2000s alumni from the academic programs brought into the field an added focus on analysis and "best practices" or "lessons learned" in order to influence governments, institutions and potential funders. Many of them worked with the organizations on our timeline, where they struggled with the challenge of bringing expertise into the conversation without falling into the trap of overlooking or discounting the practical knowledge and creative work of local people and seasoned practitioners.

We believe that professionalizing peacebuilding without building in values that honor local actors risks reinforcing class divisions since not everyone can afford higher education. If we are not careful, peacebuilding will succumb to a tyranny of expertise that has plagued other well-intended helping initiatives including international development. See, for example, William Easterly's critiques of development economics in *The Tyranny of Experts* (2001) and *The White Man's Burden* (2006). The emphasis on values-based practice in our publications is an attempt to mitigate this problem.

1976: Adam Curle, fourth from the left, with Peace Studies Group
University of Bradford Archive, Special Collections curated by Special Collections Librarian Alison Cullingford.

CONTEXT AND PERSPECTIVE MATTER

In our own peacebuilding work, we say "context matters." Switching from a straight line to an arc on the timeline gave us some additional wriggle room for adding a context piece. On the inner circle, you can see a sample of violent or potentially violent (the Cold War) conflicts that provided the backdrop and focus for early peacebuilding work. A colleague challenged us about the focus on violent conflict. It is true that the field now includes addressing conditions of poverty, discrimination and oppression that Johan Galtung (1969) described as structural violence. But there is no denying that the early peacebuilders were responding to overt violence.

While discussing the issue of context as it relates to peacebuilding, we identified a generational difference. Mikhala, who is twenty-seven, did not understand why Jayne, who is almost sixty, kept emphasizing the Cold War and the end of the Cold War as the stage on which the drama of peacebuilding has been enacted. As we worked through the material, it became evident that the conversation about building peace and promoting justice is, indeed, contextually influenced. Conversations happening now were probably impossible in the Cold War period when violent conflicts were framed through the narrative of ideological struggle between Communism and Capitalism. Now, there is more room for conversations about structural violence as a driver of overt violence.

As more time and effort have been put into peacebuilding, the understanding of the issues that need to be addressed keeps expanding. For example, there is growing emphasis on issues of trauma and unaddressed trauma as drivers of violence. But in the early days peacebuilding was largely framed as a response to wars and the war machine, and we should keep that reality in mind when telling any story about the field.

The Cold War's resonance

It makes a difference that Adam Curle started his work trying to mediate the Nigerian Civil War during the Cold War while the United Nations adopted *An Agenda for Peace* shortly after the end of the Cold War. It also matters that Curle worked on the ground directly with parties caught up in violence while the UN was engaged with high level diplomacy in the context of a largely stable albeit tense standoff between the United States and the Soviet Union.

In the Cold War period, conversations about security focused on defending national borders, sovereignty and the rights of states.

What happened inside states was thought to be the business of states. War prevention therefore was centered around forestalling wars between countries, with particular emphasis on preventing nuclear warfare. This state oriented frame for talking about and working with issues of security did not encompass the experiences on the ground in Central American countries, Nigeria, and other locations where "hot wars" were being waged. There, security had less to do with protecting state sovereignty and more to do with protecting human lives and human rights while promoting equitable development.

For Adam Curle working in Nigeria the Cold War did not look cold at all. Having once been the colonial rulers of Nigeria, the British sought continued control over Nigerian oil resources after the country's independence in 1960. The British were complicit in the Nigerian Civil War, also known as the Biafran War (1967-70). Curle and two other Quakers tried to set up negotiations between Nigeria's General Gowon and the Biafran rebel leaders. "Although they were never successful in negotiating a ceasefire, their efforts were believed to have significantly reduced post-war acts of reprisals" ("Quakers in Action - International Mediation and Conciliation," n.d.).

Similarly, when the United States labeled peasant uprisings in Central America in the 1970s and 1980s a "communist threat" and responded by propping up dictators in those countries, John Paul Lederach and others associated with Mennonite Central Committee started working with the local communities that were on the receiving end of violence from their governments. Their stories start in the lower left area of our timeline.

When the Cold War ended, contrary to expectations, peace did not break out. Rather, as the Cold War ended some of the repressed conflicts inside the dissolving Soviet region erupted into open violence and other "minor" conflicts became more violent. The nature of warfare changed from state versus state to internal wars and conflicts that expanded to cover regions such as the Horn of Africa.

CREATING A SHARED VOCABULARY

It was difficult for the early civil society peacebuilders to talk with the UN, because they lacked a shared vocabulary about peace and security. In 1994 the UN discourse about security started to shift when Mahbub ul Haq first drew global attention to the concept of human security in the United Nations Development Programme's *Human Development Report*. He argued that approaches to security should be expanded to include threats in seven areas of security: economic, food, health, environmental, personal, community and political (United Nations Development Programme, 1994).

Simultaneously, civil society peacebuilders and UN agencies mandated to carry out peacekeeping responsibilities were working side-by-side in areas like the Balkans. There, the UN peacebuilding agencies addressing security problems came into sustained contact with work being done by organizations such as Mennonite Central Committee, Responding to Conflict, Conciliation Resources, Search for Common Ground and International Alert. Governments and UN agencies started seeing civil society actors as relevant players in the areas of building peace and security.

On other hand, all the local, community-based work on repairing broken relationships and building local capacities to resist violence could not bring peace if governments and non-state armed groups were not supported in reaching agreements to end violence. Unofficial peacebuilding groups, for example the Community of Sant'Egidio working in Mozambique, had supported local participation in high level negotiations to end violent conflicts. Still there were few mechanisms for connecting non-governmental actors with peace negotiations. The idea that the world needed more inclusive peace negotiations was also taking hold; civil society groups were demanding a seat at the negotiation table.

In order to work together, civil society peacebuilders and UN leaders recognized that they needed to start talking with one another about the nature of the work and their respective assumptions. Anyone operating from a bureaucratic base was likely to find the plethora of civil society groups working on peace hard to comprehend. They did not all use the same models or approaches. They sometimes contradicted one another. There was no "chief of party" to call for a statement about what was being done and why. From the civil

society perspective, the state-based frameworks used by the UN seemed flawed. Conflicts were becoming more complex and it did not seem likely that high level negotiations that yielded a quick peace agreement followed by elections would be sufficient to bring sustainable peace in many of the violent conflicts in the post-Cold War world. Societally-based peacebuilders were proven correct as various brokered peace agreements fell apart. The idea that building sustainable peace required implementation processes that continued long after the negotiations were over was barely registering with governments and international agencies, even though it had been articulated clearly by Curle in his 1971 book, *Making Peace*.

By the early 2000s civil society peacebuilding organizations in some regions were forming networks and attempting to influence the UN policies and funding to support peace work. It is not easy to get a large bureaucratic organization into conversation with loosely organized (at best) non-governmental organizations and even harder if the conversation needs to include emergent and quickly changing social movements. This is where the next generation of peacebuilders played a pivotal role by helping

to create a bridge between the UN and local groups working on peace.

To capture a story about this process we turn now to the conversation we organized between Catherine Barnes and Lisa Schirch (pictured above) who met as students and whose peacebuilding careers have intersected in higher education and in the field. Part of their work involved providing leadership and support for the Global Partnership for the Prevention of Armed Conflict (GPPAC), which in 2005 brought approximately 1,500 people from across the globe together and united civil society actors and their governments in an unprecedented way. This significant convergence is marked on the timeline by lines of all colors (UN, civil society, Quaker, Mennonite and Catholic). As we mentioned earlier, this conversation was recorded in April 2016 at Eastern Mennonite University. You can listen here:

http://emu.edu/now/podcast/2016/05/05/a-genealogy-of-ideas-catherine-barnes-and-lisa-schirch/

THE UN AND CIVIL SOCIETY IN DIALOGUE

In the early 1990s, Barnes and Schirch were drawn from justice and advocacy practice to the doctoral program in what is now known as the School for Conflict Analysis and Resolution at George Mason University (GMU). When we brought them together for a conversation, they recalled their small classes in the nascent academic field of conflict analysis and resolution with excitement. Barnes said, "It was almost this feeling that we were synthesizing and helping to give birth to this as an academic field."

The GMU program attracted students from many professions including teachers, diplomats, government agency employees, police officers, military (active duty and retired), and lawyers. Before returning to the university, Barnes had been addressing community and domestic violence in rural West Virginia while Schirch had been working on Aboriginal rights in Canada. In addition to their advocacy backgrounds, Barnes and Schirch found commonality in the fact that they were called to this work based on value commitments rooted in their faith backgrounds; Barnes is Quaker and Schirch is Mennonite.

Schirch noted that their value frameworks shaped their conversations with each other and with others in the program at a secular

university in interesting ways. While their courses were often organized around questions of win-win negotiation (see the reference on the book *Getting to Yes* on the timeline), rational-analytical problem solving workshops, and allegedly value-neutral approaches to analysis and practice, she recalls "we were pushing professors in looking at religion, values and ethics."

Barnes and Schirch found an ally in James H. Laue (1937-1993). Himself a deeply committed Methodist, Laue had worked with Martin Luther King Jr. in the Civil Rights Movement before joining university programs where he first combined "social theory and practical problem-solving into a new practice of clinical sociology" and later "helped to establish the field of conflict resolution as a distinct academic discipline" (James Laue: Biography). Laue's justice-focused frameworks and ideas about what to do in response to conflict "felt more familiar [to us] than the [frameworks that the] negotiation, mediation field had developed in the United States," Schirch says.

Laue promoted approaches to conflicts that embraced and respected the knowledge of the parties directly involved in the conflict, prioritized questions of social justice and brought into play the analytical tools and

theories derived from academic research. He also urged students to embrace the identity and stance of a "pracademic" - someone who could navigate the world of practice (engaging directly with problems on the ground) and the world of scholarship (conducting formal research). His influence can be seen in the lives of many of his students, including Barnes and Schirch who have each moved in and out of universities and work with non-governmental organizations.

After graduation, Schirch and Barnes were deeply involved in the encounter between the work of early peace promoting leaders (the left side of our timeline) and the peacebuilding work promoted by the UN (the right side of our timeline).

Highlighting the Complexity and Creativity of Civil Society

Barnes explained that during the 1990s significant civil-society-led conferences were convened on issues like the environment, women's rights and development. "It was the decade of conferences!" she says. Yet in the year

2000, there was still a lack of clarity regarding civil society agents working directly with people in conflict, within their own contexts. In 2001, the civil society peacebuilding community took notice when Kofi Annan, then UN Secretary General, issued what Barnes refers to as a "groundbreaking report on prevention of armed conflict in which the UN, for the first time, referenced the importance of civil society" (Barnes 2016). The 37-page report entitled *Prevention of Armed Conflict* references civil society twelve times. The report states that "The primary responsibility for conflict prevention rests with national governments, with civil society playing an important role. The main role of the United Nations and the international community is to support national efforts for conflict prevention and assist in building national capacity in this field," (Annan, n.d.). Shortly after the report was issued, Kofi Annan and Paul van Tongeren, head of the European Center for Conflict Prevention (ECCP), agreed to hold one of these international conferences specifically on civil society roles for building peace.

CREATING A MECHANISM FOR CONNECTION

The Global Partnership for the Prevention of Armed Conflict

Organizing civil society participation would not be easy without the proper mechanism. It was agreed that the European Centre for Conflict Prevention (ECCP) would convene civil society organizations (CSOs), in collaboration with partner organizations across several regions. In the process of organizing for the conference, ECCP became the Global Partnership for the Prevention of Armed Conflict (GPPAC) and took on the secretariat function for partnerships from 15 regions. GPPAC officially launched its *Global Action Agenda* in 2005, at a worldwide conference held at the United Nations headquarters in New York. Barnes was asked to create a framework for the conference's agenda. Schirch and Barry Hart who were on faculty at the Center for Justice and Peacebuilding at the time organized students and other practitioners to participate in the global conference at the UN.

This global conference brought approximately 1,500 participants to the UN and it united civil society actors and their governments in an unprecedented way. Barnes (2016) reflects, "To be in the UN General Assembly Hall, meeting with your governments was an incredible, legitimizing factor. The governments were saying 'actually we can work together on peace and security issues.'" One of the planners' hopes for GPPAC and its global conference was to pave the way for a more people-centered approach to security and more inclusion of grassroots movements in peace processes. This event represented one of the first shifts for governments and civil societies to share responsibility in a cooperative framework.

To accompany this shift, GPPAC published *People Building Peace II* during the conference ("Timeline - GPPAC," n.d.). In addition to inspirational case studies about ordinary people banding together to build relationships across dividing lines and strategically advocating for an end to conflict, the large red book includes some analytical frameworks for understanding how the work is done and why it is successful. "One of the reasons the The People Building Peace II book is a landmark work is because it sets forth the first cogent argument for the types of roles that people can play in resolving their own conflict and promoting their own security," (Barnes 2016). The publication of this book is also included on our timeline.

Normative results

Barnes says that while it was difficult to see any definitive results from the conference, she believes the norms of civil society inclusion in peace promotion have really permeated the UN and international peacebuilding frameworks. She describes the conference in New York as one of those moments that helped nudge the field in a particular direction. In that way, the GPPAC initiative helped set the space for today's conversations where UN agencies, governments and civil society are discussing dilemmas of peacebuilding practice -- dilemmas that were often identified first by civil society peacebuilders prior to the end of the Cold War. What is old is new again.

We hope this first journal has helped to illustrate all the different ways people can build peace and promote justice as well as how heuristic devices emerge from adventures of thinking and collaborating. Models such as the Wheel of Peacebuilding Activities or the timeline featured here are not static. They are invitations to engage with and better understand the world around us. One of the goals of this journal was to highlight an alternative story that preceded and runs parallel to the popular perception of peacebuilding. Unofficial peacebuilders and civil society organizations have critically shaped the field. The concept of peacebuilding and the practices related to it continue to evolve as more individuals and groups take up the challenge of working towards peace with justice in their communities. The conversation and the movement continues.

In the next journal, we will examine models and diagrams developed by early peacebuilders. We will look at how the models have changed over time and share stories about how they have been modified to address new issues or previously ignored features of conflict. You will be asked to think about a conflict in your own life so that while you are reading, you can practice a fundamental skill for peacebuilders -- analyzing a conflict to understand it and by understanding it potentially identifying actions that can transform the situation towards greater peace with justice.

CONCLUSION

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Photo from the "IN THIS ISSUE" page : (1995) A strategic planning meeting for Eastern Mennonite University's fledgling Conflict Transformation Program. From left, standing: Paul Stucky, Ruth Zimmerman, Ron Kraybill, Vernon Jantzi. Seated: Ricardo Esquivia, John Paul Lederach, Hizkias Assefa. Image taken from the archives of *The Peacebuilder*, a publication of the Center for Justice and Peacebuilding

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